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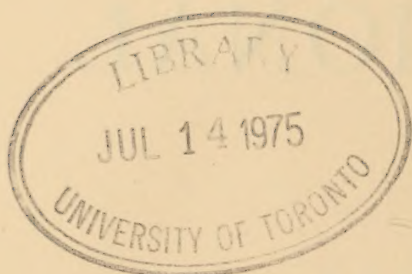
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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JULY, 1881.

THE ARMY QUESTION IN EUROPE.

SOME thirty years ago a European diplomatist, who expressed the hope that henceforth the ocean would forever remain free, received from an American statesman the proud answer, "Yes, with our leave!" Horace Greeley, in the "Tribune," sharply rebuked his countryman, not only because such a vainglorious boast would under all circumstances be in bad taste, but principally because it should never become the ambition of the United States, by powder and cannon, to gain and maintain a predominating position among the great powers of the earth. He lived to see the time when this nation of farmers, artisans, shopkeepers, and merchants, who in the opinion of most Europeans knew no higher God than the almighty dollar, waged a war the like of which could not be found in the whole history of mankind; and the present generation witnesses the awakening of Europe to the dire fact that this young upstart among the civilized nations of the world is wielding arms in comparison with which all the swords, guns, and cannon of the Civil War were but harmless toys. After all, Greeley was right. The exploits of the United States in the art of destroying, systematically and on the grandest scale, have been so great that the most warlike nations of Europe would not hastily engage with them in a trial of strength, if by some miracle they could be transformed into next-door neighbors. But the strength they begin to manifest in the art of building up and creating is so huge, and develops at such a rate, that the eyes of all the powers of Europe — even Russia in some respects not excepted — are becoming riveted on them in a kind of awe-stricken bewilderment. They are as yet far, very far, from fully realizing how trenchant these arms of peace will ultimately prove to be; but they are so much alarmed by the danger which threatens them from the other side

of the Atlantic, that several of their great statesmen have rushed for Mrs. Partington's broom to sweep the surging billows back.

Since steam and electricity have become the foremost powers of the earth, even the Chinese are fast losing their faith in the policy of erecting a wall between themselves and the rest of the world. The political master-minds of Europe, however, wish to try once more the long-discredited *arcana* of their grandfathers' statecraft. We are told that behind our Chinese wall of protective duties we need not trouble ourselves about Brother Jonathan, so long as we keep the gates but just sufficiently ajar to suit our own convenience. It is a pity that the good old ditty is not known to these same master minds, —

“ Old politicians chew on wisdom past,
And totter on in blunders to the last.”

We are asked to believe that the Yankee would do well to look out for his fingers, if in his greed he should throw such quantities of flour, meat, fruit, etc. into our premises that we shall be compelled to slam the door in his face. But even our saviors themselves cannot entirely free their minds from the dismal foreboding that perhaps, after all, we are destined to encounter the same experience which befell the Chinese. As the infernal noise of their gongs and kettledrums did not deter the English from attacking them, so our big talk and small protective duties will not drive from the shores of Europe whatever the United States can furnish us cheaper and better than we can get the same at home. An inevitable economical law is at work here; all attempts to resist it must ultimately prove absolutely futile. The evil day may possibly be put off for a short time, but come it must; and the longer it is postponed by artificial means, the heavier it will weigh on the shoulders of the peoples of Europe. Not that the case of the Old World is a hopeless one; very far from that. Europe has only to renounce all idea of resisting what, in the nature of things, cannot be resisted. The task is gradually to change in conformity to the changing economical relations of the world, which in every respect is becoming more and more a complex organic unit. That the European States are slow to become convinced of this cannot be wondered at, for it involves some radical changes in the very foundations of their political structure and their international relations. Yet the sooner they yield, the better for them and for all the rest of the world. It is still time to approach it by degrees, with all the circumspection and all the precautions necessary to give it the character of a reform; while the longer it is delayed, the more the danger increases that it will be effected in the shape of a revolution and terrible upheavings of one kind or another.

The historian with strong moralizing propensities finds a rich

theme in the curious phenomenon that England is more immediately than any other State affected by the fact that the United States have become, and are every year becoming still more, the predominating power with regard to the first necessities of life. The Slave States once proclaimed Cotton to be King; and were thoroughly convinced that this impersonal sovereign would force England to sustain them in the attempt to break up the Union, and found a new empire with slavery as corner-stone and key-stone. In this they proved to be mistaken; but the events also taught that their illusion rested upon facts which might easily deceive very keen-sighted eyes, when the wish was father to the thought. But what King Cotton could not attain, the Northern "mudsills" are about to accomplish in a different way. England refused to draw her sword as vassal in the service of King Cotton, though the white majesty of the black realm could boast of the warm sympathies of her aristocracy; and now this same aristocracy is most sorely pressed by the unsympathetic, democratic farmer of the boundless West. The hours of the landed aristocracy of England, and therefore also the hours of the present social structure of England, are counted in consequence of American competition. It is only a question of time when it will succumb, and when the book of its history will be closed. So the richest, the most conservative, and in some respects most powerful State of Europe is subjected by the United States to a more radical revolution than it has ever experienced; and this revolution will be carried out without firing a single shot, or even enlisting a single soldier. How astonished the American patriots of the Revolutionary era would be to see that this is the way in which the colonies take their revenge upon the mother country!

Great and important as this consequence of American competition is, it is of utter insignificance in comparison with the fact that this competition must ultimately lead to the overthrow of the present military system of the continental powers of Europe. The assertion that this is sure to happen will be thought by many to be a day-dream of the diseased mind of a political sentimentalist; and yet it is as capable of proof as any political prophecy, looking towards a somewhat distant future, possibly can be. The American press has already taken some notice of a rather remarkable correspondence between Count Moltke and Professor Bluntschli, which has recently been much commented upon in Europe. For our present purpose it is not necessary to enter upon the history and general scope of that correspondence. It is sufficient to quote a few sentences from Moltke's letter in literal translation:—

"Eternal peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream. War is an element of the order of things established by God. The most noble virtues of man develop

themselves in it: courage and self-abnegation, faithful performance of one's duty, and the spirit of devotion; the soldier offers his life. Without war the world would begin to rot, and would lose itself in materialism."

If this be not only true, but also the whole truth, America would render us and the general cause of civilization a very reprehensible service if, in the course of time, our prediction should be verified. But we do not implicitly admit the truth of the first two sentences and of the last one; and the great eulogist of war is, of course, better than anybody else aware that there is yet another side to the question. Every schoolboy knows that, at all times, wars have brought into action the greatest and purest qualities of human nature, and that they have frequently been the thunder-storms which have broken and dispelled the suffocating, deadening sultriness of the moral atmosphere. But every schoolboy also knows that *every* war, even the holiest, has stirred up the evil passions of the human mind into terrible energy; and that every great war has been followed by a period in which public morality has more or less lost its equipoise, and in which the unclean spirits have revelled unpunished where they would not dare to show themselves in ordinary times. In order to determine whether eternal peace is "a *beautiful* dream" or not, — that is, how far it is desirable, — the first thing to be ascertained is how the unavoidable evil consequences of war compare with its incidental redeeming features. A thorough examination of this question raises well-founded doubts whether it is still justifiable to call wars "an element of the order of things established by God," or, at least, whether they will yet long retain this character. We fully concede that they have thus far been an integral and most important factor in the laws of Providence, which have governed the development of mankind; but that does not prove anything whatever as to the future, except that this factor cannot be eliminated at once, and that the arguments put forth by religious and other sentimentalists in their very praiseworthy exertions against war are utterly inadequate to solve this problem. The slaveholders were undoubtedly right in their assertion that slavery has been a very powerful agent in the history of civilization. But is there still a single fanatic to be found in the Union who would draw from this undeniable fact the conclusion, that therefore, in the nineteenth century, and in the United States, negro slavery must be, in the words of Calhoun, "a good, a positive good"? A pious Southern fire-eater once wrote a virulent letter to Theodore Parker, charging him with infidelity, because he asserted the sinfulness of slavery, inasmuch as nobody had as yet had the hardihood to deny that Jehovah had permitted the Jews to have slaves. This fact the evidently sincere zealot considered an irrefutable argument; because, as he said, God is always consistent and logical, and cannot condemn at one time what he has

approved at some other time. Thus the Almighty was put on a level with a narrow-minded, brainless politician, who considered his reputation as a statesman irretrievably lost if his consistency could be impugned. The reasoners of the stamp of this Southron — and their number is legion — are unable to comprehend that just because God is always logical and consistent, he has to condemn at one time what he has allowed at some other time ; for he has willed from the beginning that the law of laws of the whole creation should be development. This is what, in this instance, has been overlooked by the greatest “organizer of victory” of the age. Nothing can be more untrue than the old adage, that “there is nothing new under the sun.” The opposite proposition would correspond much better with the facts. And this, so far as mankind is concerned, applies no less to the main features in the forms of its existence than to the minute details.

How long was it considered an axiomatic truth that nations, like individuals, must pass through childhood, manhood, and old age into the abyss of eternity ; and yet to-day this notion ranks with our forefathers’ belief in sorcerers and fairies. Nobody, however, will explain this wonderful change by the assumption that the civilized nations of the last thousand years are moulded from a different clay than were their predecessors. It is simply the consequence of a slow, but continuous and fundamental change in the main principle of their social and political structure. By the progressing democratization of the State and of society, modern nations have acquired the possibility of constantly rejuvenating themselves ; while all the leading nations of ancient history could have but a finite existence, because they were, without a single exception, aristocracies. A pond which is not fed by springs must ultimately be transformed into a swamp by the action of the sun and the winds. If the miracle has been worked, that, humanly speaking, the vital forces of civilized nations have become inexhaustible without its even being perceived through many centuries, why then shall it be *a priori* such an absurdity to cling to the hope that powder and steel will more and more cease to be the *ultima ratio regum* ? Certainly this would be no more miraculous, for if we look a little closer at the history of the last century, we cannot fail to perceive that the civilized world is undergoing another metamorphosis, which is no less fundamental than the transformation of aristocracies into democracies.

It has often been noted and commented upon, that the modern State has extended its domain over spheres with which in the days of our ancestors no statesman ever busied his brain for a single minute. If anybody had told them that they ought to count these relations and questions among the cardinal problems of statesmanship, their only answer would have been a look of blank astonishment ; for

they would have understood it as little as if they had been talked to about railroads and telegraphs. This process of carrying the organizing, fostering, and controlling agency of the State further and further is still going on, and the left wing of the Socialists does not wish to stop with it until State and society have become identical. *Pari passu* with this movement, however, another has been going on, which has generally either been confounded with the former or attracted but little attention, — though it will undoubtedly become, if it is not already now, the more important one. The State in the narrower and more specific acceptation of the term no longer occupies the position it used to hold. For a long time the political side of its nature was so predominant, that the social side was either entirely lost sight of or made wholly subservient to it. This relation is being subverted. The principal aims and ends of States used to be looked for and found in their character as political powers, while now their character as organized society is pushed more and more into the foreground; in other words, with the advance of civilization and democratization, the social element begins to predominate over the political, — the commonwealth supplants the State. This cannot but be of the utmost importance with regard to the question, whether wars are forever to remain “an element of the order of things established by God.”

If we review the whole history of wars, — leaving aside only the very few purely religious and civil wars, — we find that almost all have had their origin, or at least their principal incentive, in considerations of a specifically political character. The political power as such is every other minute tempted to a war, because a war is the readiest, simplest, and most efficient means to increase its weight. To the commonwealth — using the word in the above-indicated sense — every war must necessarily appear in a very different light. Even when wars have been the greatest blessing, because the vital forces of the commonwealth were being destroyed by a moral dry-rot which nothing else could cure, — even in those rare instances the sufferings of the social community have been terrible. How could it be otherwise? Heroic treatments are undoubtedly sometimes necessary, but the patient will always writhe in agony under them; therefore the modern statesman must follow the example of the modern physician, who considers it his foremost task to prevent a mere indisposition from developing into a serious disease, though he might be able to cure this. As the public have gradually become so far educated in this respect that this maxim is counted among the self-evident truths, so with the progressing transformation of the old political State, the product of bygone ages, into the social commonwealth of the future, the people will learn to demand more and more imperatively that

every statesman — whatever else his political creed may be — must implicitly adopt the same principle of prevention, and act accordingly to the best of his ability.

One need not be very deeply read in the history of the last generation in order to know that all the civilized nations are growing less and less inclined to rest satisfied with the trite assertion that the world will never get rid of wars, because the fact that there always have been wars is an irrefutable proof that Providence has constituted wars an indispensable agency in the history of mankind. And the best authority can be adduced for the opinion that the civilized nations are right in demanding that the question be approached in a different spirit, — that is, that it be considered a problem which ought constantly to occupy public opinion as well as the hearts and the heads of the rulers of nations in order to further its ultimate solution, however slow the progress may be. About a year ago the same Count Moltke wrote : “ Who would not ardently wish to see the heavy military burdens lightened which Germany has to bear in consequence of her position (*Weltstellung*) in the midst of most powerful neighbors? The princes and governments share the wish ; but it cannot improve before all nations have learned to understand that every war, even a victorious one, is a national calamity. The power of our Emperor cannot bring about this conviction ; only the better moral and religious education of the nations can lead to it, — a result of centuries of historical development, which we two will not live to see.”

Are not these sentiments almost a direct contradiction of those quoted before? It might not be fair to draw from them the conclusion that it would be a revolt against the will of God wholly to dispense with wars ; but if wars are “ an element of the God-established order of things,” a more religious education of the nations can certainly not suffice to realize “ the even not beautiful dream of eternal peace,” though it may render wars somewhat less frequent. Yet it is here directly admitted that in the remote future international quarrels will, perhaps, be settled in a different way. On the other hand, the next generations are told that they cannot derive any benefit from this possibility. That would be hard indeed ; for it is unreservedly acknowledged that even the being prepared for war — not to speak of the eventual wars themselves — imposes most onerous burdens upon every people. This being so, we are certainly justified in not letting the whole matter simply drop ; and we must not be thought to lay ourselves open to the charge of useless and unpatriotic grumbling if we do not listlessly resign ourselves to our fate, though we shall not dispute that neither we nor our children will see the last war. That admission about the fearful weight of the military burdens has given us a piece of firm ground to stand upon. We have descended from the lofty

but misty heights of speculation about future ages, and alighted upon a stern fact. It is our right and our duty to examine this fact in all its bearings ; and, if we do not greatly deceive ourselves, this examination will prove beyond cavil or doubt that the day *cannot* be so very remote when the complaints of the peoples on this head will elicit another answer from their rulers than a mere sympathetic shrug of the shoulders.

The first thing to be noticed is that Moltke does not stand alone among the official authorities with his frank acknowledgment that these complaints about the military burdens are but too just. In every one of the continental States of any importance the same confession has of late been made by the ministers, and often in much more emphatic terms. Even in autocratic Russia dire necessity has at last in the beginning of this year extorted the official avowal, that the figures with which the armed force is in times of peace represented in the annual budget of the empire are appalling. And Moltke himself has declared in the Reichstag that in his opinion also we are fast approaching the limits of the possible. In private conversation this is readily admitted by all older officers ; but with the same unanimity they assert that all complaints are to no purpose, because there is no way out of the difficulty. These two propositions are, however, evidently incompatible with each other. Either Europe will continue to be able to sustain the actual military system, though she may severely suffer under it, or she must sooner or later find herself unable to sustain it ; and then a change will take place, at whatever cost and in whatever way it may be effected. We are of the latter opinion ; and we think that if these gentlemen but knew how near that time is, they would on the one hand take better care not to compromise themselves by too candid confessions ; and on the other hand they would exert themselves more to clear the way for the unavoidable change, and to turn it into a genuine and lasting reform, without exposing their own country and the rest of Europe to violent political and social shocks. We furthermore assert that one of the principal reasons of their illusion that this is a nut for future generations to crack, while it is in fact one of the most pressing problems of this and the next generation, is their ignorance with regard to the position of North America — principally, of course, the United States — in the economy of the world. If Europe were left entirely to herself, she would indeed have vitality enough to endure yet a very long time the agonies of armed peace, though even then she would be finally forced into a more or less radical change. But, thanks to the United States ! we shall be spared this terror without end ; with irresistible force they push us before the alternative of reform or — an end with terror.

We will support our assertion by some figures computed from the statistical tables of the "Gotha Almanac" for 1881. For our purpose they are sufficiently exact, though they could not be admitted into a strictly statistical treatise, because the military establishments of some European States of the second and third class are of such a crude and complex nature that, if they are to be measured by the same standard as those of the great powers, a vague estimate is all that can be obtained. As to the navies, the statistics of the "Almanac" are very defective, especially with regard to the number of men constituting the services. But those who differ from us have no reason to complain on that account, for more complete data would only deepen the shadows of the picture. We have furthermore given Europe the benefit of confining ourselves entirely to the peace establishments. The great burdens involved in the necessity of being prepared at a moment's warning to set the whole armed force on a war footing, we will consider as balanced by the cost of the State militias in the United States. Great Britain is, in consequence of her geographical situation and her vast colonial empire, a State *sui generis*, and has therefore been excluded from our computations. The possessions of the other powers outside the limits of Europe could not, for obvious reasons, be taken into consideration; but though the area covered by them is immense, the enhancement of the military burdens necessitated by them is comparatively so small that the light to be derived from the available statistical data, although not rendered valueless, is undoubtedly dimmed and vitiated.

Continental Europe, with the smaller islands, has an area of 9,482,897 square kilometres, and a population of about 315,000,000 inhabitants. The United States have a population, in round numbers, of 50,000,000, dispersed over an area of 9,272,448 square kilometres. So the density of the population is as six and three-tenths to one, leaving out of view the insignificant difference in the area. Perhaps there is in the United States a somewhat larger tract of land than in Europe which will never be of any use to civilized man, though we are not as yet willing to admit that as unquestionable.¹ The cattle raising in what used to be called the Great American Desert cautions us not to be too quick with such asser-

¹ For curiosity's sake we will quote the opinion of an American: "The extent of the arable soil in the United States transcends conception; it is more than that of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined. It is so immense that should China empty her five hundred millions of people upon our shores . . . we could still find room for more. According to the estimates of those who have given attention to these matters, our country has ample capacity for thirty-six hundred million human beings, — a number five times greater than the present population of the earth." — *The Chinese Problem*, p. 82; by L. T. Townsend, D. D. We are afraid that the Chinese problem and geography are a little out of the line of the learned divine. Please, gentlemen patriots! the American Eagle is such a kingly bird that it is really a pity to see its wings dislocated by your attempts to stretch them to the stars.

tions. If it took such a long time to hit upon the idea that cattle ought to be able to subsist where the buffalo had been grazing thousands of years, there is no telling what use the ingenuity of man will ultimately make of regions which have apparently no *raison d'être*. Already flourishing cities grow up over night like mushrooms after a warm rain, where the storms had never anything but the barren rocks to vent their fury upon, and where the miner needs a double blanket and, perhaps, a fire even in midsummer. Besides, in Europe the most fertile parts have now, upon the whole, the densest population; while in the United States the regions which have been favored the most by the Creator have as yet but a very scanty population. In my travels through the Southern States I could not help being often reminded of some parts of Northern Africa which I had traversed many years ago. It was not the familiar face of the negro which recalled those half-forgotten scenes, but the overwhelming bounteousness of Nature waiting to be taken possession of by man in full earnest. In some respects of the highest importance Providence has treated the United States with much greater liberality than it has Europe; they are infinitely richer in coal, iron, and the precious metals. It seems, therefore, perfectly justifiable to assume that they are fully able to sustain as large a population as Europe. Nor will it be very long ere they can boast of one hundred or even two hundred million inhabitants, though we think that the old rule of the population being doubled in about twenty-five years can no longer hold good; because even if the absolute number of immigrants should still go on increasing for some time, the population being already so large, their relative number must necessarily more and more decrease, so that the growth of the population will gradually approach the limits of the natural increase. But however that may be, the population cannot in any event grow so fast that the competition of the United States would assume an essentially different character soon enough to enable the European States to jog on in the old ruts.

In Europe it is often asserted that such will be the case; and this hope is the ready excuse for refusing to treat the subject as a practical question, which demands immediate and most serious attention. Even in the United States I have met some men of a conservative turn of mind who thought that the avalanche of American products, which was beginning to frighten the Europeans so badly, would soon melt down to unalarming proportions; for, they said, the cereals, meat, cheese, fruit, etc. which are now produced for exportation will soon, to a great extent, be consumed by the increased population of the Union. That this will ultimately be so we do not deny. We only differ as to the time when the great economical process will have reached this stage of development. These gentlemen on both

sides of the Atlantic base their opinion principally on the fact that the great item of public lands will soon disappear from the list of paramount interests which have been confided to the care of the National Government. This may be so ; but it is at the same time very far from proving that all the arable land will soon be actually cultivated. In the West as well as in the South there is yet a vast amount of virgin soil, which has long ago become private property ; and the improved land in both those regions is mostly cultivated in a manner to make the heart of a New England or European farmer ache. It is natural that the milk should not be properly taken care of so long as the pans and cans are full to overflowing with cream. But the United States will not cease exporting when their own wants have so much increased that they can no longer afford to feast upon the *capital* which Nature has presented to them, in the shape of boundless tracts of fertile lands never before touched by a ploughshare. When manure has ceased to be a nuisance in the West, the arms with which the European and the American agriculturist have to contend will have become a little less unequal ; but it will be a long time before they are really equal in length and in weight. It may not long be the case that wheat, corn, beef, pork, etc. can be produced quite so cheaply in the United States as now ; but the quantities produced will yet increase enormously, and the constant improvements in the means of transportation will allow of their being sent across the Atlantic much longer than Europe can afford to stick to her old political system with its huge standing armies. And if, after all, the competition of the United States with agricultural products should soon become less formidable, on the other hand their competition with industrial products is already now in several respects alarming, and every year adds to the number of articles which they can offer us cheaper and better than we can manufacture them. While we are thus being crowded out of the domain which has thus far furnished us the means to pay the United States and other countries for part of our victuals and all sorts of raw materials, the budget of the Department of War is constantly tightening the tax screw. We are spending an ever-increasing part of the fruits of our labor for our armies and navies, while the United States pay off their debts at an unparalleled rate, and pile up mountains of wealth. Lean Jonathan bids fair to acquire in less than no time the portly dimensions of John Bull, and the Continental cousins are in danger of soon finding even Jonathan's cast-off clothing too wide for their shrinking limbs. We burn the candle on the upper end, and at the other the heat of American competition melts away the grease.

The armies and navies of Continental Europe cost at present,

in round numbers, \$548,000,000 annually, or \$1.77 per head of the population; while in the United States, according to the budget of 1880-81, every inhabitant has on the average to pay almost exactly one dollar for the maintenance of the armed force. Considerable as this difference is, it does not constitute even half the actual difference between the weight of the military burden of Europe and that of the United States. An army does not only cost what has to be expended for its maintenance, but also what it does not earn. The withdrawal of such a number of able-bodied men in their very best years from productive labor is, perhaps, even of greater moment than the direct expense of maintaining them as soldiers. And the standing armies of Continental Europe number about 3,215,000 men, or a little over one per cent of the whole population; while the United States have an army of — if we remember correctly — 25,000 men, or $\frac{1}{20}$ per cent of the whole population. This fact alone gives the United States an almost incalculable advantage over Europe; and so long as the latter does not change her present political system, this advantage must swell into more and more gigantic proportions.

The United States are almost absolutely sure of being never again involved in a serious war, unless they choose themselves to wage a war of conquest, or passion drives them into a war on a mere punctilio of honor. It would be simply madness for any power to attack them, for nothing could be gained from them, while even a victorious war with them would entail terrible losses and sacrifices upon the aggressor. Another civil war in the United States is still more out of the question. Since slavery has been wiped out, there is not the slightest trace of an "irrepressible conflict" between any two sections of the Union left; while literally every day new bonds of material interest are created and the old ones strengthened throughout the whole length and breadth of the country, and what may be termed inter-sectional ignorance, with its prejudices, misunderstandings, and intolerance, disappears more and more under the benign influence of railroads, telegraphs, and the growing density of population. No section of the country as such can ever again wish to have these ties severed, while every individual — not even the unprincipled demagogue excepted, provided he has brains enough to look beyond the morrow — has a growing personal interest in keeping ruthless hands from them. The army of the United States will, therefore, remain a special police for the Indians and unlooked for emergencies; and though we are inclined to think that a small increase of it is among the probabilities of a near future, it is not likely even to keep pace with the growth of the population.

How different with the standing armies of Europe! The occasion for the confession of those in authority that the complaints of the

people over the military burdens are justified, has been almost invariably the demand to have those burdens yet increased. And the representatives of the people, after doing full justice to the feelings of their tax-ridden constituents and their own heavy hearts by eloquent denunciations of the incubus of armed peace, have always granted what the governments asked. The worst of it, however, is that, so long as the present political system prevails, no reflecting patriot can blame either the Government or the representatives of the people, although there is evidently no stopping in this sliding down the inclined plane with ever-increasing velocity. Each State drags and pushes all the others along, and amid sighs and wailings each seems bent upon being the leader in this wild and suicidal race towards the precipice.

And that is not all. While the European powers are thus draining their veins of their very life-blood, they send every year an enormous amount of capital to that very Republic on the other side of the Atlantic which already has a larger population than any of them, — Russia alone excepted, — and yet has scarcely more than half as many troops as little Belgium, and which is as yet hardly able to have even an adequate conception of the vastness of its natural resources. There is some grim humor in the curious fact that the Old World, while it is being crowded to the wall by the United States, has to go on playing toward them the part of the rich man, in whose annual budget the help which he has to give his young offspring forms an item of considerable moment. We do not speak of the money only which is brought every year into the United States by the stream of immigration ; that is the least, though it is by no means a trifle. The bulk of the immigrants are able-bodied, laborious, and self-relying men and women in the prime of life, or this side of it, and children of all ages. In order to estimate correctly the economical value of this yearly present from Europe, it is not enough to ask how much cash the immigrants bring along, and what their other property is worth. One has to add what their bringing up, their schooling and training, has cost the countries whence they come, — an expense which, of course, the United States would have incurred if they had been born and brought up in the Union. All these items together represent, according to the best authority, over a million dollars for every day of the year, and the loss to Europe evidently corresponds with the gain to the United States.

However it be with the "dream of eternal peace," here is an array of plain facts which cannot be reasoned away, and their direct logical consequence is that it cannot go on so forever. Some remedy must be found, if Europe would remain the abode of the highest type of civilization. The experiences of the last century, and especially of the

last decade, have taught in a fearfully impressive way how easily real and pretended grievances can lash the masses into madness and lead to the most terrible political and social convulsions; and this is certainly, through its direct and indirect effects, one of the principal sources of that spirit of unrest, discontent, and bitterness which keeps the masses in a state of constant fermentation. One must be blind not to see that some day the masses may be tempted to take the problem into their own hands, and try to solve it after the fashion of the famous Dr. Eizenbart of the German nursery rhymes, who cured the goitre by strangling the patient. But even if these revolutionary dangers should be averted, Europe must nevertheless be more and more distanced by the New World in the race of civilization, because growing wealth is an absolute pre-requisite of growing civilization; and if Europe proves incapable of devising some means to get out of this difficulty, a gradual and steady impoverishment must ultimately set in. Thus far, however, the European nations have not betrayed such a moral and mental decay that they are likely to resign themselves to their hapless fate with folded arms. They will become fully aware of the danger which threatens them ere it is too late; and when they clearly discern the true character and the whole import of the problem, they will be equal to its solution, as they have been heretofore equal to the solution of no less intricate and difficult problems. Their past history and their actual moral and mental vigor justify the firm conviction that it will and must be so. The modern school of pessimists may ask, whether there is and can be an Ariadne-thread to guide us out of the labyrinth into which we have been enticed by the state-craft of the past centuries. We prefer to believe that the only real question is, where and how soon we shall find the end of that thread.

If all the principal European powers had exactly the same military and economical resources, even the pessimists would probably not despair of a satisfactory solution of the problem. The greatest obstacle in the way of a reform is at all events their inequality in both respects. Those that are stronger will not begin with the disarming, for they will listen to the promptings of their ambition and cherish the desire to settle old accounts, so long as the bleeding affects them less than their rivals; and the weaker ones cannot take the initiative in reducing their armies, because they would be sure to have to pay dearly for it. Germany knows full well that she is much poorer than France, and that therefore the odds must be the greater against her the longer the system of armed peace is maintained. But the argument with which Moltke supported the last demand of the Government for an increase of the army is unanswerable, — armed peace is after all much cheaper than war. To wage a new war would

not be a remedy, but only a makeshift, even if France should again be beaten as badly as she was in 1870-71. The day of revenge would be postponed ; but the recuperative forces of France would still be much greater than those of Germany, and Germany would still form the heart of the continent, with exposed frontiers and surrounded by embittered or at least jealous neighbors. Alliances are also at best only palliatives. Yet woe to Germany, if her statesmen ever get either so haughty that they do not deem them necessary, or so unskilful that they are not able to find any ! But also woe to her, if she ever makes alliances the main pillar of her safety ! Her own strength must be in future, as it is now, the granite foundation on which she bases her existence. So long as Germany is armed to the teeth, it is, however, absolutely idle to expect that the other great powers will begin to disarm.

Where, then, is the saving gate in this maze ? Shall we not be relentlessly driven around by these irrefutable facts in this *circulus vitiosus*, till we break down in utter exhaustion, being denied even the poor privilege "to die game" ? We candidly confess that we derive little comfort from the better moral and religious education to which Moltke points us ; and still less are we inclined to throw ourselves into the arms of peace-societies denouncing the wickedness of war, or of learned professors expatiating upon the advantages of international courts of arbitration. Far be it from us to ridicule or belittle the exertions of those who fight the good fight with these and similar arms. They have already attained much that deserves the gratitude of mankind, and they will render yet greater services in the course of time. But this is a disease which cannot be cured with poultices, though they may alleviate the pains. It is at least not yet time to think at all of a cure ; that is the task of that remote future to which Moltke looks, and upon which it is rather idle to speculate. All we can do, or ought to do, is to force the disease into another stage of development ; and that can only be done by adopting the homœopathic maxim,—*similia similibus curantur*.

Germany is of all the great powers by far the most exposed, partly on account of her geographical situation, and partly in consequence of her whole history and her peculiar political structure. Germany, therefore, must initiate the reformatory movement ; but she can do so only by enhancing and not by reducing her military strength. Before we state how, according to our opinion, this will have to be done, we must answer the inquiry how this advice is made to agree with the assertion that the reform is necessitated by the unbearable economical pressure ; for every increase of the military strength must evidently be accompanied by larger expenses. That is so ; and we should indeed refute our own argument if we should assert

that instantaneous relief is absolutely necessary or even at all possible. We are, however, of opinion that it is neither. We have to deal with a case in which the first step towards a cure is to subject the patient for a while to greater sufferings ; but as he is able to stand them, and the physicians do not know of any other treatment promising the same results, he ought to submit to them. It is a very foolish thing to draw continually upon one's capital to defray the daily expenses ; but it is a matter of course that part of the capital has to be sacrificed, if thereby alone future ruin can be averted. This is no simile. Such is exactly the case of Germany. That is the great advantage which Europe has over the United States, — that she has an immense capital, the accumulated fruits of the labor of many centuries. Thanks to that, the Germans have even in these hard times not ceased for a single moment to lay something aside for a rainy day. The accounts of the savings banks leave no doubt about that ; and they constitute but a very small item in the general increase of national wealth, which has not assumed the shape of the precious metals or of stocks and bonds. The Germans themselves are very much inclined greatly to undervalue their economical resources, partly because great individual wealth is seldom to be found among them, and partly because in comparing their situation with that of other nations they are apt to forget that a pound in England does by no means go so far as twenty marks, or a dollar in the United States so far as four marks and twenty-five pennies, in Germany. Though nothing could save Germany from ultimate ruin if she were to allow the actual political system with its ever-increasing standing armies to run on in its natural course of development without check or hindrance, yet she is amply rich enough considerably to enhance her military expenses for a while in order to effect the necessary change. The economical competition of the United States is also but just powerful enough to urge her on with irresistible force, but not to crush her in spite of all she might do. The New World is only so far a danger to the Old World, as the short-sighted and stubborn conservatism of the latter refuses to acknowledge that a new order of things is being established. There was a time when the New England States looked with ill-concealed jealousy and grave apprehensions upon what used to be the far West ; but they have long since learned that their own prosperity and power grow with the growth of the West, though they could not afford to cling to their wonted economical system. Two or three centuries ago it was a generally accepted maxim, that the property of a State had to be fed upon the marrow of other States. Let us beware of applying this exploded barbaric idea to the relations of Europe and America ! Europe has but to imitate the example of the New England States, — that is to say, to adapt her economical sys-

tem to the altered circumstances, — and she will not only hold her own, but continue to grow in wealth and in everything that is comprised in the word civilization, just as the United States are doing.

If it be admitted that this argumentation is certain, or at least likely, to stand the test of practical experience, the last question must also admit of a satisfactory answer. We do not propose to imitate the example of Jove, and let Minerva in full panoply spring from our brains. The greatest genius would not be equal to the task of drawing up a complete programme, well-digested and perfectly satisfactory in every detail ; and the participation even of the collective political wisdom of the country in the work will surely not save Germany from stumbling into many grave blunders. But we think that the general character of the reform, the direction in which Germany is to move, can be indicated with sufficient certainty. Perhaps that would not be so if she had to introduce some new principle into her political system ; but according to our opinion she need only further develop the principle adopted by the fathers, and in our days and in theirs fully tested in the crucible of tremendous wars.

In the days of Germany's deepest humiliation Scharnhorst unearthed the principle of former ages, that every able-bodied man owes his arm and his blood to the Commonwealth, and adapted it to the exigencies of modern civilized life. Prussia had been forced by treaty stipulations to reduce her army to 42,000 men ; but the great patriot with the unpretentious and even ungainly exterior, but vast brain and indomitable will, silently and stealthily laid the ground-work for the *allgemeine Wehrpflicht*. The world knew nothing of the constant coming and going of the Prussian recruits, as it knew nothing of Wellington's lines at Torres Vedras until Massena's march was suddenly arrested by them in the very moment when he had become satisfied that the doom of the English army was at last sealed. When the day of retribution came, Frederic William III. hardly trusted his eyes, when he saw what hosts responded to his appeal "To my People!" The world had learned to look upon down-trodden Prussia as almost annihilated, and the king himself had thought that she was only to act as a very inferior auxiliary to the Russian army, while in fact she had to bear for a long time the brunt of the battle. Well may Prussia point with pride to those days, for never before has the world seen anything like it : after a few months every seventeenth inhabitant stood in arms against the oppressor. Then and there the corner-stone of the new German Empire was laid.

Heaven grant that Germany may never again be called upon to make similar exertions ! But the best and the only sure way to avert forever the danger is to let the world know that she is willing and able for her national existence to make at any moment the same exertions

in a much more efficient manner. Then the peasants often resorted to the butt-end of their guns, because thus they could do better execution than by loading and discharging them; and those to whom the defence of the country against detached parties of the enemy had to be confided had frequently but spears, sickles, and clubs as weapons. Now every man ought to be able to take his aim, to wheel into line, and to reform a broken line; in short every man ought to be in so far a trained and drilled soldier that he is an adversary to be counted with, whenever an enemy tries to beard the lion in his den. And the only way to attain that is for Germany now to carry the principle of the *allgemeine Wehrpflicht* fully as far as her savage ancestors and the civilized Greeks and Romans did. Her boys must be drilled; her schools must become the nurseries of her armies.

We shall enumerate all the principal objections against this idea, and try to refute them with a few words; fully acknowledging, however, that every one of them has some weight.

The liberal doctrinaires of the more radical schools will probably refuse to discuss the proposition at all. They will be satisfied to denounce it with holy horror as an attempt to poison the very fountain with that cursed spirit of military despotism which pervades the whole life of Continental Europe. But perhaps it will serve to allay their fears a little if their attention is called to the fact, that as ardent votaries of liberty as they have not shared their apprehensions. Switzerland has already in some degree realized the idea, and we have yet to learn that military despotism has been the consequence. It might be, but it need not be, the consequence; and therefore this objection cannot be acknowledged as an absolute one, though it ought to render Germany very careful in regard to the manner in which the realization of the idea is attempted. We are inclined to think that the danger would be considerably lessened by strictly confining the military spirit to the drilling, and scrupulously excluding it from the general instruction; while it would be evidently a great mistake to suppose that the simplest and surest way to avoid the dreaded consequence would be to give the drilling as much as possible an indifferent character, at least as to the discipline. A mere playing at soldiers would be worse than nothing; while on the other hand the full military rigor in this branch of the obligatory instruction might be of great service in the hitherto vain attempts to regain full possession of a good of inestimable value, which the Germans and all other nations are losing every day more and more. All standing armies and all wars are mere trifles in comparison to the dangers arising from the undeniable fact, that the sense of duty is getting more and more blunted in all strata of society. The world is sure ere long to see horrors, compared with which the Reign of Terror in the first

French Revolution was but child's play, if we do not succeed in reconquering this priceless possession for our children. And as infidelity is steadily worming its way into the masses, without being accompanied by philosophy with the "categorical imperative" of the Koenigsberg thinker, there is perhaps nothing which could do so much towards re-kindling in the bosoms of our children this spark from the heavenly fire as such a military training in the impressible years of boyhood. Before their minds and their consciences have become stultified by hearing too much of the general clamoring for rights, they would become accustomed to the bridle of a peremptory "you must!" They would learn by their own experience that there is and has to be in the world such a thing as absolute subordination; they would be at the same time curbed and elated by becoming conscious of the fact that they are not only individuals with the desires and rights of individuals, but also integral parts of a great whole, and therefore morally and legally bound by stern duties.

"We grant all that, but your idea cannot be executed; the practical difficulties are insurmountable." That is the answer we have generally received from officers with whom we have frequently argued the question. We will not reply, "Where there is a will, there is a way;" but we do say: Where there is a necessity, there a way must be found, though it may not be the macadamized main street of a city, but merely an abominable corduroy-road. That we have no magician's wand to create a turnpike road over which the gentlemen can travel straight on without putting themselves to any inconvenience certainly does not prove that time and experience will not decide the question in our favor. We think that we could point out a fence or two from which some rails might be got for the corduroy; and possibly those most competent to devise the means for carrying out the reform could not do much more at the first start. That is, however, only an additional reason for beginning the work at once. The first experiments will have to be on a small scale; but as Germany goes on learning by experimenting she will become able to extend them. Great reforms never have been and never will be achieved in any other way, unless they are ushered in by a revolution; and then they are always followed by a reaction.

"And what will have been gained," we were asked the other day by an old general, "when what you are pleased to call a reform has been fully carried out, and everything has been attained that even you can possibly expect from it? You don't suppose that this drilling of schoolboys can make efficient soldiers?" Certainly not. We have already intimated that, according to our opinion, it is as yet perfectly idle to speculate about the question how the standing armies could be completely done away with. Therefore

we cannot be guilty of the absurdity of imagining that it could be done in this way. In future, as heretofore, we shall need real soldiers ; and nobody can become a real soldier except by going through the regular drill as a soldier under the strictest discipline, the whole time being devoted to this one object. But how much time is required for this purpose ? That is a question of the utmost importance, and in this respect we confidently believe a great deal could and would be gained. For many years some of the political parties of Germany have been striving to have the time of service reduced to two years, while the Government insists upon three years. But we are yet to find the first lieutenant who does not really admit that a considerable percentage of the men are already in two years as efficient as they need be, and that more would be so if they were not kept back by the worst part. All the drill masters, too, assert that a very long time is needed to overcome the general bodily awkwardness and mental heaviness of the recruits. How, then, can it be said that nothing would be gained by beginning the training before all the limbs have become stiff and clumsy, and the brains comparatively dull with regard to everything that lies outside the general routine ? Even if it should be impossible to extend the drilling in the schools to the manipulation of the gun, why could the boys not be taught to keep their bodies straight ? Why could they not learn to march and to make all the ordinary evolutions ? Why could they not go through that course of gymnastics which afterward nearly breaks the bones of those burly fellows, until they have learned that the muscles and sinews of the human body can be made to work like springs ? If the boys have learned all that, and care has been taken that they do not forget it again in the time which with the masses usually intervenes between the school years and the period of their entering the army, who can deny that the same could be accomplished in much less time than three years ? If the time of service could be reduced but one year, it would be an enormous gain ; and then afterward it could probably be shortened yet more for at least a part of the troops. These would possibly not be quite so efficient as our soldiers now are, but they would still be efficient enough, considering that the *allgemeine Wehrpflicht*, which is now but the principle, would then have become a fact.

Most military men emphatically deny that thereby the military strength of the nation would be increased, if the standard of the individual training should be lowered. This brings us to the decisive point. One need not be a military expert in order to know that the strength of an army does not depend solely upon its numbers. Germany would undoubtedly weaken herself by drilling a larger percentage of her male population, if in consequence of that the efficiency

of the individual soldier should fall below a certain standard; and we candidly confess that, according to our idea, the standard weight should be considerably lowered for the sake of gaining time. We deem this idea entirely compatible with true patriotism; because, though the offensive strength of Germany would be diminished, she would be fully as strong and even stronger than before in defending her own soil against any aggressor. We are sufficiently well read in the history of wars to know that the best way to defend oneself is frequently and vigorously to attack. We are, therefore, far from ignoring that there is a serious drawback to our proposition; but we do not believe that it outweighs the advantages. Nothing is absolutely given to a people; everything worth having must be paid for in some way or other. Germany would have to pay for the contemplated boon by more or less foregoing the advantage of being able to ward off an intended blow by a timely thrust. But, on the other hand, the rival powers would be likely soon to assume a less threatening attitude towards her if they were perfectly sure that they had nothing to fear from her, and at the same time had reason to expect that they would be sent home with bruised limbs whenever they tried to interfere in her affairs. This condition being once attained by her, others would soon begin to imitate her example; and then a new volume for the annals of Europe would be opened by the recording angel with a smile of satisfaction.

The longer we have meditated upon this great problem, the more we have become satisfied that the next important step forward towards its solution is the return to the principle of the classical age and of our own ancestors, that the educating of the citizen for his first and paramount duty,—the defence of his country in case of need,—has to begin in the years of boyhood. Yet we are quite ready to admit that this opinion may after all be erroneous. Of one thing we are, however, quite certain. The means by which the reform will be effected may be doubtful; but the reform itself, which has to precede all serious attempts to realize the “dream” of eternal peace, must consist in a decrease of the offensive military strength of the principal States, and in a corresponding increase of their power of defence; and Germany must initiate this reform.

H. VON HOLST.

WHAT MAKES THE RATE OF INTEREST?

THE late discussion of the Funding Bill, and the effort to prescribe a rate of interest by act of Congress, has called the attention of the writer to some considerations as to what really determines the rate of interest. That is to say, what will be the current rate on absolutely safe investments, such as the bonds of a strong and solvent Government in any given State or country at any given time?

In the treatment of this question, the first requisite is to clear away the rubbish. The first confusing element of what may be called rubbish is the idea that interest is paid for the use of the money. When a transaction involving a borrowing and a lending occurs, money is used only as an instrument of exchange and as the standard of value. The thing lent and the thing borrowed is what the money will buy. No man is foolish enough to borrow money except to spend, and in the vast majority of transactions only the title to money passes in the form of check, draft, or bill of exchange.

Another element of rubbish which obscures this question is the common idea that the rate of interest depends in any permanent degree upon the abundance or scarcity of the notes which serve as a substitute for money. Great fluctuations may occur, or may be promoted by able and unscrupulous men, in the rate charged for what is called money for short periods, wherever the lawful money consists in any part of notes which are a legal tender. This is true whether such notes are nominally convertible into coin on demand or not; but this is a question more intimately connected with the banking system and with short loans than it is with the permanent rate of interest on long loans of a perfectly safe order.

Two examples of these temporary changes in the rate may be remembered. First, the panic of 1866; when the stock gamblers of New York withdrew inconvertible legal-tender notes from the reserves of the banks, thus causing a fluctuation in what was miscalled the "premium on gold," and affecting the prices of stocks which were largely held on short loans for merely speculative purposes. This occurrence could not have happened had the reserve of the banks consisted of true money in coin, and not of dishonored promises of money.

The second example is the recent ridiculous disturbance in the loan market growing out of the attempt of certain banks to protect themselves against the effort which was made by what was known as the

"Carlisle bill," to subject them to a forced loan under the pretext of refunding a portion of the national debt.

Each of these occurrences merely constituted a temporary scarcity of instruments of exchange, which had been substituted for true money under the legal-tender act. This act continues to work as much mischief after the United States notes have been made nominally redeemable in coin as it did before; and it will continue to do so until the legal-tender function of United States notes is disallowed by the Supreme Court, or repealed by Congress.¹ But as to any permanent effect upon the rate of interest on safe loans of capital, these incidents had about as much effect as a temporary scarcity of wheelbarrows would have upon the construction of a great railroad, and no more; except to the extent in which they tended to impair the confidence of capitalists in the stability of the laws relating to coinage and to banks, and therefore checked or retarded investments of a permanent kind. There was just as much capital to be lent and borrowed the week after each of these disturbances as there was the week before; and while they prevailed, the rate of interest on safe mortgages did not vary in any degree, nor was the advancing price of well-situated real estate retarded at all. Such fluctuations in rate are not, in any true sense, changes in the rate of interest on capital; nor are they changes in the rate of interest on true money in gold coin: they are fluctuations in the charge made for the use of paper instruments of exchange, which under a false and vicious act of legislation have been, and are now, forced into use as a substitute for true money. Their quantity being in the nature of the case limited, these notes can, to use the cant term of the stock jobber, "be cornered,"—as they were on the black Friday in 1866, and, without the same intention however, in the late flurry when so many banks sent legal-tender notes to the Treasury, wherewith to redeem their own promises to pay money. The way to abate these malignant fluctuations, which give unscrupulous men who possess wealth the opportunity to fleece their victims, is to declare these fraudulent instruments, known as the legal-tender notes of the United States, to be unlawful. True money cannot be "cornered."

The first element in determining the true rate of interest at any given period must be, not the amount of notes, but the quantity of

¹ In fact all the original legal-tender acts passed in time of war, and only justified under the necessity of war, have been absolutely repealed by the act of 1874 for the revision of the statutes; and the Supreme Court has decided, and lately re-affirmed its decision, that the revised statute is the only law of the land. The points soon to be presented to the Court will be the new questions among others,—(1) Whether a re-issued note is legal tender under any act; (2) Whether a legal-tender act making a United States note lawful money, passed in a time of profound peace without warrant in any assumed necessity, can be sustained.

actual capital which exists at a given time in a reproductive form ; that is to say, in corn and potatoes, iron and steel, cotton, wool, lumber, lead, etc. It is this capital which is borrowed and lent by the measure of money ; it is for the use of this capital that interest is paid.

The second element which affects the rate of interest is the demand for capital ; and this is determined mainly by the intelligence of the people who desire to borrow, and their opportunity to use the capital which may be placed at their disposal.

These seem to be very elementary propositions ; but I think it will appear that they are very far from being comprehended in their real scope and bearing, however elementary they may seem to be at the first glance. If any man desires to settle this point in his own mind, let him undertake to determine why the specific rate of interest on the safest investments was six to eight per cent for a long period before the war, and why the rate of interest on the safest investments is to-day three to four per cent on the same class of transactions.

In order to come to a definite conclusion, it may be well, first, to consider the effect of the reduction in the cost of moving the commodities which constitute the active capital of the country, from place to place, during a given period. We will choose the period which has elapsed since Jan. 1, 1866, at which date the armies engaged in the Civil War had been disbanded, and prior to which date the debt of the United States attained its greatest amount. This amount, according to the books of the country, was a little over \$2,750,000,000 ; but to this sum the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, in his last report as the Secretary of the Treasury, added an estimate of \$250,000,000 of unliquidated debt due at that period ; that is to say, debt actually due, but which was not entered upon the books of the country until an equal reduction had been made upon the liquidated debt which had been entered. His computation showed the maximum debt on Aug. 31, 1865, liquidated and unliquidated, to have been a small fraction under three thousand millions of dollars.

For the purpose of determining what has been actually saved to the producers and consumers of products moved by railroad, and therefore to the nation as a whole, I have chosen the traffic of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, forming a part of one of the consolidated lines between New York and Chicago, — an example of a great corporation which now does the largest service at the least cost to the community. In the years 1866 to 1869 inclusive, there were moved upon this line 10,102,569 tons of all descriptions of merchandise, for which a charge was made of \$50,556,875 in currency ; or, reduced to gold, \$36,560,000. Between the years 1870 and 1879 inclusive, there were moved upon this line 60,221,553 tons of merchandise, at a charge of \$174,594,548 in currency ; or, reduced

to gold, \$159,658,000. Had the rate charged in the first period been continued without reduction, and been charged upon the traffic of the second period, the excess of such charge over and above the actual payment would have been, computed in gold throughout both periods, over one hundred and twenty million dollars. The actual tons of merchandise moved over this line, consisting in large proportion of food, constitute substantially one twentieth part of the tons moved on all the railroads of the United States. The receipts of this line for the years 1870 to 1879 have constituted within a fraction of one twentieth of the freight receipts of all the railroads of the United States.

The reduction in rates has been in the same proportion on all the great through lines from west to east, but not so great on side lines and feeders, or on Southern and South-western traffic. It is, however, perfectly safe and far within bounds to assume that on the average the saving on all lines has been one half to three fourths that on the New York Central line. At the ratio of one half, the total saving to the whole country in the cost of moving merchandise from 1870 to 1879 inclusive, a period of ten years, as compared to the rates charged from 1866 to 1869 inclusive, has been *twelve hundred million dollars in gold coin*, or one hundred million dollars more than the reduction of the national debt since the war ended, sixteen years since.¹

The next consideration is, to whom has this saving chiefly inured? It is difficult to apportion it, but an approximation can be made. The through traffic in farm products from west to east far exceeds the traffic in manufactured products or imports from east to west. We therefore limit our consideration to the question, What class has gained most from the reduction on the charge on moving merchandise? The answer will be, The farmers; and this cannot be gainsaid.

For the purpose of proving this allegation, I have procured a statement of the average prices of a given quality of flour, wheat, corn, oats, beef, pork, lard, butter, and wool, in the markets of New York from 1869 to 1880 inclusive. I have then computed the value at each period of twenty barrels of flour, ten barrels of beef, ten barrels of pork, one hundred bushels of wheat, one hundred of corn, one hundred of oats, one hundred pounds of butter, one hundred of lard, and one hundred pounds of wool in New York, in currency and in gold. The gold standard may fairly be taken as the true standard in this case, because the price of the eight articles first named has depended

¹ For a more complete and detailed analysis of this subject, reference may be had to an article by the writer on "The Railroad and the Farmer," in the first number of the "Journal of the American Agricultural Association."

throughout this period upon what the excess would bring for export ; and the price of wool has been determined by the cost of the foreign importations. The quantity considered weighs a fraction under thirteen tons. I find that the gold value of these articles in New York in these proportions in 1869 was $\$632\frac{68}{100}$; in 1880 it was $\$631\frac{32}{100}$.

Applying the actual charge made by the New York Central and Lake Shore line to Chicago to the movement of this quantity of produce in 1869, and assuming that the rate in each period upon these articles was three fifths the average charge on all merchandise, the cost of moving thirteen tons from Chicago to New York in 1869 was $\$185\frac{84}{100}$; in 1879 $\$61\frac{62}{100}$, — difference $\$124\frac{22}{100}$. As the price fell only a fraction the farmers received this difference. It follows that the farmer who could send produce to New York from the place where he produced it in 1869, and come out whole, made this additional profit in 1880 ; it was so much added to his capital. He may have made more, as will presently appear ; because, although he may have paid higher wages in the latter period than in the former, he used better and more effective machinery, and his cost of production was less. This sum saved on the cost of moving merchandise over the line east of Chicago was also available to extend the transportation over such distances to the west of Chicago as it represents at the traffic rates of 1879 over such western lines. We may say that the difference would suffice to cover the present charge on five to eight hundred miles of transportation west of Chicago, and that therefore the farmer located at five to eight hundred miles greater distance from Chicago than the farmer of 1869 is as well off now as he was then. His capital has been absolutely created by this possibility of moving it.

The enormous influence of this fact in enabling the excess of eastern population and the immigrants to distribute themselves over the far West will be obvious ; and it accounts for the fact that while the railroad mileage has increased in the ratio of one hundred per cent since the first of January 1869, — that is to say, we have now two miles of railroad where we then had one, — the grain crops have increased in the ratio of sixty-four per cent, both these rates of increase being far beyond the ratio of the increase of population. There has therefore been not only a great saving in the movement of the products which could be raised within the limit of transportation of 1869, but an enormous increase in the power of producing and selling farm products beyond that limit. It may therefore be affirmed that no man in this broad land has been obliged to work a single additional day in order that the payment of $\$1,100,000,000$ on the national debt might be made. This payment has all been saved in the mere cost of distributing our products. If the debt payment has been covered by

the reduction in the cost of transportation, and the crops of grain have been increased in a ratio considerably greater than that of the increase of population, — the increase upon cotton and all the metals having been yet more, — it then follows that the whole of this excess of production over the rate of the increase of population constitutes so much addition to the quick or active capital of the country. In other words, the labor of production and distribution has been diminished, and the quantity of things produced has been increased in yet greater measure.

The immense force which the saving on railway charges represents will be more fully realized by a consideration of the following almost incredible statement: Over 8,000, perhaps 10,000, miles of new railroad will be constructed in the United States in the year 1881; assuming that they will cost \$25,000 per mile, the total expenditure will reach \$250,000,000, — possibly *three hundred million dollars*; yet the latter sum is less than the amount saved in the single year of 1879 in the rate charged on the merchandise moved in that year, as compared to the rate charged from 1866 to 1869 inclusive.

The proof of this may be found in the following facts: The charge made by the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad for moving 9,441,213 tons in 1879 was \$18,270,550. (Rate per ton per mile .7954 cents.) Had the charge been as high as it was in 1866 and 1869 inclusive, reducing the charge of that period to gold (currency rate 1866 and 1869 2.7058, — gold rate, same period, 1.9567 cents per ton per mile), the sum would have been \$44,920,550. The saving was therefore \$26,650,000 for this single year on this single line. This corporation has for the last fourteen years performed substantially one-twentieth part of the railway service of the United States. At this ratio, the saving on all lines would have been \$533,000,000. After making all reasonable allowance for the fact that all lines have not reduced their rates as much as this line has, there would yet remain at least *three hundred million dollars* difference on this year's work.

The saving effected in the cost of moving the commodities which constituted the quick capital of the country in 1879, as compared with the previous period considered, — which period was the one in which railroad consolidation and really effective service first began, — was therefore equal to the measure of the cost of all the railroads built in 1880; and the saving of 1880 would suffice for the construction of ten thousand miles in 1881.

The titles to these products measured in money and expressed in bills of exchange, notes, drafts, and checks are deposited with banks and bankers. The seller of wheat, corn, or cotton parts with his property and receives for it a check or draft, entitling him to the measure of his sale in money; not needing the money, he deposits

this title with his banker. The buyer of cotton, needing means wherewith to pay for it, borrows of the bank its notes, which are titles to money, and then exchanges them for cotton ; he pays interest for the use of the cotton, and not for the use of the money. It is the abundance of wheat, corn, and cotton which in part determines the rate of interest. The rate of interest must therefore be determined by their abundance relative to the demand for their use.

Reference has been made to the decrease in the labor-cost of farm products in the period under consideration, growing out of the application of new and better tools and machinery to agriculture. The same rule has held in respect to every other branch of industry: in manufactures, mining, metallurgy, and the treatment of timber the labor-cost has been greatly reduced ; while all wages, measured in gold, have advanced. Herein lies the secret of the great increase of capital in proportion to the use which has been made of it between Jan. 1, 1870, and Jan. 1, 1880, — a period which covers the panic of 1873 and the years of depression and hardship which ensued: in that period the productive power of each human unit constituting the aggregate man of the United States has been increased fully one third ; therefore, what is called money — that is capital — has been in excessive abundance throughout that whole period. These facts make it apparent that the depression which existed from 1873 until the partial re-establishment of the specie standard Jan. 1, 1879, could neither be attributed to want of capital nor to want of the mechanical apparatus for its distribution. We must therefore seek for the causes of "hard times" in some other direction ; and we shall find them to have been almost wholly of a metaphysical kind.

It is held that the depression and hardship which marked this period were mainly due to four causes: (1) The use of a false standard of value — the dishonored legal-tender notes — as the instruments of exchange ; (2) A complex and obstructive system of taxation both State and National ; (3) The continuance of the antagonism of sections after the cause had been removed ; and (4) The repudiation of State and Municipal obligations. The statement of these four obstacles to the distribution of our superabundant capital leads to the consideration of the second element which determines the rate of interest at a given time ; but before we treat this branch of the subject, let us analyze the idea of interest.

When the money-lender of London lends the spendthrift on a *post-obit*, the principal charge is not for interest, but is a sort of gambling insurance premium. When capital is now lent in California at a high rate, the larger part of the rate is the charge made for the risk of lending under the present bad constitution. When capital is sought for use in Virginia, or in many other Southern and some Northern

States, it may either be refused, or the rate may be high, because there can be no rule by which to compute the danger of lending to the citizens of a State when the State itself repudiates a debt that it could easily make arrangements to fund and ultimately to pay. It may sometimes be a hardship to pay a State debt, but it is a much greater hardship upon its citizens to repudiate one. But after we have eliminated the element of insurance from the rate charged for the use of capital, there still remains the question of what controls the demand by which the true rate of interest is finally determined. In this country the opportunity to use capital in reproductive enterprises is as wide as the area of the solvent States: the difficulty is not want of opportunity, but want of individual ability to make such use of the capital borrowed as will enable the borrower not only to pay the interest, but to make a profit for himself. This is a mental, not a material question. The ability to use borrowed capital on a large and profitable scale is a rare capacity, and whoever possesses it can always command a high price for his services. The capacity to use borrowed capital in even a moderate way is limited to a small proportion of those who are struggling for subsistence. There are, perhaps, a hundred men who can save a little capital from their daily work to one to whom it is safe to lend that capital for use in productive enterprises. Witness the great number of depositors in the Savings Banks of Massachusetts, and the far less number to whom the managers can lend those deposits with safety. It would be useless to attempt to follow this last analysis to its conclusion within the limits of this article. In general it may be said that the productive capacity of this country has, during the last decade, outrun the social, political, and industrial education of the people. The very low rate of interest now paid for the use of capital, — or, in other words, the very small income that can now be earned on capital that is lent on the safest security, — is due less to want of opportunity to use it than to want of confidence in the capacity or character of those who enjoy the opportunity; but who could, if morally, mentally, and physically well trained, find ways to employ every dollar's worth of substance, which is produced in the land. If all our common laborers, especially in the Southern States, possessed more skill, and could direct their labor more intelligently, there would be quicker demand for all our capital. If all States were free from repudiation, their people would not suffer for need of capital. It may follow that a very low rate of interest in a country of such unlimited possibilities as our own is not a matter to boast of overmuch, although it may enable us to reduce the burden of interest on our debt. Such a saving is but a trifle, and could well be spared if we could safely and surely apply our means to the more complete use of our immense advantages. But the mental

and moral changes which must occur in order to assure quicker and safe demand for capital must be of slow growth, and it now seems probable, to say the least, that the normal rate of interest on safe investments will be very low for a long period.

In order that the full effect of the changes which I have attempted to depict upon the proportion of active capital may be fully appreciated, it must be remembered that as a rule the larger part of each year's production is consumed in mere subsistence, and that under normal conditions only a very small portion can be added to the fixed or invested capital of a country. Hence it follows that the application of such new forces as we have witnessed during the period which has elapsed since the war ended, — namely, free labor, free railroads, a free banking system, the extension of the telegraph, the telephone, and the vast improvements in machinery, — while they may have increased the potentiality of each human unit only twenty-five or thirty-three per cent, and the aggregate of production in a somewhat greater ratio, they have so increased the excess as compared to the cost or need of subsistence as to have doubled, trebled, or even quadrupled the active capital which may be saved for future use. An increase of production of only twenty-five per cent may add to the possible surplus for investment two hundred and fifty per cent in ratio to the sum previously available.

It may therefore happen that some of these new forces may be brought so completely under the control of a relatively small number of persons, that the power of the few to accumulate may get far in advance of the capacity of the many to use. Furthermore, that part of the working population which has the intelligence and capacity to apply the new apparatus and the new methods before the rest, may and does attain a standard of earnings or wages far above that which was the rule before, while at the same time the actual cost of their work will be much less. Such have been the facts in every branch of industry to which machinery has been applied; the earnings of operatives are now much higher than they were prior to 1860, and the cost of their production is much less. It is the common or uninstructed laborer who may not fully avail himself of the new forces: he is one of the poor whom we must always have with us.

In this connection, it may not be amiss to present this law that controls the rates of wages or earnings, although the principles on which this law rests cannot be analyzed in this essay. A similar law applies to agriculture, to the railroad service, and to the manufacturing and mechanic arts; it is this, — that the more complete the application of machinery, the higher the average wages and the less the number of persons employed for a given or equal amount of work; and, conversely, the less the number employed and the higher their earnings, the lower the cost of the production of the finished article.

When this law is fully comprehended, the apprehension of the competition of pauper labor disappears. The wages of weavers on gunny bagging are less than a dollar a week in Calcutta, and the cost of weaving is two cents a yard; in New York city and Brooklyn they are six to eight dollars a week, and the cost of weaving the cloth is half a cent a yard. If one desires to find out where the lowest cost is compassed as to any article which is in large degree produced by machinery, he will be sure to find it in that State or country, or in that section of any country, in which the earnings of the operatives are highest. The rule applies even to the single operative in the single mill; the cheapest operative to employ is the one who earns the most in competition with others.

The subjects which have been touched upon in this essay may lead to another conclusion. The capacity of the few in England to accumulate capital has for a long period exceeded the capacity of the many to use it there, and the rate of interest has been very low. How long this will continue to be the case is not now under consideration.

English consols which pay three per cent interest command very near par, and have lately sold a little above par: they are not payable at any fixed date. Our power of accumulating capital is now greater than that of Great Britain, and our free institutions are more firmly based; and inasmuch as we are free from the danger of war, and of other political and social complications which must be met and overcome by the lesser branch of the English-speaking race, it seems probable, to say the least, that United States consols at three per cent could be sold at par, and would be more likely to maintain their value than the bonds of Great Britain or of any other nation.

For the reasons given, it has therefore become a matter of personal or even selfish interest to capitalists as a class, to extend and improve the common schools, and to establish or sustain the higher institutions of instruction, especially those devoted to technical and industrial education. In the common schools the change most needed is not to add more to the work now done, but to eliminate that which is superfluous, and to substitute adequate training of the hand and the eye for much of the merely mental study which now passes for education, but which in some degree disqualifies the pupil for the kind of work which must of necessity be done in after life in order to gain a subsistence.

The profitable use of capital depends, it is true, upon intelligence and integrity; but unless these characteristics are accompanied by well-developed capacity to apply hand, eye, and brain alike to the use of the tools and materials of which that capital consists, merely mental accomplishments will fail to serve a useful purpose to the community, and the most ample capital may fail to work benefit either

to its owners or to the State. The mental and the physical, the material and the metaphysical, therefore, constitute the two factors on which interest on capital depends and determine its rate. They cannot be considered apart in this, any more than they can in any other, phase of the existence in this world which we call life.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

EIGHT DECADES OF A CENTURY.

IN no country in the world does the growth of population present such varied and interesting studies as in the United States. It can be studied in the slow and healthy growth of the thickly populated and busy manufacturing States of New England ; in the more rapid growth of the great commercial, agricultural, mining, and manufacturing regions of Pennsylvania, New York, and the other Middle States ; in the constant increase of a vast, rich, and purely agricultural division, where cities and towns are scarce, and cotton and corn the staple products ; and, lastly, in the wonderful and unexampled growth of that great Western territory which in 1800 contained but little over fifty thousand souls, and now abounds in numerous large commercial and industrial centres, and a population of 19,131,810. The census of 1880 gives the present population of the United States at 50,152,866,—an increase during the last decade of about thirty per cent. No country in the world has exhibited such a regular and enormous rate of increase in the population as the United States does from 1800 to 1880. In England the rate increased from 1 per cent in 1670 to 16 per cent in 1821, when a distinct and continuous decrease is struck ; until now the rate is not over 10, or, as Mr. Brassey says, 0.94, per cent per annum. At its present rate of increase, the probable time required to enable the population of the United States to double itself will be about twenty-six years. According to a calculation made by M. Toussaint Loua, it will take England seventy-two years, or nearly three times as long, to double its present population ; Russia, seventy-six years ; Scotland, eighty-one years ; Sweden and Germany, each eighty-three years ; the Netherlands, eighty-six years ; Denmark, ninety-three years ; Belgium, ninety-five years ; Greece, one hundred and twelve years ; Ireland, one hundred and thirteen years ; Austria, one hundred and fifty years ; Italy, one hundred and sixty years ; and France, over two hundred years. In the following condensed table I present at a glance the relative growth in population of the various sections of the United States from 1790 to 1800 :—

	New England States.	Middle States.	Southern States.	Western States.	Total.
1790	1,009,408	1,337,456	1,582,350	. . . .	3,929,214
1800	1,233,011	1,822,479	2,201,987	51,006	5,308,483
1810	1,471,973	2,491,945	2,982,794	293,109	7,239,881
1820	1,659,579	3,210,182	3,905,104	858,957	9,633,822
1830	1,954,717	4,151,286	5,144,226	1,610,473	12,866,020
1840	2,234,822	5,118,076	6,358,913	3,351,542	17,069,453
1850	2,728,116	6,624,988	8,256,359	5,582,413	23,191,876
1860	3,135,283	8,333,330	10,259,016	9,715,692	31,443,321
1870	3,487,924	9,848,415	11,250,411	13,971,621	38,558,371
1880	4,010,438	11,756,503	15,254,115	19,131,810	50,152,866

A careful examination of the above shows that the New England States increased 22 per cent in the decade ending in 1800 ; that the Middle States increased 36 per cent ; and that the Southern States increased 39 per cent. At that time there was no population in the north-western portion of the continent, from the eastern boundary-line of Ohio to the Pacific coast on the west, and from the northern lakes to the Ohio River on the south. In 1810 the percentage of increase in the Eastern States was 19, in the Middle States 36, in the Southern States 35, and in the Western States 474 per cent. When the westward movement of the population began, the decennial increase in the New England, Middle, and Southern States decreased ; and in 1820 we find the increase 12 per cent, 24 per cent, and 30 per cent, respectively, and the Western States no less than 193 per cent. In 1830 the three first-mentioned divisions remained about the same, and the percentage of increase dropped in the Western States to 87 per cent. In the decade ending in 1840 westward emigration received an impetus, — possibly owing to the commercial distress in the cities of the country, — while the increase in the New England States remained normal at 14 per cent, the Middle and Southern States decreased to 23 per cent each ; and the percentage in the West increased from 87 per cent in the previous decade to 120 per cent for that year. In 1850 the manufactories of the New England States began to attract immigration ; and the increase in population for the decade ending in that year was 22 per cent, against 29 per cent each in the Middle and Southern States, and only 57 per cent for the Western States and Territories. In 1860 the New England States returned to their normal rate of increase, 14 per cent ; the Middle States show an increase

of 25 per cent, the Southern of 24 per cent ; and the Western States and Territories increase from 57 per cent in the preceding decade to 74 per cent for the decennial period ending in 1860.

The Civil War and its attendant checks upon the growth of population reduced the percentage of increase in the New England States, in the ten years ending in 1870, to 11 per cent ; in the Middle States, to 18 per cent ; and this cause, with the imperfect enumeration of the South, brings the percentage of increase in that division of the country down to 9 per cent.¹ The effects of the war were less felt in the Western States ; and the above table shows that the increase was about 43 per cent. In 1880 we find the New England States restored to their accustomed increase of 14 per cent ; the Middle States, 19 per cent ; and the Southern States, owing to the causes before explained, showing within 1 per cent the same increase (36 per cent) as the Western States and Territories.

Should the rate of increase in the population of this country continue at 30 per cent for the next twenty-six years, we should have a population of 65,198,726 in 1890, of 84,758,344 in 1900, and of 100,396,020 — or about double the present population — in 1906. If the West continues to grow at the rate of 36 per cent per decade, its population would be nearly 36,000,000 in 1900, and nearly 46,000,000 in 1906. At the same time the New England States, at their growth of 14 per cent, would have in 1906 nearly 5,700,000, and the Middle States nearly 18,500,000. Owing to the defects in the enumeration of the population of the South in 1870, it would be unsafe to estimate the future growth of the Southern States.

General F. A. Walker, the eminent superintendent of the census, in a cleverly written article,² has pointed out some of the absurdities of forecasting the population of this portion of the earth's surface, and exploded the fallacies of the "few bold spirits who have indeed carried these computations unflinchingly out to the middle of the twentieth century, and have gazed full at the intolerable brightness of such figures as 1950 — 497,246,365." In the opinion of Professor Walker, the population of the United States at 1900 is to be brought down from its projected height as 100,000,000 to probably 80,000,000 or 85,000,000. In support of this he says:³ "Gibbon has shown that the further conquest is carried, the wider and the weightier become the resistance and the hostility which the conquering power is forced to encounter. So it is with national growth, whether in wealth or in population. Not only do the limitations of Nature become more and

¹ The causes for this apparent decrease, with the defects of the census of 1870 in the enumeration of the population of the South, were fully set forth by Henry Gannett, Esq., in the May number (1880) of this Review.

² "Our Population in 1900," *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1873.

³ *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1873, p. 494.

more stringent in reducing the rate of increase, but that increase does of itself create moral and social, not to speak of distinctly political, tendencies which traverse its own course, and, if not strong enough to defeat further growth or accumulation, do at least make any successive gain more slow and painful."

But it must be remembered this was written soon after the census of 1870, when the ratio of increase had decreased from 35.6 per cent in the ten years ending in 1860 to 22.6 in the decennial period ending in 1870. The increase in the last decade has been 30 per cent ; but there are other explanations of this increase, — for example, the defective enumeration in the Southern States. So to the question, What will be the future rate of growth of the Republic? I can reply no better than by quoting the able superintendent of the census: —

"As the line of agricultural occupation draws closer to the great barren plains ; as the older Western States change more and more to manufactures and to commerce ; as the manufacturing and commercial communities of the East become more compacted ; as the whole population tends increasingly to fashion and social observance ; as diet, dress, and equipage become more and more artificial ; and as the detestable American vice of 'boarding,' making children truly 'incumbrances,' and uprooting the ancient and honored institutions of the family, extends from city to city and from village to village, — it is not to be doubted that we shall note a steady decline in the rate of the national increase from decade to decade."

In short, Professor Walker frankly admits that, in the eddy and swirl of social and industrial currents through which the nation is passing, it is wholly impossible to estimate the rate of its progress, even though we may "feel sure that the good ship will steadily hold her course, and in time round the point which hopes too fond had — on the strength of a fortunate run made upon a smooth sea, with favoring winds and following floods — predicted would reach a round hundred million in 1900."

The relation of the female population to the male has remained about the same since 1870 in the New England and Middle Atlantic States. The little change that has taken place is generally a proportionate increase of females, — accounted for by the emigration of males westward and the increase of textile manufactories. Emigration from this region, however, has been partially counteracted by immigration into these States from foreign lands, attracted by the increasing importance of the manufacturing industries. The census of 1880 shows that in the South Atlantic and Gulf States there has been a notable increase in the relative proportion of males. The superintendent of the census thinks that the cause of this change is probably to be found mainly among the people resident therein, and not in extraneous influences. It may with confidence be ascribed to the practical cessation of emigration, and the effort of Nature to restore the normal equilibrium between the sexes, which was disturbed during the war. In the Mississippi Valley States the changes are not exten-

sive, and differ somewhat in different States. For example, the increase of females in the border States of Kansas and Nebraska and the Territory of Dakota shows that progress is being made towards a more settled state of society. In the Territories of Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming, and the Pacific States of California and Nevada, a similar movement is noted. The great and rapid development of the mineral resources of Colorado during the last two years has drawn a large number of male population thither, and hence a decrease of 10,270 of the female population. The opening of mines and rapid construction of railroads in New Mexico has likewise induced male immigration, and disturbed the conditions of the settled Mexican population.

Taking the country as a whole, the proportion of the female population to the male has decreased during the last decade. In 1870 there were 97,801 females to every 100,000 males. The census of 1880 reveals the fact that there are but 96,519 females to every 100,000 males. There are thirty States and Territories in which the males predominate, and seventeen States in which womankind hold sway.

I have condensed from one of the census bulletins the following table showing the per cent of excess in the States and Territories having a large proportion of male inhabitants:—

MALES IN EXCESS.

State.		Per cent of Excess.	State.		Per cent of Excess.
1	Mississippi . . . . .	.4	16	Michigan	11.3
2	Vermont . . . . .	.8	17	Minnesota	15.9
3	Ohio	1.8	18	New Mexico	16.5
4	Kentucky	2	19	Kansas	16.9
5	Delaware	2.2	20	Nebraska	22.6
6	Florida	2.5	21	Colorado	43.6
7	West Virginia	3.3	22	Oregon	44.8
8	Indiana	4.4	23	California	49
9	Illinois	6.4	24	Dakota	55
10	Arkansas	7	25	Washington Territory .	57.7
11	Wisconsin	7	26	Idaho	102
12	Utah	7.2	27	Wyoming	113
13	Missouri	8.2	28	Nevada	128
14	Iowa	9.2	29	Arizona	130
15	Texas	11.2	30	Montana	158

In the following seventeen States there is an excess of females :

FEMALES IN EXCESS.

State.		Per cent of Excess.	State.		Per cent of Excess.
1	Maine . . . . .	.2	10	Virginia	2.8
2	Pennsylvania . . . . .	.4	11	South Carolina	2.9
3	Tennessee . . . . .	.4	12	North Carolina	3.4
4	Louisiana . . . . .	.5	13	New Hampshire	3.4
5	New Jersey	2	14	Connecticut	3.5
6	Georgia	2.1	15	Massachusetts	7.6
7	Maryland	2.3	16	Rhode Island	7.8
8	Alabama	2.7	17	District of Columbia	12.5
9	New York	2.8			

The preponderance of females is in the Atlantic region. Of the Gulf States, Alabama and Louisiana alone have an excess of females. In the southern portion of these Atlantic States the female excess is slight, while in the northern part it is very decided, showing the effect of the westward emigration of the male element, and of the existence of manufactures of a class which especially employ female labor, such as the manufacture of boots and shoes, of paper, and of all cotton goods. The most marked cases of the excess of males are in the Territories and newer States of the West, where settlement is recent, where immigration is still active, and where the luxuries and comforts of life are greatly abridged by the necessities of frontier existence. Especially is this true in those States and Territories where mining and cattle-raising are the principal occupations. Of these the most marked examples are Montana, Arizona, Idaho, and Wyoming, in which more than two-thirds of the population are males. New Mexico, though a Territory, has been under different conditions from most of the others. It has long been settled by a permanent class of farmers and graziers of Mexican blood. Utah, too, is peopled mainly by a settled community of farmers having families. The existence of polygamy also goes to account for the nearly equal proportion of females in this Territory, in spite of its comparatively recent settlement.

In a country offering such an unbounded field for foreign capital and foreign labor, the relation of native and foreign-born population in the several States is an important question ; and attention will next be called to the movements of the foreign population since 1870. Of the

total population of the United States, no less than 6,677,360 are foreign born. The following sixteen States have a foreign population each of over 100,000:—

State.	Population.	State.	Population.
New York	1,211,438	Minnesota	267,699
Pennsylvania	587,533	Iowa	261,488
Illinois	583,592	New Jersey	221,585
Massachusetts	443,093	Missouri	211,240
Wisconsin	405,417	Indiana	143,765
Ohio	394,743	Connecticut	129,804
Michigan	388,340	Texas	114,516
California	292,686	Kansas	109,705
		Total	5,866,644

In the aggregate, these States contain 5,866,664, or about 87 per cent of the entire foreign element of the country. It is a notable fact that, taken as a whole, the foreign population of the country is less to the hundred thousand in 1880 than in 1870, the ratio decreasing from 16,875 in 1870 to 15,359 in 1880. This I find to be due to the fact that natural increase has gained upon immigration; for no less than 2,937,084 of 10,740,949 immigrants who have sought our shores from the beginning of the Republic arrived here during the decade ending in 1880, leaving an average of less than 1,000,000 for each of the preceding decades.

In Arizona, California, Dakota, Minnesota, and Nevada the number foreign born to each one hundred thousand natives is 65,613, 51,167, 62,112, 52,172, and 70,016, respectively, the foreign population in these States being upward of 50 per cent of the natives. In Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, New York, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming the foreign population varies from 25 to 50 per cent; in the District of Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Vermont, from 10 to 25 per cent of the native; in Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, New Mexico, Texas, and West Virginia, from 2 to 10 per cent; and Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia have a foreign population of less than 2 per cent. Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, are the only Southern States

that can boast a foreign population : the others are practically without any foreign element.

Mining and wheat-raising are evidently the attractions in the three States and two Territories in which we find the greatest proportion of foreign population. Into the second class, where the foreign population varies from 25 to 50 per cent, another element enters, — that of manufacturing. The moving cause in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and to a considerable extent New York, is the manufactures of all kinds in which these States abound, and which attract the skilled European artisans. In this category also come the prairie States of Michigan and Wisconsin, and the newer State of Nebraska ; while Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming are given over largely to mining and cattle-raising.

In the thrifty agricultural States of Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Ohio the foreign element is large, but in no instance reaches 25 per cent. No doubt coal-mining in Pennsylvania and Ohio has much to do with the foreign population in those States. In the last two classes come all the Southern and South-eastern States. It is evident that the tide of immigration has not yet been directed to these States. The foreign population has increased in proportion to the native since 1870 in Dakota, Oregon, Colorado, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maine, Massachusetts, Florida, Arkansas, and Washington ; while in the remaining thirty-one States and Territories natural increase of population has gained upon foreign immigration.

I have thus briefly shown that the increase of the foreign element has been in New England, where the growth is in the direction of manufactures ; in Dakota and Oregon, where wheatfields have invited settlement ; and in Colorado and New Mexico, where an extraordinary development of the mining industry has taken place during the last decade.

In 1810 about 19 per cent of the population of the United States was colored ; in 1820 and 1830, about 18 per cent. In 1840 the white population had gained on the colored, and it was a little over 16 ; in 1850 it was 14, in 1870 it reached 12, and to-day about 13 per cent of the population of the United States are colored. In this calculation Asiatics — including Chinese, Japanese, East Indians, American Indians and half-breeds — are not included. Of the 6,577,151 negroes the majority are in the following States :¹ —

¹ I am greatly indebted for many of these facts, and also for those in relation to the distribution of the population by drainage basins and by elevations, to Mr. Henry Gannett, the accomplished geographer and expert, who has charge of this work for the United States census.

State.	Population.	State.	Population.
Georgia	724,685	Tennessee	402,991
Mississippi	650,337	Texas	394,001
Virginia	631,754	Kentucky	271,461
South Carolina	604,275	Arkansas	210,622
Alabama	600,249	Maryland	209,897
North Carolina	531,351	Missouri	145,046
Louisiana	483,794	Florida	125,464

From this table it will be seen that 5,985,927, or over 91 per cent of the entire colored population, is located in the thirteen Southern States and Missouri. Georgia contains the greatest number of colored people, — 724,685 ; and Florida closes the list with 125,464. South Carolina has the greatest proportion of colored to white population, and in this State we find three-fifths of the entire population colored. In Louisiana and Mississippi from one-half to three-fifths are colored. In Alabama, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia the colored comprise from one-third to one-half of the total population. In Arkansas and Tennessee from one-quarter to one-third of the population are colored. West Virginia exhibits the least proportion of colored population of any former slave State. In this State there are but 4,335 colored to 100,000 whites. In Mississippi there are 7,168. There has been considerable decrease in the colored population in proportion to the whites in Texas and Florida ; but this may be owing to the fact that the white increase has gained upon the colored. Taking the country as a whole, there has been a gain of 625 of colored population, upon an assumed basis of 100,000 whites. As the figures clearly indicate, the great relative gains during the decade have apparently been made in the South,—the former slaveholding States. “Of the nine of these States which have gained,” says General Walker, “eight stand at the head of the list, having made relative gains ranging from 994 to nearly 11,000.” It is believed by the census office, however, that the apparent gains are due in a great measure to the imperfections of the census of 1870. Under the condition which prevailed at that time, it is probable that a much larger proportion of negroes were omitted than of whites. Of the former slave States which have lost, Texas and Florida lead. Both these States have received heavy white immigration from other parts of the country, which has more than overbalanced whatever gain may have been made in the colored population. The relative decrease of

blacks is to be accounted for, not by an exodus or a dying out, but by an infusion of whites. The movement of blacks in the Northern and Western States has apparently been of little relative account.

It is gratifying to be able to tell the truth about the Chinese question; and this the published figures of the census certainly do. The reader will remember, during the agitation of '76 and '77, the ridiculously exaggerated statements relative to the increase of Chinese immigration. About that time Gibson, in his "Chinese in America," declared that there were 200,000 Chinese in California, and at least 75,000 in the city of San Francisco. Others came out with "careful estimates," showing from 150,000 to 275,000; and other authorities said that the yearly excess of arrivals over departures was not less than 18,000, and that the ratio of this number was annually increasing. As late as 1879, it has been asserted in Congress that "these people have come in hundreds and thousands until their number has been increased in the State of California to 150,000."

Without undertaking to discuss the merits or demerits of Chinese immigration, I feel it is within the scope of this article to call attention to the facts in the case, as revealed by the census, which will enable the reader to decide for himself whether or not there is any cause for serious alarm, and whether it is probable, as one anti-Chinese orator asserted, that in half a century the Asiatics will outnumber the Americans on this continent. The utter worthlessness of these exaggerated declarations is shown by the returns of the census, in which the total number of Chinese in the United States is given at 105,463. The table on page 42 shows the distribution of Chinese in 1870 and in 1880.

As regards the Chinese population in Oregon, the increase has been much greater, being 186 per cent; in Nevada, the increase 72 per cent. In Washington Territory the number of Chinese increased from only 234 in 1870 to 3,182 in 1880,—an augmentation of 2,948. In Idaho a decrease of 20 per cent is noted; in Montana there has been a small decrease of 2 per cent. In 1870, so far as the census revealed, the total number of Chinese in all States and Territories other than those mentioned above was only 383. Since then the industrious Chinaman has forced his way into the mining camps of Arizona, where 1,630 were enumerated; into the back alleys and basements of the great metropolis of the country, where nearly 1,000 have been found; and into the silver mines of Colorado, where 610 are given. North Carolina and Vermont are the only two States in which no Chinese are returned.

The distribution of the population of the United States by drainage basins and in elevation above the level of the sea are both inquiries in which but little can be said of either by itself; but when taken in

CHINESE POPULATION.

State.	1870.	1880.
California	48,790	75,025
Idaho	4,267	3,378
Oregon	3,326	9,513
Nevada	3,143	5,420
Montana	1,943	1,764
Utah	445	501
Washington	234	3,182
Wyoming	143	914
Arizona . . . . .	. . .	1,630
New York . . . . .	. . .	924
Colorado . . . . .	. . .	610
Louisiana . . . . .	. . .	481
Massachusetts . . . . .	. . .	237
Illinois . . . . .	. . .	210
Dakota . . . . .	. . .	238
Other States and Territories	383	1,436
Total	62,674	105,463

connection with other inquiries covered by the census, they assume a vast importance. They have a direct bearing on the mortality reports, on the water-supply and drainage of our large cities, — and, indeed, on the social condition of the people. The classification adopted by the census office gives the drainage areas, primarily, by the two oceans and the great basin; second, by sections of the coast; third, by the principal rivers, — the rivers of each section of the coast being arranged under that section, and those of branches of a river being placed under the main river. It may be briefly stated, from tables prepared by Mr. Gannett, that of the total population of the United States in 1880, $97\frac{14}{100}$ per cent live on the Atlantic slope, $\frac{45}{100}$ per cent in the great basin, and $2\frac{41}{100}$ on the Pacific slope. Of those living on the Atlantic slope the following proportions are in the various sections : —

	Per Cent.
New England Coast	7.5
Middle Atlantic Coast	18.4
South Atlantic	8.2
Great Lakes	11.3
Gulf of Mexico (exclusive of Mississippi River)	8.2
Mississippi River	43.5
Total	97.1

It is an interesting fact that the population is greater to the square mile along the valley of the Delaware River than in any other part of the country, the number being 176; next comes the Hudson River, with a population per square mile of 172; while along the Miami River it is 109. The population of the great Mississippi Valley has now reached 21,821,254. In 1870 the population of this region was 16,431,855, — an increase of 5,389,399; while the density has increased from 13.2 to 17.5 to the square mile. In 1870 no less than 7,841,519 of the population of the country, or over 38 to the square mile, lived in the valley of the Ohio River. The census of 1880 shows the number to have increased to 9,567,989, and the density from 38 to 47.4. The following table shows the population and density in 1870 and in 1880 of the valleys of some of the principal rivers:—

Rivers.	Population in 1870.	Population in 1880.	Population per sq. mile in 1870.	Population per sq. mile in 1880.
Hudson	1,963,775	2,280,359	148	172
Delaware	1,694,024	1,999,921	149	176
Susquehanna.	1,458,777	1,715,009	52	62
Mobile	922,859	1,190,585	21	27
Mississippi	16,431,855	21,821,254	13	17
Ohio	7,841,519	9,567,089	38	47
Illinois	1,178,083	1,347,123	31	35
Tennessee.	983,579	1,243,774	22	28
Wabash	1,447,359	1,714,612	45	54
Missouri	1,440,770	2,720,476	2	5
Arkansas	613,672	1,273,853	3	6

The investigation showing the distribution of the population of the United States in 1870 and 1880, in elevation above the level of the sea, must only be regarded as approximate, — for the reason that the curves of elevation above sea-level cannot be constructed with accuracy in the present state of our knowledge of the relief of the country, and as in cases of the subdivisions of counties by contour lines it is not possible to divide the population with accuracy. Subjoined is presented a table showing the distribution of the population by height above sea-level: —

Height above Sea-level.	Population.	
Feet.	1870.	1880.
0- 100	7,233,550	9,152,003
100- 500	8,653,603	10,775,250
500- 1,000	15,127,227	19,025,617
1,000- 1,500	5,620,101	7,903,811
1,500- 2,000	1,191,293	1,876,885
2,000- 3,000	360,059	664,851
3,000- 4,000	79,349	128,348
4,000- 5,000	84,319	166,545
5,000- 6,000	135,483	271,321
6,000- 7,000	58,466	94,989
7,000- 8,000	6,304	15,053
8,000- 9,000	7,390	24,947
9,000-10,000	705	26,846
Above 10,000	522	26,400

It is an interesting fact to know that nearly all that portion of the population of the United States engaged in manufacturing, and most of that portion engaged in the culture of cotton, rice, and sugar, live in the area below an elevation of 500 feet above the sea-level. From our table it will be seen that nearly one-fifth of our population lives below 100 feet, — for example, along the immediate seaboard and in the swampy and alluvial regions of the South; more than two-fifths live below 500 feet; more than three-fourths below 1,000; while 97 per cent live below 2,000 feet. According to this table, the interval between the 1,000- and the 500-foot contours comprises the greater part of the prairie States and the grain-producing States of the Northwest. East of the 98th meridian the contour of 1,500 feet is practi-

cally the upper limit of population, all the country lying above that elevation being mountainous. The population between 2,000 and 5,000 feet is found mainly on the slope of the great Western plains. In this region the belt between 2,000 and 3,000 feet is almost everywhere the debatable ground between the arid region of the Cordilleran plateau and the humid region of the Mississippi Valley. Above 3,000 feet, irrigation is almost universally necessary for success in agricultural operations. Between 4,000 and 5,000 feet, it will be noticed that the population is decidedly in excess of the grade or grades below it; this is mainly due to the fact that the densest settlement at high altitudes in the Cordilleran region is at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains and in the valleys of the great Salt Lake, which regions lie between 4,000 and 6,000 feet. Of these the extensive settlements at the base of the mountains in Colorado are mainly between 5,000 and 6,000 feet.

Above 6,000 feet, the population — which is confined, of course, to the Cordilleran region — is almost entirely engaged in the pursuit of mining; and the greater part of it is located in Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, and California. Examining the increase in population in the several divisions during the last decade, there will be noticed a decided increase in the lowest grade, due to the increase in our seaboard towns and cities; also a gain, though not as decided, in the grade of 100 to 500 feet, with a more marked increase between 500 and 1,000 feet. Between 1,000 and 2,000 feet the increase has been nearly 50 per cent. In this grade the effect of immigration in new and previously unsettled regions appears, as in parts of Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, and Minnesota. Above 2,000 feet the increase, though small numerically, is proportionally very great; between 4,000 and 6,000, it is more than 100 per cent, — due mainly to the newly awakened interest in mining. To this cause may also be largely attributed the increase in population in the higher altitudes. A computation based upon the few facts here submitted shows that the mean elevation of the population above the sea is about 700 feet. The mean elevation of the surface of the United States has been estimated at 2,600.¹

The census of 1880 brings out the fact that no less than 41,735,943, or 83 per cent, of the population live north of the 36th parallel, which runs just south of Nashville, Tenn.; while over 92 per cent of the population, or 46,184,936, live east of the 95th meridian, or east of Kansas City. The most populous part of the country is included in a line drawn on the 43d parallel beginning on the 70th meridian, and running west to the 90th; then south to the 38th parallel, east to the 76th meridian, and following the coast to the place of beginning. In this quadrilateral of 93 populated squares, we find no less than

¹ These facts have been obtained from Census Bulletin No. 88.

24,878,411 inhabitants, or nearly one half of the entire population of the country. The distribution of the population in accordance with temperature may be summarized as follows : —

Groups.	Population in 1880.	Population per square mile.	Percentage of population in each group.
Below 40°	273,581	1.0	0054 +
40 to 45	3,497,266	7.4	0697 +
45 to 50	15,022,538	21.0	2997 +
50 to 55	15,795,961	33.9	3147 +
55 to 60	6,649,672	19.2	1325 +
60 to 65	5,188,039	13.4	1034 +
65 to 70	3,292,756	13.5	0656 +
70 to 75	421,992	3.7	0085 +
Above 70	11,061	1.2	0002 +
Total Population.	50,152,866	...	100.

It will be seen that no less than 98 per cent of the total population lives between 40° and 70° Fah. of mean annual temperature, leaving a very small proportion to be distributed among the other sections. Of these groups, those having a temperature above 55° contain the entire cotton region ; those above 70°, the sugar and rice regions ; while between 50° and 60° is comprised most of the tobacco region. The prairie region of the Mississippi Valley lies almost entirely below 55°, while the great wheat region of Minnesota and Dakota is mainly below 40° mean annual temperature. The hottest part of the country is the southern end of Florida, while southern Texas and southwestern Arizona come next in degree of temperature. The greatest absolute gains in population are found in the medium temperatures, class 50° to 55°. A rough computation made in the census office shows that the mean annual temperature of the country is about 53° Fah., to which the location of the population almost precisely corresponds, differing from it by only a fraction of a degree.

In 1790 Philadelphia, now a city of 850,000 inhabitants, was exactly the size of Hartford, Conn., having a population of 42,512. New York, with its 1,200,000 inhabitants, was smaller than the city of Memphis, having a population of 33,130. Boston had reached the dimensions of Council Bluffs, Iowa, with a population of 18,038. Charleston contained 16,359 inhabitants ; and Baltimore, with its present population of 332,000, was then the size of Lockport (N. Y.), with a population of 13,503 ; while Salem, Mass., was an enterprising

town of 8,000 population. The aggregate population of the six principal cities in 1790 was 131,472, being 3.4 per cent of the total population of the country. The census of 1880 shows that there are fifteen cities in the United States each exceeding in population the total population of the six cities on the opening of the nineteenth century. The growth of American cities has perhaps been even more marvellous than the development of the agricultural resources of the country. The extension of commerce, the increase of manufacturing, — of cotton, of boots and shoes, of agricultural implements, of woollen goods, and a hundred other commodities, in the New England States; of iron and steel rails, of locomotives, of iron ships, of carpets, of silk goods, pottery, and innumerable products of the workshops, in the Middle States, — combined with the extension of railroad and water commerce, have converted the few isolated cities of the Atlantic seaboard into vast centres of industrial energy. A more forcible illustration of this can hardly be given than the fact that in ten years the iron product of this country has increased 99 per cent, and the capital invested in this one enterprise 89 per cent. These nerve centres of life and energy, of railroads and commerce, and of manufactures, have drifted far into the western part of the continent; and to-day Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Toledo, Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Joseph, Grand Rapids, Omaha, Peoria, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Terra Haute, Des Moines, and Dubuque are cities of great importance, and may be considered the future centres of a large and intelligent population. In the following table I have divided the principal cities of the United States and Europe into seven classes, — the first with more than 1,000,000 inhabitants; the second with more than 500,000; the third with between 200,000 and 500,000; the fourth with 100,000 to 200,000; the fifth from 50,000 to 100,000; the sixth from 45,000 to 50,000; and the seventh between 25,000 and 40,000. The result is the first table on page 48.¹

The United States is no longer wholly given over to meat and grain, but we are fast becoming a great manufacturing country, and rank third among European countries in the number and importance of our cities. In this connection it will be interesting to note the increase in the number of the cities in the United States during the present century, and for this purpose the second table on page 48 has been prepared.

Beginning at the dawn of the century with one city of less than 12,000 inhabitants, three of less than 40,000, and two of less than 75,000, the number has gradually increased; the columns — four of

¹ The portion of this table relating to foreign countries is taken from Kolb's "Condition of Nations," 1880.

CITIES OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES.

Class.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	Total.
Great Britain	I	3	5	9	24	18	35	95
Russia . . . . .	...	2	1	4	11	10	57	85
United States	I	3	6	10	15	10	32	77
Germany	I	...	4	8	21	10	31	75
Italy . . . . .	...	...	4	4	12	4	43	61
France	I	...	3	5	16	9	26	60
Austria	I	...	1	2	4	8	8	24
Belgium . . . . .	...	...	1	3	...	1	12	17
Spain . . . . .	...	...	2	2	5	2	5	16
Holland . . . . .	...	...	1	2	1	2	6	12
Turkey . . . . .	...	I	...	I	2	...	I	5
Portugal . . . . .	...	...	I	...	I	...	...	2
Greece . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	I	...	I

CITIES BY CLASSES ACCORDING TO SIZE.

Date.	8,000 to 12,000	12,000 to 20,000	20,000 to 40,000	40,000 to 75,000	75,000 to 125,000	125,000 to 250,000	250,000 to 500,000	500,000 and over.	Total.
1800	1	1	3	2	...	...	...	...	6
1810	4	2	3	...	2	...	...	...	11
1820	3	4	2	2	2	...	...	...	13
1830	12	7	3	1	1	2	...	...	26
1840	17	11	10	1	3	1	1	...	44
1850	36	20	14	7	3	3	1	1	85
1860	62	34	23	12	2	5	1	2	141
1870	92	63	39	14	8	3	5	2	226
1880	100	84	56	21	9	7	4	4	285

which were vacant in 1800 — have filled up; until to-day the United States presents to the world its two hundred and eighty-five cities, — one hundred of which have from 8,000 to 12,000 inhabitants; eighty-four from 12,000 to 20,000; fifty-six from 20,000 to 40,000; twenty-one from 40,000 to 75,000; sixteen from 75,000 to 250,000; four from

250,000 to 500,000; and four with a population exceeding 500,000 and reaching to 1,200,000.

The great demand for manufactured goods immediately after the war brought into existence many of these cities, and diverted many of the leading manufactures—which until that period had been mostly found in the Eastern States—westward, where raw material and food were much cheaper. The West, according to the census of 1880, has 36,663 persons employed in the manufacture of iron, and a capital invested of \$50,775,000. Over \$14,500,000 were paid during the last census year for wages; and the value of the product of these works was nearly \$77,000,000. Actual figures show that the manufacturing of Kansas has doubled in the last decade; it is not improbable that the same is true of many of our Western States. In 1860 the total population of all the cities in Illinois was but 227,761,—less than half the present population of Chicago. The cities of Ohio then contained a population of 339,500, and those of Missouri 183,867; while the total number of dwellers in the cities of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Indiana, respectively, did not greatly exceed 90,000. There are now in the Western States 116 cities of over 7,500 inhabitants. In 1860 these cities contained an aggregate population of 1,208,561; in 1870 of 2,375,709; and in 1880, 3,544,659. This shows a growth of 96 per cent the first decade, and 49 per cent the second. The following condensed table shows the percentage of growth of the cities in twelve Western States:—

	Per cent of growth between 1860 and 1870.	Per cent of growth between 1870 and 1880.	Per cent of growth between 1860 and 1880.
Ohio	57	42	124
Indiana . . .	102	39	174
Illinois	122	32	238
Michigan . . .	92	54	197
Wisconsin . .	61	53	146
Minnesota . .	149	142	500
Iowa	108	36	165
Missouri . . .	108	22	154
Kansas	213	42	347
Nebraska . . .	885	135	2,210
Colorado . . .	2	965	967
California . . .	154	61	309

From this table it will be seen that the great prairie States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa show a steady and

healthy growth during the last decade, but nothing like so great as that of the preceding decennial period, The unexampled growth of St. Paul and Minneapolis during the past ten years makes the rate of increase in city population more than three times greater in Minnesota than in Ohio, and more than four times greater than in Illinois. But does this building up of cities and increase of manufacturing draw a healthy population from the rural districts, and deplete our farms? In 1790 about one-thirtieth of the population was in cities; in 1810, one-twentieth; in 1830, one-seventeenth; in 1860, one-eighth; in 1870, one-fifth and more; and to-day nearly one-quarter. In England, as Professor Jevons has ably pointed out, the towns, when great manufacturing industries began to develop, "engulfed the best blood of the rural districts;" and from that time the population in the agricultural counties began to decrease. Such is not the case in the United States. The sturdy population of the rural districts of the Eastern States is gradually migrating westward; but its place will be filled by foreign immigration. The agricultural communities of the Western States are benefited by the thriving manufacturing towns which are fast spreading over the ten Western States. The area of the United States is too great for it to suffer as England has done from the population of the rural districts drifting into the cities.

Viewed as a whole, what a national growth the Republic presents at the close of the eighth decade of this century! The population has increased in round numbers at the ratio of thirty-six, thirty-three, thirty-three, thirty-two, thirty-five, thirty-five, twenty-two, and thirty per cent, respectively; it has travelled westward at the rate of thirty-six, fifty, thirty-nine, fifty-five, fifty-five, eighty-one, forty-two, and fifty-eight miles, until now the centre of population is eight miles west by south from the heart of the city of Cincinnati. Eight decades ago it straggled over an area of 239,935 square miles; it now extends over 1,272,239, to say nothing of the eighteen hundred thousand square miles of Territory belonging to the United States, but as yet sparsely settled. We have seen that the first decade of this century opened with half-a-dozen small towns, the eighth closes with the United States third in the rank of European nations in respect to cities, and first as the granary and store-house of the world. Distributed within this fair portion of the earth is a population of 25,520,582 males and 24,632,284 females; of 43,475,506 native, and 6,677,360 foreign, born; of 43,404,876 white and 6,577,150 colored. This population, varied as it is in color and race, is spread over our many latitudes extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean; it thrives best, as we have seen, in the valleys of our large rivers and along the Atlantic coast; it breathes best in elevations below 2,000 feet, and increases and

multiplies more rapidly in a temperature of from 50° to 55° Fah. What the future of this surging throng will be no man can predict. What its present is, the census has revealed. Without indulging in the vanity of idle speculation as to the future, let us thankfully rejoice in the plenty and prosperity of the present.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

THE ENGLISH EVOLUTIONISTS.

THE doctrine of evolution in some form or other is as old as speculative thought ; but it is only in its modern form that it has received the concurrent attention of all investigators, and has been made the fundamental postulate of science and philosophy. Since the "epoch making" publication of Mr. Darwin's celebrated work on "The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection," no thinker, either in science or philosophy, has been able to pursue his studies in independence of this idea. The desire to explain the existence of the world on some other than the creation-hypothesis, — a desire that had long perplexed many able and earnest truth-seekers, — had in some measure prepared the way for a doctrine that should attempt to substitute for the former belief in special acts of creative-volution a new doctrine that the present world of life and matter is the result of a process of evolution or development operating through the millions of years of the past history of the globe. To determine the nature of this world-process, to ascertain the laws by which this unfolding has been regulated, is the prime object of the new philosophy.

As briefly as we can state the modern doctrine, evolution in biology may be defined as the history of the successive steps of that morphological and physiological change or transmutation by which any living creature has arrived at those characteristics of form and function which at present mark its place in Nature. In its broadest significance, it includes all those theories which regard the history of the world as a gradual transition in time from the lower to the higher, from the worse to the better, from the simple to the complex, and from the uniform to the varied in functional and physiological structure, — the causes by which this variation is brought about being immanent or inherent in the thing which varies. It is in other words a process of "becoming," — a philosophical hypothesis of the origin and order of the world in which the growth and development of organisms are determined by or conditioned on the inorganic world ; or, as we have seen it somewhere defined, it is, in biology, a perpetual readjustment

of internal functions to bring them into harmony with external conditions, and as applied to the sum of things is the history of that series of mutations by which the present world-order has been attained. The modern doctrine is made to apply not only to physical, but also to mental development, — the growth of mind equally with that of organic functions being regarded as the result of material or mechanical processes. Professor Huxley thus states the doctrine :—

“ Those who hold the theory of evolution (and I am one of them) conceive that there are grounds for believing that the world, with all that is in it, did not come into existence in the condition in which we now see it, nor in anything approaching that condition. On the contrary, they hold that the present conformation and composition of the earth's crust, the distribution of land and water, and the infinitely diversified forms of animals and plants which constitute its present population, are merely the final terms in an immense series of changes which have been brought about, in the course of immeasurable time, by the operation of causes more or less similar to those which are at work at the present day.”

Evolution is, in a word, an attempt to account, by natural causes, for the existence, the genesis, and the development of the world of life and matter which we see about us.

This, in its most succinct statement, is that doctrine of evolution which has recently attracted so much attention in the scientific world. It is in its present form essentially the creation of the last half of the present century. All previous speculation upon the subject had been merely the higher dreams of isolated minds, — the adventurous researches of master intellects along the lines of greatest light, — each thinker striking out for himself a path in the darkness, and evolving a world-theory out of his own consciousness. Building without that mass of evidence upon which the present doctrine is founded, their theories were mere conjecture, — they could do little more than guess at the truth; and inasmuch as the data from which they reasoned were meagre and insufficient, there arose among them a multiplicity of hypotheses conflicting in nature, and as numerous as the minds that conceived them. They groped hither and thither in the darkness, feeling around with eager hands, if perchance they might fall upon the truth; but, like somnambulists, they but staggered about, and jostled one another in their dreams. The ancient Hindu conceived the world to be an emanation from the divine nature, the eternal self-existent or self-created Brahma. The early Greek physicists believed it to have arisen from “ primordial matter,” through the operation of a certain inherent transmutative force resulting in constant morphological changes, — thus blindly staggering towards the conclusions which have been reached by the aid of modern scientific research.

Plato, and after him his great pupil Aristotle, made but little ad-

vance toward the new doctrine. They indeed had distinct ideas of an "evolution;" but their conception of the world-process was, in many respects, the very reverse of that which is now taught. It was their belief that the world had arrived at its present condition by a process of regression or degradation, rather than by one of progress or development,—the one starting from the most perfect, "the divine cosmos," and coming down the scale towards man and the lower animals; the other hypothecating a first self-acting agency, and regarding each remove from the original motive-power as a diminution in perfection. This latter conclusion seems to be one that would naturally suggest itself to the thinking mind in the absence of that mass of proof to the contrary which we now possess; but it may be said to be no longer an open question that the present cosmic order has been reached by a process of development, and not of degradation.

Of all the ancient philosophers, Lucretius seems to have come nearest the modern conception of evolution, inasmuch as he had ideas, vague and confused it is true, but sufficiently discernible, of the preservation of races by the operation of those causes now known as "Natural Selection," and of the gradual development of man from a condition approaching animalization.

Passing to the Scholiasts of the Middle Ages, we see no improvement of the doctrine. Indeed, the very conception seems to have been lost amid those vain and idle speculations in which the lives of the Schoolmen were consumed. In their hands truth was overwhelmed with error, and philosophy degraded into folly. The literature they have bequeathed to us is a vast repertory of useless learning,—of speculations beginning and ending in mysticism. Built upon nothing, and embodying little more than the vain imaginings of vain men, it is in many respects the most curious monument that industrious folly has ever erected to itself. But learning revived; Nature began to be studied. Copernicus and Galileo turned their attention to the heavens, and drew down knowledge from the skies; Kepler laid the corner-stone upon which has been reared the noble conception of the universal reign of law; Newton discovered gravitation, and published the "*Principia*;" and Bacon wrote, and turned the streams of thought into new channels.

With the revival of learning came new conceptions of the origin of the world. The Cartesian philosophy inclines strongly toward the idea of a physical evolution, but rejects the notion of mental development. Locke, notwithstanding his belief in direct acts of creation, did not a little to open the way to a conception of the new doctrine. In Germany Emanuel Kant, though rejecting the idea of evolution as a universal principle applicable alike to the moral and physical

world, did nevertheless anticipate the Spencerian idea in many important particulars. The Kantian philosophy regards the cosmos as having arisen by the operation of physical laws; and these laws are thought sufficient to explain not only the order of the inorganic world, but also that of the solar system. In the organic world Kant was an advocate of the creation-hypothesis, and accounted for the various phases of animal life on teleological principles. He however recognizes the idea of human development, not as constituting a link in the great chain of the world-progress, but as simply a growth from a condition far inferior to man's present state.¹

Ideas of evolution more or less clearly defined appear in most of the philosophical writings of the eighteenth century, but they seem for the most part to be dominated by conceptions of a theistic teleology. Philosophy appears to have been struggling to maintain an alliance with Orthodoxy; physical theories of the genesis of the world were guessed at, but they were stated with a timidity and want of confidence markedly at variance with the boldness which now characterizes the advocates of evolution. The tide however had set in, and nothing could now check the tendency of thought in this direction. Into every department of knowledge the close and critical researches of the student were carried; the intellectual world started into an activity such as had never been witnessed before. Those dreamy speculations concerning truth which had been the crowning distinction of the scholastic philosophy could no longer satisfy the curiosity of the explorer; there was everywhere felt a demand for a more certain and a more specific knowledge. Nature alone, it was thought, could yield such a knowledge; and in every direction Nature was being forced: the very bowels of the earth were being penetrated, if perchance truth might be found concealed amid the rocks. A host of new sciences based upon a study of Nature sprang into existence. The mighty sounding-line let down into the darkness of the past by geology and its attendant studies threw upon the history of the world a flood of light which revolutionized thought, and re-established the bases of science and philosophy. At last the problem of the inorganic world seemed nearing a solution. The vast rock-formations which underlie our soil, and even the little pebbles upon which we tread, were surrendering to human inquiry the secret of their remote origin, and of their gradual formation through the lapse of many thousands of years. Amid these formations, the fossil remains of extinct species occurring gave rise to the science of zoölogy, by which, as claimed by many, the animal life of the world has been traced back to a common origin; and the study of anthropology, showing a gradual

¹ In making this short summary, I have been indebted to the very learned article on evolution by Mr. James Sully in the "*Cyclopædia Britannica*."

development of man from a condition so barbarous and brutish as scarcely to distinguish him from the savage beasts which made his life a terror, has led the evolutionist to look upon man as only the last link in the great chain of organic development. The nebular hypothesis concerning the origin of the solar system had already been adumbrated by Kant, and fully developed by Laplace; physics and chemistry were being prosecuted with marvellous success, and the new studies of comparative philology and psychology were fast assisting to a fuller knowledge of man. Experiment after experiment had been made; museums were filled with the fossil remains of extinct species; their structure, their peculiarities, their relation to living species were carefully noted and tabulated, and science found herself overwhelmed by a mass of unsystematized and undigested facts. The time was now ripe for the new doctrine, and it soon made its appearance.

In 1859 Mr. Charles Darwin published his celebrated work on "The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection." No other book since the publication of the "Novum Organum" has had so profound an influence upon the world. And that influence was instantaneous. It spread abroad like light; and probably no doctrine so difficult and uncertain of proof, and so important in its bearing upon all truth and all knowledge, ever met so favorable a reception at the hands of scientists and philosophers. It is true that the "Darwinian Theory" was for a time, and indeed still is, a term of ridicule in the mouths of many; but we have lived to see it become the cornerstone of English and German philosophy, and have seen many distinguished societies for the promotion of science and philosophy admit its venerable expositor to membership in terms which seemed rather to indicate their belief that the honor they received from the connection was greater than that which they conferred. In the "Origin of Species" Mr. Darwin attempts to trace the evolution of the higher organic forms out of the lower, but does not in this work bring man within the operation of the laws of evolution. Indeed, it was not until this extreme view had been adopted by many thinkers both in England and in Germany, and had been specifically advanced by Professor Huxley in his work on "Man's Place in Nature," published in 1863, that Mr. Darwin finally published his second celebrated work on "The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex." In this work, which appeared in 1871, he applied his theory of the origin of species to man, placing him in the same category with other organisms, and looking upon him as the product of the same laws of progress and development. From 1831, when he took his degree in Christ College, Cambridge, Mr. Darwin has been a profound and

earnest student of Nature, and began his career by a five years' voyage around the world in the capacity of naturalist. His industry and his intimacy with natural history were demonstrated, on his return, by a publication of an account of the voyage. Other volumes on zoölogy and natural history followed, and then came the work which has made him the central figure of modern philosophy. His extensive and varied researches into the mysteries of Nature had fully equipped him for the task. Through many years of patient investigation he had carefully collected facts and systematized evidence, ransacking Nature for testimony, and gathering proof from every quarter of the earth. Few men have ever brought to the illustration of any subject so vast and overwhelming a mass of facts. Zoölogy, botany, geology, anthropology, indeed every science which could bring him knowledge of the past or present history of the globe, was laid under contribution to his mind. It has been one of Mr. Darwin's characteristics never to be content with knowledge at second-hand ; but he has preferred, so far as he could, to demonstrate everything for himself. To do this he has spared no labor ; has travelled far and wide over the world ; has made himself familiar with Nature in her wildest and most secret haunts, drawing their history from the herb and flower, and pursuing both animal and vegetable life back into the remote periods of the geological history of the earth. In this way he had mastered all the details of natural history ; had familiarized himself with living and extinct species ; studied their connection with and dependence upon one another, their points of similarity and difference ; and had pondered long and deeply upon those physical laws by which, as he conceived, the development of species had been determined. With this preparation he set himself to the task of constructing a theory of the genesis of the world, building not as the earlier philosophers upon mere speculation, but upon what he conceived to be facts proven by actual experiment, and attested by the records of the earth with which he had made himself familiar. It is in this feature of proof that we see the chief difference between the philosophy of to-day and that of the past. It might almost be said that there has been more real progress in the last century than in any thousand years which preceded. Thought has become more vigorous ; knowledge has increased more rapidly than ever before ; facts are multiplying upon us with a rapidity which is bewildering ; new truths are being constantly brought to the light ; inventions and discoveries as marvellous as the creations of Arabian fable are pressing upon us on every side. Flushed with success and triumphant at every point, the mind is pushing its conquests far into regions which were hitherto supposed to be beyond the bounds of human knowledge. It has invaded Nature in her strongholds, and dragged up truth from the depths in

which it had been concealed from the beginning of time. Almost daily some new discovery proclaims that Nature has surrendered another citadel, — that man has triumphed in another field of action. Never indeed was Nature so nearly subdued. Never before were her most hidden forces so well understood or so much in the power of man ; he has made himself master of many of her laws, and has turned them to his uses ; he has subdued her forces, and made them his servants and allies ; he is fast penetrating her secrets and solving her mysteries, and by her assistance is approaching a complete knowledge of himself and his relation to the universe, to determine which must always be the highest and ultimate aim of human inquiry.

The amount of facts with which science is encumbered is an actual impediment to her progress. The scientific mind seems affected with a mania for experiment and investigation. Too many are searching after facts, and too few are trying to think these facts into system. The earth has been dug up, the heavens studied, all Nature ravished in the incessant search after something new ; and the result is an immense accumulation of facts which no mind has yet been able to grasp in their entirety. Specialists have indeed mastered their respective branches, and by their contributions to knowledge have placed mankind under a debt of gratitude to themselves ; but no intellect has yet arisen capable of generalizing this immense mass of heterogeneous knowledge into one complete and harmonious system of truth. To make such a generalization would indeed be the peculiar prerogative of the highest type of mind ; and it may well be doubted if at present there exists a mind capable of such a work. If such a mind does exist, it belongs to Herbert Spencer. But Mr. Spencer has labored under the disadvantage of living at the time when these discoveries were being made, and these facts in process of accumulation ; and it may well be questioned whether it is within the power of the human mind not to be confused by this infinite variety of evidence, and the rapidity with which it has multiplied. When the fever of experiment and investigation is ended, then those earnest and laborious seekers after truth, who after all are the only real benefactors of mankind, will sit down to the task of systematizing these facts, and culling out and rejecting whatever is false in this evidence ; and when this is done, we do not doubt that there will appear a mind that will weld this knowledge together into a system of philosophy which will approach infinitely nearer the truth than philosophy has ever done before.

But returning to the proposition already stated, the old and new philosophies differ in nothing so much as in the method of their construction, — the latter being founded upon facts, and rising out of experience ; the former founded for the most part upon speculation

unsupported by proof. The philosophy of the past was little more than a system of metaphysics ; that of to-day is essentially the philosophy of experience. The one dealing for the most part with mind and mental conditions, each thinker naturally gave to his theory the color of his own mental bias, and it was impossible to erect any system to which all might adhere ; the other, founded in great measure on principles capable of proof, may reasonably hope finally to achieve such a result. It is no inconsiderable recommendation of the modern philosophy that it is one of evidence and proof. The advocates of evolution must admit, however, that the proof of their doctrine is yet very far from complete. Whether it will ever reach a full demonstration, owing to the nature of the proof necessary and to the difficulty of obtaining it, even the evolutionist does not venture to predict without great caution and reserve. But though the gaps in human knowledge should never be filled, it is certain that the theory of evolution has exerted as great an influence on thought as any other scientific or philosophical doctrine that was ever enunciated. Mr. Darwin does not claim to have originated the theory that has received his name, but merely to have elaborated it and fortified it by evidence ; and though he may not be called either the strongest or most distinguished advocate of evolution, his influence in spreading the doctrine has probably been greater than that of any other man. Mr. Darwin has contented himself with the study of physical nature, and the effort to demonstrate the development of all physical organisms from a common origin. In his "Descent of Man" he places the human mind, in its lowest stages of development, in close relation to animal instinct ; and assuming that there is an intimate relation between the mind and the physical organism without attempting to explain its nature, he concludes that as the body by the operation of physical causes is subject to indefinite changes, so the mind by the operation of similar causes is subject to equally indefinite modifications. This theory has been carried further by other thinkers who have dealt more largely with the mental problem than Mr. Darwin has ever done. The physical world has been his special province, and there he has labored with the true zeal of one enamored of truth, and willing to make any sacrifice for her sake. In the midst of popular derision, and subject to constant criticism, he has pursued his solitary labors, heedless of the praise or censure of men, and content if only he could commune with truth in her chosen temple amid the beauties and glories of Nature. His long life has been one constant sacrifice to knowledge, and science has had no more industrious or more zealous an advocate. The result of his labors must be peculiarly gratifying to himself, for he has lived to see his theory of the world adopted by the great body of the scientific school, and bidding

fair to become the starting point of the philosophy of the future ; and is doubtless conscious of having established a name which, like that of Aristotle and Bacon and Newton, will go down to posterity as the mark of a great epoch in the intellectual history of the world.

Mr. Darwin has recently been devoting much attention to the breaking down of the sharp line which has always been supposed to exist between the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and in his seventy-first year has just produced another work devoted to that purpose, — his object being to demonstrate the similarity between animals and certain species of plants, and to strengthen the proof which he thinks will finally be completed of the common origin of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. This work must of necessity prove a valuable contribution to the science of biology, and will stimulate others to explore this new and curious field. Mr. Darwin's theory has done much to unburden biology of the teleological idea, and has been a heavy blow to the doctrine of final causes. It is, however, thought by many not to exclude the idea of a first cause, and is therefore less objectionable to the theological world than is the more extreme doctrine of Mr. Spencer.

As much as the doctrine of evolution is indebted to Mr. Darwin, it might be said to rest under even greater obligations to Mr. Herbert Spencer. Mr. Darwin has dealt only with the physical aspect of the question ; but Mr. Spencer, with true philosophical acumen, has considered it in almost every conceivable relation. No other single man has done so much as he to establish the doctrine upon a scientifico-philosophical basis, and to elaborate it into a complete and perfectly rounded philosophical system. No other man, indeed, has been so well prepared for so vast a work. Mr. Spencer is one of whom it is difficult to speak in terms which shall do him justice, and at the same time not appear to rate him more highly than he deserves. He has, not without reason, been considered the master intellect of this century, and it is not improbable that posterity will rank him as the greatest thinker who has appeared since Aristotle. Lord Bacon, in a letter to his uncle, Lord Burleigh, said : " I have taken all knowledge to be my province." Mr. Spencer could with equal justice say the same of himself ; and the difference between the amount of his knowledge and that of Bacon's is almost equal to the difference between the amount of knowledge of the ages in which they lived. His mind might be likened to some magnificent garden in which have bloomed and ripened all the flowers and fruits of thought, or to a profound and shoreless ocean into which all the rivers of knowledge have poured their abundant riches. He has set up a kind of autocracy in the realm of philosophy, and from his intellectual throne has surveyed

almost the entire field of human knowledge and human activity. We have compared him to Bacon, but they were alike only in the universality of their knowledge. Bacon's life was a melancholy spectacle of all that is greatest in human genius mingled in the same mind with all that is most unworthy in human character. In that vast intellect, which was capable of comprehending the universe, were antithetically mixed the true philosopher's love of truth and the scheming politician's unscrupulous disregard of plighted faith. Bacon thinking, deserves our greatest gratitude : Bacon acting, is worthy of our deepest scorn ; and according as we consider him as a politician or as a teacher of mankind, his name is associated with all that is most contemptible or all that is most glorious in the history of the human mind. Mr. Spencer, on the other hand, may be said to have done nothing unworthy of himself. His whole life has been given up to the study of pure philosophy, and his vast powers of mind early placed him in the front rank of modern thinkers. His originality, his grasp of the broadest principles, his almost infinite powers of generalization, are the marked characteristics of his mental constitution. A close and earnest student, he has accumulated a fund of knowledge profound and accurate in character and almost "encyclopædic" in extent ; and, worshipping Truth for her own sake, his private life, unlike that of the great Elizabethan philosopher, is such that philosophy will suffer no disgrace from association with his name. Mr. Spencer has been one of the most extreme advocates of the doctrine of evolution, and has carried it into the investigation of every subject, and has carefully elaborated an extensive system of philosophy upon this idea. There is scarcely any subject within the range of philosophy proper which he has not discussed, and whatever he has touched he has touched with the hand of a master. We may not accord with his views, but all must admit the consummate ability with which he has constructed his philosophical system. The briefest exposition of his doctrine or his method would carry us much beyond the limits of this paper. It may be said, however, that Mr. Spencer has laid much stress upon the great modern generalizations of the indestructibility of matter and the conservation of energy, resolving them into the one law of the persistence of force, which he makes the fundamental postulate of evolution. Evolution being a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, an amount of homogeneous matter is assumed which, under the influence of this law of force and the law of the instability of the homogeneous, is set into that process of change known as evolution. An apt illustration of the process is given in the nebular hypothesis of the formation of the solar system, which hypothesis Mr. Spencer adopts. Basing his philosophy upon the deductions of science, he has adopted the mechanical theory of evolution as dis-

tinguished from the teleological idea ; and, in the course of his investigations, attempts by this mechanical theory to account not only, as in the "First Principles," for the existence of the inorganic world, but afterward also for organic, mental, and social life. Everything is to Mr. Spencer the result of the laws of evolution. In his discussion of the development of organic life he has given great prominence to Mr. Darwin's doctrine of Natural Selection, or, as he terms it, the "Survival of the Fittest." For a number of years he has been engaged in the study of sociology, and is elaborating an extensive system of social philosophy upon the idea of social evolution. Society is regarded much in the same light as an individual organism, and its present condition is accounted for upon similar principles of evolution and development. In his opinion "Societies are products of evolution, assuming in their various times and places their various modifications of structure and function."¹

It is scarcely possible that even Mr. Spencer's great abilities will be able to erect a true theory of social science. The problem is one involving so many difficulties and so many diverse and conflicting laws, that it seems quite improbable at present that the human mind will ever be able to work out its complete solution. That society has reached its present development by the operation of certain laws seems, in this age of the reign of law, much more probable than many other things that have received demonstration ; but these laws are so multiform that many of them may forever baffle human research. No one has understood the difficulties of the problem more clearly than Mr. Spencer himself, and we cannot but experience a sensation of pain when we read in the closing words of the "Study of Sociology" his melancholy recognition of the insufficiency of even the highest powers to solve the great questions of life which present themselves to the mind. He says :

"Thus, admitting that for the fanatic some wild anticipation is needful as a stimulus, and recognizing the usefulness of his delusion as adapted to his particular nature and his particular function, the man of higher type must be content with greatly modified expectations, while he perseveres with undiminished efforts. He has to see how comparatively little can be done, and yet to find it worth while to do that little ; so uniting philanthropic energy with philosophic calm."

While, however, the social problem is one which even the best intellects may never thoroughly comprehend, much good will unquestionably result from a study of the laws by which society has been developed. It must certainly sooner or later affect the policies of rulers. It must also in some measure have its influence upon religious opinions. Extreme views both in religion and politics will no doubt be greatly modified by this study. For the social question is

¹ Study of Sociology, p. 399.

certainly one which may be understood infinitely better than it ever yet has been, and a fuller knowledge of its laws must inevitably effect an amelioration of the condition of mankind. As the social science is better understood, society must necessarily be established upon a better basis. Better laws will be framed, a broader humanitarian principle will be adopted, a healthier tone of thought will prevail, and a more rapid progress will be made toward that perfect society whose end shall be the greatest happiness and the greatest good of mankind. Viewed in this light, the study of society as the product of evolution must plainly be of great benefit to man, if the laws of its development can ever be ascertained even in part. That they should ever be fully understood is highly improbable; but they may be understood in great measure, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Spencer has already done much to simplify the problem. Yet notwithstanding the eminent services he has rendered in this field of labor, his greatest claim upon the gratitude of posterity will be that he has demonstrated the existence of a social science, and has opened a path into this wilderness, and pointed out the road for future explorers to pursue. To mark out the paths of future thought, and draw the lines along which posterity shall walk in its search after truth, is indeed the special prerogative of the noblest intellects; and this Mr. Spencer more than any of his contemporaries has probably succeeded in doing. And his work seems to be far from ended yet. He is now in his sixty-first year, his constitution is strong and vigorous, his health robust; and altogether there seems no reason why he should not yet have many years before him to devote to those immortal labors which have made his name a familiar sound wherever science and philosophy are known. Yet it must be admitted that his philosophical system is far from complete. Indeed, he has laid its foundations so broad that it is impossible a single mind should ever be able to complete so stupendous a structure. Like the celebrated historian of civilization, he has undertaken a task which no man will ever be able to perform alone. He has endeavored to compass all knowledge, and to systematize all experience. Unwilling to recognize that there are bounds to human will and human intellect, he has gone on piling up the successive stories of the great temple of philosophy which he is building; but long before the last touches are given his life will be exhausted, and other hands will continue what he has begun. Much that he has built will no doubt be torn away and replaced by something new; but it will be enough for his fame if only the foundation which he has laid shall have been laid upon truths that will endure.

Among the English evolutionists, Professor Huxley must not be forgotten. Though now only in his fifty-fifth year, he has long held a

prominent position in the scientific world, and is said to have been the first to extend Mr. Darwin's theory of the origin of species to man. Like Mr. Darwin, he has devoted himself almost entirely to a consideration of the physical side of the question. For some years he has been devoting much attention to the comparative anatomy of the vertebrata, and zoölogy is indebted to him for many important discoveries. He is a vigorous and original thinker, a laborious student, and a strong advocate of evolution. His work on "Man's Place in Nature," in which he brings man within the scope of the Darwinian theory, is probably his best known work on evolution. In 1868 he delivered a lecture on the "Physical Basis of Life" which attracted much attention. In this lecture he claimed that there is a certain kind of matter from which all the life of the globe has sprung. This matter he calls *protoplasm*, and claims that it is the product of the union, under certain conditions, of certain compounds, — water, ammonia, and carbonic acid ; that this protoplasm forms the basis of all life ; and that all life is therefore of kindred origin and kindred character, from the lowest plant to the highest animal.

Associated with the name of Professor Huxley is that of Professor Tyndall. Probably no one of the English scientists is better known either in this country or in Europe. Professor Tyndall is, in the strictest sense of the words, a physical scientist. His labors have been chiefly an examination into the molecular constitution of matter. He has made many important discoveries both in electricity and in radiant heat. He has also devoted much attention to a consideration of the causes which affect the "acoustic transparency of the atmosphere," and his work on "Sound" has been translated into Chinese at the expense of the Chinese government. Professor Tyndall is a thorough-going evolutionist. He has written much and delivered many lectures, and has probably done more than any one else to popularize science. He is peculiarly fortunate in his style of writing, which is at once clear, beautiful, and powerful. Indeed, in this respect he may be said to stand at the head of the whole school of English science and philosophy, and it is difficult to find a better or more pleasing style even among those who have made the rules of composition a study of their lives. Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall are the four names that are most intimately identified with the English doctrine of evolution. Many other eminent thinkers, however, have advocated the same doctrine, and notably Mr. Bain, Mr. Lewes, Mr. Fiske, Mr. Murphy, and Professor Clifford. These have for the most part attempted to give a metaphysical interpretation to the doctrine. It might with some justice be said that the whole body of the English scientists and philosophers have in some form or other accepted the

evolution hypothesis. The four names first mentioned, however, are those which are most intimately associated with the idea. Of these, Mr. Darwin seems to have had the greatest influence on the Continent, and particularly in Germany. Indeed, the whole of the modern German philosophy seems to have risen upon the Darwinian or physical conception of evolution ; and Mr. Spencer, who has done more than any other thinker to elaborate the doctrine, seems to have exerted but little influence upon German thought. We may, however, predict that he will be rated more highly by posterity than any of his contemporaries, for he has extended his investigations over a wider territory, has thought more profoundly, has opened up greater fields of inquiry, and has embodied in a philosophical system for the use of future explorers the vast acquirements of a mind that has gathered fruits from all the fields of human thought, and whose resources seem limited only by the limits of knowledge.

In concluding this paper it may be proper to repeat and to examine the statement already made, that the new philosophy, by which we would designate the philosophy of evolution, is based upon actual scientific research. It is, so far as it has been clearly made out, a philosophy of proof ; and this might be called the chief feature which distinguishes it from the philosophy of other ages. Whatever may be the result of the investigations now making in this direction, it is at least much that an attempt has been made to establish philosophy upon a scientific basis and to subject its conclusions to the test of proof. This age, indeed, is one in which it is difficult for any doctrine to stand unless supported by strong evidence of its soundness. And this I regard as an indication of an extremely healthy mental condition. There is everywhere a great desire to know the truth, and a determination to accept nothing which has not been subjected to a close and searching scrutiny. The opponents of science, if any exist, do not demand stronger or more certain proofs of the truth of any new scientific doctrine than does the scientist himself. And this is proper, for scientific knowledge should be fixed and impregnable ; and while this desire to know the truth and this spirit of universal criticism continue, we may reasonably expect that great progress will be made in all the branches of knowledge. We may expect, too, that knowledge will be established upon a better basis than heretofore ; that it will be more certain and less subject to fluctuation, — for what has been established by proof and demonstrated to be true must be true forever. The evolutionists, therefore, by giving their doctrine a scientific basis and subjecting it to the test of proof, have taken the only method by which such a doctrine could ever be satisfactorily established ; but it cannot be claimed even by the most extravagant advocates of evolu-

tion that the proof already obtained is sufficient. On the contrary, it must be admitted that it is very far from complete. There are immense gaps in our knowledge of the world, and particularly of the animal life of the world, which must be filled up ; and the proof necessary to fill these gaps is of such a character that it may well be doubted whether or not it can ever be obtained. It seems impossible, also, that the existence of mind can ever be accounted for upon a purely physical or mechanical conception of the idea of evolution, if we suppose the mind to be something different from and independent of the physical organism. And even though by future investigation these gaps in our knowledge should all be filled, and we should come to a clear understanding of the universal interdependence of species, and be able to demonstrate the gradual evolution in time of all animal life from the lowest to the highest forms, we should still be unable to explain that "first principle" of life from which all living organisms had been evolved. So that the doctrine of evolution, even admitting all that Mr. Spencer claims, still leaves us ignorant of the beginning of life. It takes us only to the door of the temple, and leaves us there anxious and pleading to know, yet able only to guess at, what is concealed within. Professor Huxley, as we have seen, has attempted to account for the beginning of life upon scientific principles ; but it is safe to say that in the present state of knowledge no satisfactory demonstration of this character can be made. What the future will achieve in this direction may not be predicted ; but we may express a doubt whether we shall ever be able to form any other than a teleological conception of life. In his biology, Mr. Spencer does not attempt to solve the question of how life first arose, but assumes its existence, and considers merely its development into higher forms. And this is the most that the evolutionist at present can hope to do. He may attempt to trace the progress of life, but he may not explain to us the secret of its first beginnings ; and even though Mr. Darwin's theory of the origin of species and descent of man should be fully established, still we shall find ourselves asking but receiving no answer to the question, "What is life ?" Still we shall not know whether, as claimed by some, it is merely a continuation under other forms of sub-vital processes, or whether it is something complete in itself and wholly independent of physical causes. In a word, the evolutionist must assume a beginning of life, and admit that he is unable to explain it ; so that after all the question of life seems, even from the standpoint of the evolutionist, to resolve itself back into the idea of a first cause and a creative will. Many have found in this view a footing upon which to build a religious interpretation of the doctrine ; for it is argued that if the doctrine of evolution is true, its effect is not to destroy the belief in a first cause, but merely to remove that cause

further from us than we have heretofore conceived it to be. Just as a wheel started from the top of a hill and rolling with increasing velocity towards the plain owes its motion to the hand which gave the original impulse, so in this conception of evolution the world-progress is referred back to the hand which first started Nature in her course of change. So, too, the doctrine is thought by some not necessarily to exclude the idea of a future life; for even conceiving the mind to have arisen by a gradual evolution, there may, it is thought, be reached a degree of mental development which might qualify the mind to live when the physical organism has expired.

But whatever other influence the doctrine may have, it is quite certain that it will lead in the future to a more careful study of man as man and as related to the sum of things. To solve so vast a problem is the highest object towards which human energy can be directed. It is, indeed, the ultimate aim of all philosophy. And as we acquire a broader knowledge of ourselves, we shall at the same time become more intimately acquainted with the means by which our happiness is secured. We shall better understand our relation to society and to mankind; and recognizing that the highest good of the species is the highest good of the individual, we shall learn to live less for ourselves and more for humanity. The result must be that a more altruistic spirit will prevail; the question of self will, in a greater measure than before, be lost in the question of race, and the energies of all will be directed towards the accomplishment of the evolutionists' dream of the perfect state, — the highest development of the species. If there is any principle which more than any other recommends the new philosophy, it is that it is essentially the philosophy of humanity; and though in the progress of knowledge it should be demonstrated that the principles upon which it is founded are fundamentally erroneous, it still will not have existed in vain, if, by directing thought into new channels and opening other fields of investigation, it has increased human happiness by bringing man to a better knowledge of himself.

WILLIAM MYALL.

THE REFORM IN PRONOUNCING LATIN.

FOR some years past there has been much and earnest discussion as to the necessity of a reform in the pronunciation of Latin. In 1857 Professor Corssen issued his great work. It was by far the most profound and scholarly treatise on that subject which had ever appeared, and it brought before the public an almost incredible mass of information with regard to the history and growth of the Latin

language. From this parentage came that progeny of publications which for twenty years past, in this country and in England, have aimed at a reform in the pronunciation of Latin. In England several more or less important works have appeared. In our own country, aside from occasional articles in the magazines, three little books have been published, all advocating reform. The first of these was by Professor Haldeman, of the University of Pennsylvania, published in 1851; the second, by Professor Richardson of the University of Rochester, published in 1859; the third, by Professor Blair of Hampden-Sydney College, Va., in 1874. These works make little claim to independent investigation, but are founded largely upon such works as that of Professor Corssen already referred to. It is not a little singular that this movement for reform should have received its first impulse from Germany, since apparently no interest whatever is felt there in a reform for which they have been made responsible. England has been the centre of this movement, and the interest which has been awakened there has in a measure reproduced itself in this country. The condition of affairs in the educated world with reference to the pronunciation of Latin seems at present to be this: Each nation pronounces the language in accordance with the laws and customs of their own speech. We are often in the habit of speaking of the "Continental" method of pronunciation, while the fact is that there is no Continental method.

So far as the vowel sounds are concerned, the different nations on the Continent exhibit a tolerable unity; but in the pronunciation of the consonants there is the widest divergence. The Frenchman says (Cicero) Seesayro; the German Tsetsayro; the Italian Cheechayro.

It is admitted on all hands that unity is desirable in the pronunciation of Latin. It is still further admitted that it is in the highest degree desirable to restore, if possible, the pronunciation which was used in Rome in the classical period, and in the times of her highest culture. The period of Roman civilization, whose pronunciation it is desired to reproduce, is a comparatively limited one, and is confined to what is known as the Augustan age. In the language of Mr. Ellis¹:—

"It is desired to revive the pronunciation which was current among the principal men of eminence, as statesmen, philosophers, historians, writers, orators, and poets, during the first century before Christ,—the pronunciation of Julius and Augustus Cæsar, of Mæcenas, of Cicero, Virgil, and Horace; that is, the court and literary, as distinct from the popular and rustic, pronunciation." It is admitted that the pronunciation of the Augustan age "differed at least as much from that of the preceding century as the English of Queen Anne did from that of Elizabeth; and that it differed from that of the second and third centuries afterward at least as much, probably more, than Queen Anne's differed from Queen Victoria's."²

¹ Ellis's Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin, p. 2.

² Ellis, p. 3.

It is therefore at once apparent that the problem is one of special difficulty, in that it is proposed to reproduce tones which sounded but for a few years, and then disappeared forever. The language which Augustus spoke has been dead for eighteen hundred years. It is a matter of extreme difficulty to catch the pronunciation of a foreign language even when one is brought into immediate contact with it. Such an acquirement demands not only an educated ear and the power to discriminate closely between similar sounds, but it requires also long practice. Every one knows that it is utterly impossible to learn the pronunciation of German, French, or Italian from books. It is a very difficult matter to reproduce a sound even when one has heard it, and heard repeatedly. Foreign languages can be spoken with any degree of elegance only when persons have resided for several years in foreign countries, and even then, in many cases, the native detects inaccuracies in the pronunciation. It is extremely difficult for a German to learn French; and how many Germans are there, though they have lived in America for ten or twenty years, who speak our language without a foreign accent?

This is the case when the language which one wishes to learn is spoken all about him; when he can note critically the sound of different combinations, and when he has daily and constant opportunity to correct and improve his pronunciation. What must the difficulty be, then, in the case of a language which was spoken nearly two thousand years ago, which has never been spoken since as it was then spoken, and in regard to the pronunciation of which our information is of the most meagre kind? But have we not the elaborate works of the grammarians who wrote voluminously and critically in regard to the value and sound of the different letters? Do not the writings of Priscian, Victorinus, and others settle the question of Latin pronunciation for all practical purposes? On the contrary, they do not settle it at all. For the thing which is aimed at is to reproduce the pronunciation of the Augustan age; and what knowledge of that had these writers who lived from three to six hundred years later than Horace and Virgil? The Romans of the Augustan age would doubtless have ridiculed the pronunciation of these very grammarians who are supposed to teach the science of speaking Latin correctly. Indeed Roby, who is one of the strong advocates of reform says¹:—

"I assign but little weight to the accounts of pronunciation given by the Roman grammarians. . . . Some isolated statements given by Cicero and Quintilian are worth careful notice; but to describe sounds properly requires a large acquaintance with possible and actual sounds: and who in the ancient world had that? It is absurd to see loose statements of writers of uncertain age, but probably between A. D. 200 and 600, and often nearer the latter than the former, taken as authenticated evidence of the pronunciation of Cicero and Cæsar."

¹ Preface, § xxx.

Moreover, the very writings of these grammarians presuppose a certain knowledge of the sound of the letters in regard to which they treat ; so that when one of them tells us that "the vowels, when prolonged, sustain their own power," we are just as far from knowing what their own power was as we were before.

The Romans of the age whose pronunciation we wish to recover wrote little or nothing in regard to the proper sound of the Roman letters. The only information which we get from them is fragmentary and incidental. From Cicero we have a few suggestions ; from Quintilian, who wrote under Domitian, we learn a very little ; and from Gellius, who lived about 130 A.D. (rather outside of the classical period), we have a few brief passages. Mr. Ellis,—himself an enthusiastic advocate of reform, and by far the leading Englishman in this department,—in speaking of the difficulty of the work says¹ :—

"Even after months spent in Paris, with French in the air all around, very few Englishmen are able to obtain more than a rough conception and an indifferent execution of a pronunciation so utterly different from their own. Latin was at least as different ; and yet we have to grub it up from passing remarks made by writers two thousand years old to others who, owing to their own habits of speech, knew what they meant by a mere allusion, and to piece these remarks together into some sort of a practical and practicable whole."

Roby admits in similar terms the great difficulty of the undertaking. It seems to be confessed, then, by the most scholarly of those who are engaged in this work, that it is one of great labor and obscurity. To condemn the English pronunciation of Latin and to insist upon returning to the pronunciation of the Augustan age is very easy ; but actually to make the return,—to recover those tones which, as Roby says, have not been uttered by any accredited representative for seventeen years,—"*Hic labor hoc opus est.*"

It is undoubtedly true that the cause of the reformers has suffered in general estimation from often having been advocated in an extravagant and dogmatic way. Instead of regarding it as a movement attended by great difficulty and surrounded by much obscurity, many of its advocates scout the idea of anything like hesitation or caution. They deal in wholesale denunciation of other systems, and wonder that any tolerable student of Latin can so lag behind the scholarship of the age. Mr. Jewell, who in 1875 was principal of the Poughkeepsie High School, in a paper read in that year before the University convocation at Albany, takes up the cudgel most stoutly against all systems but the pure and simple Roman. He calls it a system "not surpassed by anything pertaining to classic literature in the strength of its evidences." After speaking of the sources of our knowledge

¹ Quantitative Pronunciation, p. 4. *Note.*

of the old Roman pronunciations of Latin, he wonders "that any honest scholar, to say nothing of the zealous Latinist, can tolerate the sweeping and superficial statement that the ancient pronunciation of the Latin language has been almost wholly lost." Such statements do not come with very good grace from those who by their own confession are not original investigators, and who do little but trade upon the resources which others have accumulated. The men who have done any work in this department of research speak with more modesty and caution. One year after the presentation of Mr. Jewell's paper, Professor Tracy Peck, in an essay delivered before the same body, says: "The exact ancient pronunciation of Latin can of course never be fully known." And again: "Even if the abstract subject were easy, the Romans have left us no scientific treatment of the proper sounds of their language." After speaking also of the general difficulties of the subject, he adds: "Enough has been said to prove how empty are the claims of those who maintain that they have recovered in all its particulars the exact pronunciation of the ancient Romans. Approximate accuracy is the most which we can ever hope to attain."

Mr. Jewell of course did not know of these views of Professor Peck at the time when he read his paper at Albany; but he surely might have known that no less a scholar than Roby had said that "the inquiry into classical Latin is an inquiry into a pronunciation which has not been uttered by any accredited representative within the last seventeen hundred years." He might also have known that the evidence of the grammarians upon which he laid so much stress was rejected by Roby as utterly valueless. He ought to have known that Professor Blair had written, "Without a *particle* of *positive evidence* our only resource is in the multiplication of probable proofs." He might have read in Ellis as follows:—

"I assume that we are not in a position to obtain more than a very rough conception of its details [the Augustan pronunciation]; but even the small results that we can reach are useful in helping us on the road."

Professor Peck, in the paper already referred to, in recommending the restored pronunciation of Latin, goes no further than to say:

"It is approximately correct. Though the problem is beset with very great difficulties, and though the lights by which we proceed are often feeble, sometimes misleading, yet the cumulative argument from a variety of sources is great. . . . Our Latin utterance must of course always be that of foreigners."

When such men as Roby and Ellis speak, they are to be listened to with respectful attention. They are masters in their own departments; and the difficulties which they admit, as well as the caution

with which they speak, are a sufficient rebuke to the flippant and ex-cathedra style of these ill-equipped and over zealous advocates of reform.

Professor Richardson is another of those who would have us believe that a return to the old Roman pronunciation is a very simple thing. "Can the Roman pronunciation," he asks, "be satisfactorily ascertained?" "Every one," he answers, "who has properly investigated this subject will answer this question in the affirmative." "The sounds are all familiar," he says again, "and can be learned with the utmost facility." "The most inveterate barbarian, by reading aloud for an hour or two each day, will in a fortnight metamorphose himself into a veritable old Roman." The absurdity and wildness of such language as this needs no comment; or if it need any, the words already quoted from Roby, Ellis, and Peck are quite sufficient. In another place Professor Richardson says: "The merest child can understand it;" and he calls it "that perfectly simple and beautiful system of the Romans." He describes it as "a system ascertained and established in every important particular by the testimony of its own grammarians." Who these grammarians were, and the value which Roby attaches to their writings, we have already seen.

But after these jubilant words of Professor Richardson, one would suppose that the so-called Roman system was universally agreed upon; that all the problems connected with it had been settled; and that nothing was left for the scholar but the simple task of making himself familiar with it, and putting it into practice. "The merest child," he says, "can learn it." But what shall we learn, and what is the Roman system? And here we find ourselves at once in a sea of controversy. The strange fact appears that there is no settled Roman pronunciation. The advocates of this system agree in some respects, but disagree widely and decidedly in others. If it is *unity* which we are after, we shall be no nearer to it in trying to adopt the Roman pronunciation than we are at present with our national pronunciation. And if it is the old Roman pronunciation which we are after, the question arises again, who can tell us what that was? Professor Richardson is very certain that he has reached the exact truth; Professor Blair is at swords' points with Richardson in some particulars, and censures him very sharply; Professor Potwin of the Western Reserve¹ is very doubtful as to several of the most important features connected with this scheme; the syllabus issued by the professors of Latin in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge differs in some respects from any of these; Mr. Ellis also has his own peculiarities, and is doubtful as to some points. Indeed, the only ground upon which the advocates of reform strike a truce and are at peace, is that *c* and *g* are always

¹ New Englander, xxxvii. 815.

hard ; and even here, at least as regards *c*, they have against them the authority of Corssen ; and Mr. Storey, in the "North American" of January, 1879, has argued from the modern Italian very forcibly in the same direction. As to the sound of *V*, and also of the diphthongs, the reformers either say that they are not decided, or, if decided, they are violently opposed to each other. *V*, says Professor Richardson, is like the Greek *OU*,—that is, our *W*. "From all that has been said," says Blair, "we infer that the consonant *V* was sounded like the English *V* when it began a syllable." "I do not think the English *W* was ever used," says Ellis ; and the syllabus of the English University professors gives the option of pronouncing *V* as *V* or as *W*. *AE*, says Professor Richardson, was sounded like "aye," the English adverb of affirmation ; *AE*, says Blair, like *ai* in the French *raison* ; *AE*, says Roby, very nearly like the sound of *a* in *hat*, lengthened. *OE*, says Professor Potwin, as *oi* in *boil* ; *OE*, says the English University scheme, as *ai* in *pain* ; *OE*, says Blair, as *o* in *world*, or *i* in *whirl* ; *OE*, says Roby, "is somewhat perplexing,"—and one would infer as much from the difficulty which the reformers experience in finding an equivalent for the sound. *EU*, says Professor Haldeman, is pronounced by adding to the English word *day* the last syllable of the English word *endow* ; *EU*, says Professor Blair, as in *few*, *perw*, etc. *D* at the end of words, says Blair, was sounded like the English *t* ; *D*, says Ellis, will receive its English sound. Most of the other writers assign to each vowel or diphthong its own distinct and peculiar sound. On the contrary the scheme of the English professors assigns to *E*, *AE*, and *OE* the same sound,—like *ai* in *pain*. "The pronunciation of the diphthongs," says Richardson, "is determined at once and infallibly by the well-established sounds of the component elements." Professor Blair utterly denies this statement. After giving his own conclusions as to the pronunciation of *AE*, Blair adds : "In the face of these statements, Professor Richardson lays down the law that *AE* should be sounded like *aye*, the English adverb of affirmation." *Qu*, says Richardson, had precisely the sound of *K*. "When *u* followed *s*, *g*, or *q*," says Blair, "it had a sound like the English *W*." Richardson would say "Kamkam ;" Blair would say "quamquam ;" and in a note Blair sneers at Richardson for such perfect folly.

These details are given merely to show that there is as yet no unity or system in the plans for reforming the pronunciation of Latin. The only thing upon which they are agreed is the necessity of a reform : as to the character of the reform, they are very far from being agreed. The result of this lack of harmony is seen in the fact that the schools which teach the Roman pronunciation teach it in a variety of ways. Until some single scheme is agreed upon which will approve itself to the minds of scholars, the reform movement will

not be cordially nor generally embraced. Indeed, all the information which we have shows that the reform is thus far treated with a good deal of distrust and indifference. In England, which is the home of the movement, the reform is but half-hearted and partial. Mr. Ellis (1874) says of it: "It can hardly be said as yet to have been adequately tried in schools or seconded in the universities." "Even now," he adds, "the old use predominates, and it is to be feared that even those trained by the syllabus in the schools are induced to give it up, or at least suppress it, when they proceed to the universities." "The *lamentable fluctuation of opinion*," he continues, "exhibited by the schoolmasters in their conference of this year is a clear proof of the difficulties which attend any real reform." Professor Thatcher, in the "New Englander" of November, 1878, quotes the words of a fellow of one of the colleges of Oxford to the effect that "zeal for the new pronunciation has sadly cooled;" that "it has been given up again in most schools, and may in fact be said to be extinct." Professor Fisher of the University of Missouri, in a little work recently published, produces a number of letters bearing upon this subject from many of the prominent institutions and instructors of England. The head-master of Rugby writes: "I think reformed Latin pronunciation a mere waste of time, and if done on a fictitious professor-made plan, absurd." Professor Palmer of Oxford — himself one of the authors of the syllabus — says of it: "I am not aware that individual professors, tutors, or lecturers venture upon it in dealing with their classes, nor have I heard that Cambridge has been more enterprising. I regard the syllabus as having fallen still-born." At Harrow they "still retain the old English pronunciation."

In 1876 the Bureau of Education at Washington gathered statistics from a great number of schools and colleges as to the system of Latin pronunciation which was preferred and used. The results of that inquiry showed that out of two hundred and thirty-seven colleges consulted ninety used the English, seventy-five the Continental, and seventy-two the Roman. Of the eighty-seven schools which were consulted thirty-four used the English, twenty-eight the Continental, and twenty-five the Roman. These figures suggest one or two remarks. They seem to show in the first place that there is no great clamor in America for the Roman pronunciation. They show that so far as our country is concerned it is not true that "the tendency the world over is to the Roman system."¹ Public opinion seems to be far from satisfied in regard to it, and the great majority of our schools and colleges do not adopt it. Harvard and Princeton use it: on the other hand Dartmouth, Williams, Amherst, and multitudes of others do not. These statistics still further show that this attempt at reform

¹ Professor Peck, Regent's Report, 1876.

has simply introduced a disturbing and distracting force into our education. Instead of having the English and the Continental, — two systems tolerably congenial, — we now have a third, which comes to us in a variety of superficial forms, which lays hold of many of our preparatory schools, and which introduces only confusion into our colleges. We shall not for many years recover from the demoralization which has been occasioned by this attempt to foist upon us an uncongenial and an ill-matured system of Latin pronunciation.

But it may be asked, in case the reform succeeds, what are we to gain by so radical a change in the pronunciation of Latin, — a change which meets with such violent opposition in England, which receives but a partial recognition in this country, and has not the slightest foothold in the European schools and universities. Mr. Roby and Professor Richardson speak with considerable confidence of the possibility of restoring the old pronunciation, so that an Englishman's Latin should be intelligible to Cæsar or Cicero. Professor Richardson thinks that under his plan we should be "veritable old Romans;" and Mr. Roby thinks that our pronunciation would not differ from that of the Augustan age "more than the pronunciation of educated men in one part of England differs from that heard in other parts." Mr. Ellis, however, whose name carries with it quite as much weight in this matter as that of any other Englishman, is by no means so hopeful. He thinks that the scheme issued by the university professors would, if followed, "give a result nearly as intelligible to Cicero as an Italian's or German's or Frenchman's attempt to pronounce English, when only taught by books which gave key words in their own language, would be to an Englishman, — that is, not quite so good as a Scotchman's English in a Londoner's ears." But "these *rough approximations* will probably suffice for all school purposes." And this is the result for the attainment of which we are asked to revolutionize our national system of pronouncing Latin. We are to change a scheme which, however far it may be from the true Roman pronunciation, still has some harmony about it and answers our purposes perfectly well, for a scheme which as yet has no unity about it, and which, if realized in its ideal perfection, would give us only a miserable distortion of the Augustan Latin, which the Romans would have greeted with derisive laughter. We admit that for purposes of communication it is better to speak a living language poorly, even very poorly, than not to speak it at all. But no advantage of this kind is under consideration in the pronunciation of Latin. It is a question of *accuracy*, not of *utility*. If it were possible to speak with the old Romans, we should prefer to speak in a very rude and discordant way rather than not to speak at all. But when no such advantage is at stake, to abandon our own scheme for one which is still unsettled,

and which promises such meagre results as Mr. Ellis anticipates, must seem a doubtful and hazardous experiment.

But we are inclined to think that even Mr. Ellis is far too hopeful in regard to the accuracy which will be gained by adopting this scheme. The advocates of reform have in this whole discussion exaggerated, to the exclusion of everything else, the importance to be attached to the proper sound of the letters. This undoubtedly is of great importance in the proper pronunciation of any language; but it falls very far short of covering the whole ground of the proper pronunciation of Latin. Quantity and accent entered very largely into the spoken language of the Romans. Their ears were most delicately sensitive to any error in this respect. The language of the orator or the poet was like a harmony, in which the slightest discord jarred painfully upon the ears of even the unlettered audience. Cicero in speaking of certain orators from some of the Latin towns awards them high praise, but criticises the absence of the refined diction and accent of Rome. The pronunciation of the people from many of the surrounding towns excited the laughter of the Romans from the time of Plautus down to Cicero. There are other passages in Cicero which show the niceness and accuracy of the Roman ear with reference to pronunciation. "In the theatre," he says, "the whole audience cries out if a verse is too short or too long by a single syllable." He adds that the multitude, without knowing anything of verse or quantity, instinctively understood when the laws of harmony had been violated. This was a fact so well understood that Cicero mentions it several times in the course of his rhetorical writings.

Even admitting, then, that the advocates of the Roman system have settled beyond dispute the proper sound of every letter, the Latin which they would furnish us would be a miserably defective reproduction of the Latin of the Augustan age. And yet how many of the teachers who have attempted to follow the Roman scheme in schools or colleges have paid any attention to this matter of quantity and accent? The changes which they have made are confined almost exclusively to the hard sound of *c* and *g*, and to the pronunciation of one or two of the diphthongs. To pronounce Latin properly requires an acquaintance with the quantity of Latin vowels and syllables which, it is safe to say, no scholar of modern times has ever attained. If the Romans "had no force accent, — that is, if they did not, as we do, distinguish one syllable of every word invariably by pronouncing it with greater force or loudness of tone, — if accent means merely *pitch*, and quantity means not the loudness, but the duration of the tone," then the proposed change becomes still more difficult. To pronounce Latin properly upon such a system would require long and laborious practice; and to read a Latin sentence correctly would be as difficult as to master a

fine piece of harmony. The young student under this scheme is expected to be acquainted with the length of every vowel which he may meet with; he cannot be guided by general rules in this matter. For a large proportion of the cases met with there would be no rule, and even the Augustan writers conflict, at times, with themselves and with each other in the quantity of the same word. To err in any of these particulars is to be guilty of a glaring defect which would doubtless have aroused the laughter of a Roman audience. Yet how can it be expected that any student will retain in memory the quantity of every vowel in every Latin word? To expect this of him is to make him a slave to a dry and bloodless system, as dull and profitless as counting the sands of the sea-shore; it is to degrade the study of language, and to store the mind with a mass of minute and utterly useless facts. Moreover, if the student of our day is to pronounce Latin as the ancients pronounced it, he should at least be given equal advantages with them. Quintillian says that long vowels were often written double, so as to indicate to the eye the proper quantity, and therefore the proper pronunciation. It was a very easy matter for a Roman boy, seeing double *A* written for the long vowel, or seeing *EI* written for the long *I*, to recognize the quantity and give the proper tone. If the young student of our day is to be required to pronounce according to quantity, then our text-books should certainly reproduce these old devices to simplify pronunciation.

But the whole question deserves to be looked at in a broader and more practical light. Nine tenths of the students in our schools and colleges have but five or six years to give to the study of Latin. We allow three years — a liberal allowance — for the preparatory course, and three years during college life; for the study is seldom carried beyond the Junior year. Not more than four years of the six can be given to what may be properly called becoming acquainted with the literature of Rome. The other years are given to the drudgery of the study, the mastery of the rudiments, which, however important as the condition of future progress, can neither be interesting to the young student, nor a means of mental enlargement. Leaving out of account the time during which Latin is not studied in college, the four years spoken of dwindle down to between two and three years of actual study. Now we protest against any scheme which requires that any considerable portion of this short and valuable time shall be frittered away in labor which for him is so unproductive. Professor Tracy Peck says: "It certainly is not feasible or desirable that much time in a university course be given to matters of pronunciation." When the thoughts of a great writer are in his hands, — when the soul of a great people is mirrored before him, — it must be regarded as nothing less than a waste of time and opportunity for the ordinary college

student to be laboring over the endless details of quantity and accent. For the college student, the great object of the study of such a language is that he may come in contact with the spirit of an age and people so colossal in almost all their features; that he may read in their own language the thoughts of their great poets, orators, and historians; that he may know something of and be inspired by the spirit of liberty, law, and republican freedom which is stamped upon so much of the literature of that age and people.

But cannot the mastery of these details of pronunciation be easily acquired while the student is becoming acquainted with the other elements of the language? By no means; and those who suppose so have no conception of the prodigious labor attending such an attempt. It is a work of no little difficulty even to *understand* the elaborate scheme which Mr. Ellis sets forth, and vastly more difficult to put it in practice. In order to do so, the *individual student* must be drilled day after day upon words and sentences; he must regulate his quantity by the swinging of the pendulum; he must subject himself to a drill as rigid and exacting as that of an opera singer. It would be quite impossible, apparently, that any instructor should drill a class of twenty-five or thirty young men according to this method. They must be taken separately by the instructor; they must be drilled long and patiently; and this must evidently result in the loss of much valuable time. The student cannot master these details at the outset, because it is a study which is never ended. The labor is renewed with the appearance of every new word, and the work has to be gone over again and again. Dry facts of this kind do not easily lodge themselves in the memory, and the task would be as dull and endless as to commit to memory a confused and interminable mass of figures. Is it worth while that the students in our schools and colleges should be employed in this work rather than in reading largely from Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus? For the professional student these studies in letters and in the science of philology are undoubtedly of value; but the student who studies Greek or Latin for four years and then drops it forever can, we believe, employ his time to better advantage.

Our reasons for objecting to the proposed change are in part, then, the following:—

1. There is as yet no well settled plan for the reform proposed. The advocates of the scheme are at war with each other.

2. The results anticipated even by the most hopeful are very meagre and unsatisfactory. Even admitting that we can know the proper sound of all the letters and combinations, we are not encouraged to look for anything but a very crude and barbarous approximation to the old Roman speech.

3. The scheme entirely overlooks the true object and aim of the study of Latin by the great mass of our college students.

When we can be absolutely certain that we know how the old Romans pronounced Latin, then it may be worth while, even at great expense of time and labor, to try to reproduce that pronunciation. But at present all is confusion and uncertainty. Our own belief is that the enthusiasm for such reform has some time since reached its highest point, and is rather on the decline. It has no foothold in Germany; the testimony from England seems to show that it does not secure a very general following there; and the demand for it in our own country is not very pronounced. Is it worth while to venture upon a change which is repugnant to our habit of speech and which is difficult to master, unless we can be assured of some decided and practical advantage? No such advantage appears in the Roman pronunciation as at present taught, for it does not meet the indorsement even of the professed advocates of that scheme. Undoubtedly there should be some system in the pronunciation of Latin. The English pronunciation is the result of a system. It is not lawless; it is orderly and regular. It is doubtless very far from the true Roman pronunciation; but so confessedly is the scheme of the reformers. The English is our own system; it is in harmony with our own language; and until some scheme can be proposed which is demonstrably the right one and which can promise large results, it cannot with reason be asked that we should make the change.

A. G. HOPKINS.

THE FIRST SAN FRANCISCO VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

THIRTY-FIVE years ago, the present city of San Francisco was a small trading-post known as Yerba Buena Cove. When the war between the United States and Mexico began in 1846, the frigate "Savannah" was lying at anchor in the harbor of Mazatlan. Commodore John Drake Sloat, who was in command of the North Pacific station, on receiving news of the commencement of hostilities, sailed immediately for California, and arrived at Monterey on the second of July. He hoisted the "Stars and Stripes," and took possession of Alta California, as a territory of the United States. Afterward, by the treaty of 1848, California was ceded, and the action of Commodore Sloat was confirmed. In 1847 the name of San Francisco had been given to the village of Yerba Buena by the emigrants from the United

States, who even at that early period were the active men of the country, and for a long time had been looked upon with jealousy and distrust by the officials under the Mexican government, who dreaded the energy of these foreigners, — malditos Yankees, as they called them, — who were getting so firm a foot-hold in the country.

When the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico was ratified in 1848, gold had already been found at Sutter's mill on the south fork of the American River, but no positive information concerning this wonderful discovery reached the Atlantic States until the autumn of that year. The communication between San Francisco and New York, or Boston, being by sailing vessels *viâ* Cape Horn, a letter would be perhaps four or five months on its way, as clipper ships at that time were only used for voyages to China by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. An official letter from Colonel R. B. Mason, Governor of the Territory of California, was published with other documents in the usual message of the President to Congress. This letter described a visit to the gold diggings, and said : —

“No capital is required to obtain this gold, as the laboring man wants nothing but his pick and shovel and his tin-pan with which to dig and wash the gravel ; and many frequently pick gold out of the crevices of rocks with their butcher knives, in pieces of from one to six ounces.”

When this statement appeared, coming as it did from undoubted authority, and given to the world by the highest powers at Washington, every able-bodied man wished to go to a country where pure gold could be picked out of the crevices of rocks with a jack-knife ; and there appeared in the Atlantic States that curious epidemic known as the “gold fever,” which bid fair to depopulate the country as rapidly, although not so fatally, as any yellow fever that ever raged on the banks of the Southern Mississippi. During January and February in 1849 eighty vessels sailed, with freight and passengers, for San Francisco *viâ* Cape Horn from the ports of New York and Boston. Many persons also crossed the continent from the Western States, and steam communication with the Isthmus of Darien gave facilities to those who wished for a rapid transit, and were willing to pay exorbitant prices, and to run the risk of the malarious fevers to which all travellers on the Chagres River were exposed. In addition to the emigration from the United States, many persons flocked into the new territory from Mexico, Peru, and Chili ; from China, the East Indies, and Australia.

For some time after San Francisco became a place of importance, the members of the city government had been named according to the Mexican style. There was an *Alcalde* and an *Ayuntamiento*, or in other words a Mayor and Common Council. In the year 1849, although there was a city government, there was no police force ;

the streets were neither paved nor lighted, and every one was obliged to protect himself and his property as best he could. A gang of ruffians known as the "Hounds" had for some time committed many assaults and robberies, but as their depredations had been confined to the tents and shanties occupied by Mexicans and Chilenos who lived on the outskirts of the town, the American citizens who were busy with their own affairs had paid little attention to the outrages committed on a number of foreigners, who were looked upon in the same light as the Chinese are at the present day; that is to say, as interlopers who were willing to work for half the wages demanded by a native American. One Sunday afternoon these "Hounds," or "Regulators" as they styled themselves, had collected in full force, and toward evening they made an attack upon the Spanish quarter, which exceeded in fury any of their former outrages. Not content with pillaging and breaking, they used their revolvers, and fired at random among the men and women. The next day, Monday the 16th of July, when the respectable part of the community learned the particulars of this outbreak, they all felt that immediate steps must be taken to break up the gang, or every one's life and property would be in danger. The Alcalde or Mayor, Mr. Leavenworth, having no police force to assist him, called a public meeting of citizens, to be held on the Plaza, — now known as Portsmouth Square. About two hundred persons offered their services as a volunteer police to disperse the rioters, who were threatening to drive all people of Spanish extraction out of the country. The "Hounds" were accustomed to act in concert, and were prepared for resistance; but the citizens, having armed themselves, arrested the two ringleaders, Sam. Roberts and Theodore Saunders, together with some twenty more of the gang who were known. There being no jail in which to put these captives, they were placed on board the United States Ship "Warren" for safe keeping. A criminal court was improvised, at which the Alcalde took the position of Judge. A jury was impanelled, counsel for the prosecution and for the defence of the prisoners were appointed, and the trial was conducted according to the usual forms. It was difficult, however, to obtain evidence, as the sufferers in the riot were ignorant of the English language, and were also in dread of the miscreants who had maltreated them. The two leaders and eight members of the "Hounds" were, however, identified and found guilty. They were sentenced in different degrees to fine and imprisonment; but since there was no jail, and none of the prisoners had any money, the sentence was merely nominal. The moral effect, however, was sufficient; and not one of them ever appeared in San Francisco again.

It has been necessary to give these details, as explanatory of the story which is to come. This affair of the "Hounds" has been often

alluded to as one of the instances where the citizens of San Francisco took the law into their own hands. Such was not the case. In the absence of a regular police, the chief magistrate of the city called upon a number of citizens to act as special constables for the purpose of quelling a riot, and afterward, in the absence of any criminal court, evidence was taken and sentence passed by a self-elected court and jury, sanctioned by the presence of the chief magistrate.

California was admitted to the Union as the thirty-first of the United States of North America, in September, 1850. The news was received with great rejoicing, and many persons looked forward to a new order of things, now that the country had become an integral part of the Great Republic. They were disappointed; assaults and robberies throughout the country were numerous, and in the mining districts numerous cases of Lynch law occurred, until the whole community began to look upon that form of summary justice as the best means for the suppression or punishment of crime; and not unfrequently the public journals in San Francisco discussed the matter gravely, and urged the necessity of having a volunteer police commanded by men of good standing and known integrity, who would enforce the laws and assume the duties which had been for so long a time neglected or mismanaged by an inefficient city government and a corrupt judiciary. In addition to the numerous assaults and robberies which were of common occurrence in San Francisco, several disastrous fires had caused great loss of property; and as these fires were supposed to be the work of incendiaries, the wish to make an example of the villains became very strong in the public mind.

On the 19th of February, 1851, about eight o'clock in the evening, a Mr. Jansen, who had a store on Montgomery Street, was alone in his place of business, when two men entered and asked to look at some blankets. As Mr. Jansen turned to take some different kinds of blankets from a shelf, he was struck with a slung-shot and knocked senseless. Later in the evening the attention of some one in passing was attracted by the shop-door being open at that hour, and, on entering, Mr. Jansen was found lying on the floor seriously wounded. It was evident that the assailants had beaten him until they supposed him dead, and had then robbed the safe of its contents. Such a daring robbery committed at an hour when many persons were passing in the street, which was one of the most frequented in the city, created much alarm. The next day two men were arrested on suspicion of having committed the assault and robbery. One of these men, named Windred, denied all knowledge of or participation in the robbery. The other was supposed to be one James Stuart, who had lately escaped from jail in Sacramento, where he was awaiting trial for murder. This man, however, maintained that his name was not Stuart, but Burdue, and that he had never been in jail in Sacramento,

nor did he know anything about the attack on Mr. Jansen. On the following Friday, Mr. Jansen was sufficiently recovered to give a very coherent account of the attack made upon him. The two prisoners were brought to his bedside, and he at once recognized Stuart as one of the men who came into his store. Windred he was not so sure of, but Stuart he was willing to swear to. The men were taken back to jail, and the next day they were brought into court for examination.

There was a strong feeling throughout the city that there was now an opportunity for the people to insist upon the enforcement of the law. Several thousand persons gathered around the City Hall where the examination was going on. The jail was in the basement of the building, and the court-room was on the first floor. Shortly after the examination began, a cry was heard among the spectators, "Now is the time!" and immediately a rush was made towards the prisoners. Such an attempt had been anticipated; and the "Washington Guards," a volunteer company, had been stationed in an adjoining room. The "Guards" entered the court-room and kept back the crowd, while the prisoners were removed to the cells below. This occurred on Saturday, February 22. As there was danger that, owing to the excitement existing in the city, a mob might break into the jail and forcibly remove the prisoners, a number of the most influential citizens acted as a guard at the jail during the night. There was no disturbance in the night; but on the next day, being Sunday, a very large crowd collected about the Court House quite early in the morning. The people showed no disposition to create a riot, but they seemed determined that the prisoners should not escape a trial, and that if they should be found guilty, they should not escape punishment. It was at last agreed that a committee should be appointed to form a court, and try the prisoners. This plan was acted upon; and after the case had been carefully tried according to the forms of law and referred to a jury, the crowd waited very patiently for a decision. But when the jury reported that it was impossible for them to agree, and that they stood nine for conviction and three for acquittal, the general cry was that the opinion of the majority should be taken as a verdict. On the other hand, however, those who had taken the responsibility of trying the prisoners were determined that they should have the benefit of the doubt, and the two prisoners were delivered to the constituted authorities, by whom they were tried, and found guilty of robbery and dangerous assault. They were both sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment.

On the evening of May 4, 1851, a fire broke out in San Francisco, which not only destroyed an immense amount of property, but caused the death of nearly one hundred persons, while many others were horribly disfigured by the flames. It was generally believed that this fire

was the work of incendiaries. Early in the month of June about two hundred of the most influential citizens of San Francisco formed an association to which they gave the name of "A Committee of Vigilance for the maintenance of the peace and good order of society, and the preservation of the lives and property of the citizens of San Francisco." Many persons joined the Committee, and notice was given that it was their intention to punish with the greatest severity any one found guilty of murder, robbery, or incendiarism. It was not long before the Committee was called into action. On the evening of June 10, 1851, the attention of some boatmen at the end of long wharf was attracted to a man carrying a sack apparently containing something very heavy. He put the sack into a small boat and pulled out into the bay. Directly after, a Mr. Virgin, who had a shipping office on the wharf, came to the steps and said that he had been robbed of a small safe containing a considerable sum of money. Thereupon some of the boatmen went in pursuit of the supposed thief. After a sharp pull they came up with him. He threw the sack overboard, and while some of the boatmen secured the thief, the others fished up the sack, which was found to contain the missing safe. When the boatmen reached the shore with their prisoner, he was taken into custody by some of the members of the Vigilance Committee, and was carried immediately to the rooms, where quite a number of members were assembled. The prisoner proved to be an Englishman from New South Wales. His name was John Jenkins, with an alias of course; and he was identified as one of the gang of desperadoes who had been for so long a time the terror of San Francisco. Mr. Virgin appeared at the Committee-rooms, and opened the safe with the key which he had in his pocket. The boatmen were then interrogated, and after hearing all the testimony the Committee decided that the prisoner was guilty. During the examination the Chief of Police had applied for admittance to the Committee-room, and had demanded that the prisoner should be delivered to the proper authorities. But his requests were of course refused.

When the prisoner was declared guilty, the question arose as to when, where, and how he should be punished. To hand him over to the city authorities was simply to give him his liberty. It was impossible for the Committee to keep the man in their own custody, and to release him would be to acknowledge a defeat at the very outset. Although the crime he had committed was not, according to law, a capital offence, yet it was decided that he should be hanged, and that the execution should take place at once, as there was danger of an attempt at rescue by the friends of the prisoner, or an armed interference on the part of the regular authorities. The prisoner was notified of his doom, and was given one hour to prepare for death. Jenkins probably felt confident of a rescue, for he seemed quite in-

different to his impending fate. He asked for a glass of brandy and water and a cigar, and as he sat drinking and smoking, he appeared to be the only person in the room who felt no interest in the approach of the fatal hour. The people who had gathered about the Committee-rooms were informed of the decision, and the course to be taken with the prisoner was generally approved. There were undoubtedly many who did not think well of any interference with the regular course of the law, but they saw the folly of risking many valuable lives for the sake of rescuing one scoundrel from a fate which he richly deserved at the hands of the public hangman. Shortly after midnight the condemned man was taken under a strong guard to Portsmouth Square, and there hanged to the cross-beam of the gable end of an old adobe building, which had been used as a post-office in former times, but was then unoccupied. The body of Jenkins was taken down soon after day-light, and a Coroner's inquest was held. The jury rendered a verdict that

"John Jenkins, alias Simpton, came to his death by being suspended by the neck with a rope attached to the end of the Adobe building on the Plaza, at the hands of an association of citizens, styling themselves a Committee of Vigilance, of whom the following members are implicated."

Then came a list of names of persons who had been most conspicuous on the occasion. When this verdict was published in the daily papers, the Vigilance Committee ordered the publication of the names of all the members of the association. They assumed individually and collectively the responsibility of hanging Jenkins, and called upon all good citizens to join them in carrying out their endeavors for the restoration of the peace, good order, and safety of the community. Many persons joined the Committee, and they went steadily on their way in spite of the opposition they met with from office-holders and the legal authorities.

Several members were appointed to visit every vessel coming into the port of San Francisco, for the purpose of preventing any improper persons — such as escaped convicts from Australia, and thieves or desperadoes from any part of the world — from landing and becoming residents of California. These inspectors had a difficult task to perform, but they acted with great caution. Whenever the bad character of a new arrival was proved, he was served with a notice to leave the country at once. If he refused, he was sent back by the first opportunity to the place he came from. Notices were also served on all the keepers of places of resort for thieves and ruffians, of which there were a number about Clark's Point, and in Pacific and Vallejo streets.

The public authorities, and most of the legal fraternity, were opposed to the Committee, and did all they could to throw obstacles in

its way. The actions of the Committee were termed by these persons "an illegal interference with the liberty and civil rights of individuals." The members were denounced as murderers, and were accused of being burglars in disguise, who under the pretence of preventing crime broke into houses, wilfully injuring property, and terrifying the inmates.

Early in July a man was arrested for a robbery and an attempt to murder. The details are of no consequence. He was tried, proved guilty beyond any possibility of doubt, and was sentenced to be hanged. Those members of the Committee who were present at the arrest and trial of the two men — Windred and Stuart — for the assault on Mr. Jansen in February, could not believe that this was not the man who had persisted in calling himself Burdue. When the prisoner found that he would certainly be hanged, he confessed that he was the real James Stuart who had escaped from jail in Sacramento, and had afterward committed the robbery in Mr. Jansen's store. Stuart said that he was aware of the strong likeness between Burdue and himself; and, as Burdue did not know him personally, he had been able, on several occasions, to prove an *alibi* and escape detection by means of this extraordinary resemblance. The man Windred had escaped from jail some time before, but Burdue was still in prison under sentence of death for the murder committed by Stuart. A statement of the facts was sent to the Governor of California, who ordered Burdue to be released from prison. The members of the Vigilance Committee, in consideration of his unjust imprisonment, and knowing that he was without means, presented him with a handsome sum of money that he might be able to have a fair start in the world again.

The crimes confessed by Stuart would have forfeited his life anywhere, and the eleventh of July at noon was appointed for the time of his execution. The opponents of the Committee had laid great stress on the time and manner of the execution of Jenkins. They accused the Committee of cruelty and cowardice, — cruelty in dragging an unfortunate wretch through the streets with a halter round his neck, and cowardice in not having dared to hang their victim in broad day. The Committee did not intend that any such accusation should be brought against them on the present occasion. Accordingly, a general meeting was called at nine o'clock on the eleventh of July. The members having assembled at their rooms on Battery Street, the evidence which had been taken in the case of Stuart was read. The decision of the Committee was unanimous that he should be hanged at the appointed time. One of the Committee then went out and addressed the crowd which had collected in front of the building. He stated the nature of the crimes for which Stuart had been arrested, the evidence which had been taken in the case, and the confessions

which the prisoner had made. He then told them of the punishment proposed by the Committee, and asked if they (the people) approved of these proceedings, and would confirm the sentence of the Committee. The approval of the crowd was almost unanimous. The prisoner was informed of the decision of the Committee; a clergyman was in attendance, but Stuart seemed to care little for spiritual consolation, and was to all outward appearance quite indifferent to his fate. When the time arrived, the prisoner was taken to Market Street wharf, some distance from the Committee-rooms, and was there hung on a derrick used for hoisting goods from lighters. The body was taken in charge by the Coroner, and the jury rendered a verdict "that the deceased came to his death by strangulation at the hands of a body of men styling themselves the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco."

The acts of the Committee continued, of course, to be opposed by all the regular authorities, both of the City and of the State, although all such opposition was confined to verbal remonstrance. The Governor of the State issued a proclamation, addressed to the people at large, in which he referred to the action of the Committee as "the despotic control of a self-constituted association, unknown to and acting in defiance of the laws, in the place of the regularly organized government of the country," etc. Judge Campbell of San Francisco, in charging the grand jury, told them that every person concerned in the hanging of Stuart was guilty of murder as *particeps criminis*. Nevertheless the Committee, nothing daunted, went on with the work they had undertaken; and it seemed as if they would soon be able to lay down their assumed authority with safety, and leave the punishment of criminals and the protection of property to the regular legal officers. This was much to be desired, as the members of the Committee were all actively engaged in business, and the loss of time, as well as the great expense, was becoming a serious burden.

About the middle of August the Committee had under examination two men named Samuel Whittaker and Robert McKenzie. These men had been tried for very serious offences,—burglary, robbery, and incendiarism,—and had been proved guilty. It was rumored that they were to be hanged on the twenty-first of August. A writ was issued commanding the Sheriff of San Francisco to bring Whittaker and McKenzie before Judge Norton of the Superior Court, there to be dealt with according to the law. The Sheriff of San Francisco at that time was John C. Hays, better known as Colonel Jack Hays. He had been celebrated as a Texan ranger and Indian fighter, and his natural instincts would have led him to side with the Vigilance Committee. As a public officer, however, he was obliged to obey orders. At early dawn on Thursday, the twenty-first of August, Sheriff Hays with several of his deputies went to the building

occupied by the Committee on Battery Street. The sheriff with one deputy (John Caperton) went upstairs and demanded admittance. The door was opened without delay, and the two officials went straight to the rooms of the prisoners Whittaker and McKenzie, led them downstairs and gave them in charge of the police who were waiting in the street. All this was done so quickly and quietly, that the prisoners were well on their way to the county jail before there was an alarm.

Two members of the Committee who were off duty were asleep on benches when the sheriff entered. Roused from their slumbers, they suspected from the readiness with which the prisoners were surrendered that there was treachery. They jumped from a window, and gaining entrance to the California Engine House near by they rang the alarm bell. At first the bell was supposed to be an alarm of fire, but soon the members of the Committee came rushing to the rooms, and the news rapidly spread through the city that the civil authorities had entered the Committee-rooms, and had removed the prisoners to the county jail; or, using the slang of the period, it was said that "Colonel Jack Hays had euchred the Vigilance Committee." The Committee took no immediate steps to remedy this interference with their plans, and an indifferent observer might have supposed that this first repulse had disheartened them. But there was an ominous silence as to their intentions, which made the authorities feel sure that sooner or later an attempt would be made to retake the prisoners. The general belief was that some of the members had been in correspondence with the civil authorities, and although no one was ever directly accused of treachery, yet the story gave an opportunity to the opponents of the Committee to say, that "at last this association was divided against itself, and its downfall would be speedy."

The week passed, and Sunday came. Shortly after two o'clock on the afternoon of that day a carriage turned into Broadway from Dupont Street, and stopped a short distance from the jail. It was at this hour that the prisoners were brought from their cells to hear divine service from the chaplain of the Prison. While the service was being read, the keeper of the jail was called to the front door by the sentry on guard. There was a rush made from the outside, the keeper and the sentry were both secured, and the two men Whittaker and McKenzie were carried off bodily, and thrust into the carriage which was in waiting. The driver flogged his horses into a gallop, and drove at full speed toward Battery Street. As the carriage whirled through the streets, the sharp, quick strokes on the bell of the Engine House gave warning of a full meeting of the Vigilance Committee on business of immediate importance. When the carriage reached Battery Street, the prisoners were immediately taken to the room where

the members were assembled. A short deliberation sufficed. The Committee had been brought into collision with the civil authorities, and they must stand or fall on the issue of the present struggle. Retreat was impossible. The prisoners were sentenced to immediate execution, and they were promptly hung that very Sunday afternoon in front of the Committee-rooms.

This was the last important act of the Committee. They had proved by the secrecy and the rapidity of their movements that they were more than a match for the regular authorities. They had struck terror among criminals of every degree, and were now desirous of leaving the execution of the laws in the hands of those to whom it properly belonged, trusting that the salutary lesson which they had given would lead to a more proper administration of justice. As for the common rogues, they were only too glad to leave San Francisco. Many of them were sent back to Australia whence they came, and where they found a fresh field for their depredations in the newly discovered gold districts. Others were ordered to leave the country, and not to return under penalty of death.

In this way a few hundred determined men, firm in a good cause, were able to rid the country of a gang of murderers and thieves, such as perhaps never before had been collected together.

THOMAS G. CARY.

COLONIZATION.

WHY Mr. Hughes guided his colony to America rather than elsewhere, — even though a straw hat cost him so much in Philadelphia that he must wait for one, perforce, until he should reach England again, — starts a question which has not failed to attract attention before. The swarms of Europeans who descend on our shores in these latter days must cause as much serious reflection to the countries from which they come, as they ought to do to us. It would be only natural for the statesmen of foreign countries to begin to study the laws of movement in emigration, when the small countries of Norway and Sweden, out of a total population of six millions, send to us in one year (ending June, 1880) a number larger than the total enumeration of Christiania. From Germany in the same period has come as great a population as is contained in the city of Nuremberg; and from Great Britain an exodus greater than the total population of the county of Bedford, and twenty thousand more than that of Hereford. It is not long, moreover, since Lord Beaconsfield beguiled the farmers of Aylesbury at a banquet by stories of the depopulation of our own Western States by the stream of emigration

which was pouring from them into western Canada. But our official records show that in the one fiscal year of 1880 the immigration from the Dominion of Canada into the United States amounted — somewhat surprisingly — to a number greater than the total population of the cities of Quebec and Halifax taken together. This convergence of immigration to our shores is by no means accidental, and must be influenced by some fundamental law. Why do these swarms come to us, rather than to equally fertile Mexico or Brazil; and why does the United States, and even one portion of it as against another portion, receive the greater part of the millions who leave the Old World? Canada, Mexico, and South America present as great a variety and attractiveness of soil and climate, and probably as great a supply of mineral wealth, as the United States; yet the stream of population flows steadily towards us, as it always has done. Climate does not solve the problem. An explanation, therefore, of the question would be at any time interesting; but it is especially pertinent in this year, when the lusty young nation is, as it were, marking the time of its coming of age by recording a population of fifty millions.

At least fifty years ago a most satisfactory study of the relations of the English colonies to the mother country was made by Mr. Wakefield, and the fact was established that only those colonies which possessed local self-government ever prospered.¹ “Dependence teaches colonies to lean upon the mother country; independence from the beginning teaches to provide for self-defence.” The interference of an authority distant, and therefore ignorant of the best interests of the colony, invariably worked ruin to its natural prosperity. Moreover, this explanation is based on economic grounds. Local self-government is the best because it is the cheapest: it exacts less from the individual, allows no useless expenditure for purposes unconnected with their own interests, and takes no pleasure in contributing to magnify the personal splendor of a distant court. The local government is the best, because it is the body *ipso facto* most vitally interested in the affairs of the community. And whenever a colony offers the prospect of free local self-government, by that very means it draws to itself superior men; who, being themselves independent and self-contained, become leaders in a policy opposed to governmental dependence and protection. It is unnecessary to recall from New England history such names as Samuel Adams and James Otis: the reader can supply illustrations in abundance. And it is almost needless to state that in our colonial history the chartered colonies defrayed the cost of their government, while the crown colonies continued an expense to the mother country. In short, the real principle involved is the political truth for which Anglo-Saxons have been contending for centuries, and the possession of a right to its discovery belongs to no one man.

¹ England and America, 1833; and The Art of Colonization, 1849.

Although it is a principle intimately connected with the failure and success of many experiments of government, and so has been often more or less fully understood, yet in its application to the art of colonization the credit is certainly due to Mr. Wakefield. This continent, however, having always been the chief field of colonization from the Old World, it is here that the richest materials for study are to be found.

In his vigorous and picturesque story of the attempts of France to found a new empire in Canada, Parkman¹ has really pointed out the causes which either make or mar every scheme of colonization. In painting the failure of New France he necessarily heightens his shadows by contrasts with the marvellous success of New England, which, it seems, had relatively so much less chance of success in the beginning.

"By name, local position, and character, one of these communities of freemen stands forth as the most conspicuous representation of this antagonism, — Liberty and Absolutism; New England and New France. . . . New England was pre-eminently the land of material progress. Here the prize was within every man's reach; patient industry need never doubt its reward. . . . We turn to New France, and all is reversed. . . . New France was *all head*. Under king, noble, and Jesuit, the lank, lean body would not thrive. Even commerce wore the sword, decked itself with badges of nobility, aspired to forest seigniories and hordes of savage retainers. . . . Root, stem, and branch,—she was the nursling of authority. . . . From head to foot the government kept its attitude of paternity."

New England had been founded in a stock of freedom, on which, it is true, they had "grafted a scion of despotism; yet the vital juices of the root penetrated at last to the uttermost branches, and nourished them to an irrepressible strength and expansion," and she "was destined to a marvellous vigor of development." In New France, twenty years of Quebec in the days of Champlain had increased the population to only one hundred and five persons, and taught one or two families "to support themselves from the products of the soil; the rest lived on supplies from France." The king's officer required householders to have their chimneys swept; forbade them to quarrel in church; himself assigned the pews in due order of precedence; and the people of Montreal were required to kill the excess of their beasts above "two horses or mares and one foal," because, "being therein ignorant of their true interest," they raised too many horses and not enough cattle and sheep! To complete this picture of interference with local self-government, if anything more were needed, the historian declares that even the public meetings were restricted; no countryman was allowed to change his residence to the city; and the council solemnly ordained "that, besides white bread and light brown-bread, all bakers shall hereafter make dark brown-bread whenever the

¹ In the introduction to "Pioneers of France in the New World," and especially in the "Old Régime."

same shall be required!" What would be the inevitable result of this system? Any Anglo-Saxon could tell you at once, and anticipate the next words of the chronicler: "Her records shine with glorious deeds, the self-devotion of heroes and martyrs; and the result of all is disorder, imbecility, ruin."

The reverse of this dreary picture, as shown in the self-governed colonies of New England, there can be no need of sketching. They grew and prospered by the exercise of the virtues of self-help and independence, stimulated into activity by the free enjoyment of local self-government; and their subsequent career has been so bright as almost to dim the memory of New France, their once proud neighbor on the north. They possessed no aristocratic institutions, and none of the characteristics of the Latin races. And what Parkman has said of the Frenchman in his capacity of a colonist is true of all the Latin races, and is the secret of their constant failure in colonization:—

"The *gentil-homme* had no vocation for emigrating. He liked the army, and he liked the court. If he could not be of it, it was something to live in its shadow. The life of a backwood settler had no charm for him. He was not used to labor; and he could not trade, at least in retail, without becoming liable to forfeit his nobility."

In fact, what is here said of the French of that time is curiously borne out by the characteristics of the French of to-day. In a visit to Victor Hugo in 1879, Boyesen relates that on the occasion of his host's growing enthusiastic over his belief that Africa would become the centre of the new civilization in the twentieth century, and that the English and French would be the forces to bring it about, a point of objection was made by a French woman present, which much puzzled the orator, and which the reader will see struck the real difficulty. She said:—

"But the French are utterly devoid of the colonizing spirit. An Englishman or a German may settle in a foreign land, and become a good citizen there; but a Frenchman, if he has happened to make a fortune in Algeria or in America, will invariably return to Paris to spend it."

And Parkman's histories, the "Old Régime" in particular, teach in a brilliant and charming way that the secret of success in colonization is the habit and privilege of local self-government,—and it is an induction from political experience of untold value, because it lies at the basis of good government everywhere, in any stage of a country's growth. What was true of New France was true of any Latin colony planted in the New World. It is all summed up in the short condemnation of Spain in America: "Political despotism, religious despotism, commercial despotism,—the hands of the Government were on every branch of industry." There is no need of rehearsing the dismal failures of the Huguenots in Florida. In fact the Teutonic races, and pre-eminently among them the Anglo-Saxons, have struggled for and kept

the precious love of self-government. These are the truths, then, which explain why all colonies founded on the principle of governmental interference have been failures, and why immigration shuns those colonies where local self-government does not prosper, and comes instead to our shores.

This principle influencing immigration was some years ago again brought forward by a very able authority, Friedrich Kapp.¹ He pointed out the old truth that the increasing power of our country was due to the confinement of government within narrow limits ; to the fact that it was "the agent, not the master, of the people." Of the immigrant he said : "He will willingly undergo all the hardships and dangers incidental to settlement in a new country, provided he finds a free government and no improper interference with his self-adopted mode of life." He then called attention to a very striking fact :—

"All modern colonies which were inaugurated by governments have failed ; self-government in the broadest sense is the power which sustains colonies and instils into them life and independence. . . . Look at the Spanish Republics from Mexico down to Peru ; and at the French colonies, the youngest of which, Algiers, has ever since its first days been weak, and is almost dying from the effects of government care ; and at the efforts of the Belgian Government to regulate the work of their colonists in Central America by military discipline, — and compare them with the flourishing, thriving, and prosperous condition of the English colonies in America and Australia."

It is unusual certainly that a principle receives such clear and striking illustration as in the various colonies scattered over our continent, — the offspring of every different form of government in the Old World, with almost equal advantages of soil, climate, and resources, and yet producing such amazingly different results as are to be seen in Mexico, Peru, the United States, Brazil, and Canada.

But this law of colonization and of the movement of immigration is perhaps capable of still further simplification. This distrust of governmental interference, this struggle for free institutions and local self-government, as affecting material prosperity, have their roots in economic causes. They are potent political forces simply because they guarantee to each individual producer the right, in all senses, to enjoy and dispose of the results of his own labor ; so that we are brought, in short, to the formula for the justification of private property. Institutions which, while protecting, take as little as possible from, and give as little trouble as possible to, the producer will bring about the greatest material success. The people of New France, for example, if left to govern themselves according to their own interests, would never have punished themselves for being rich by killing their own horses, or baked dark brown-bread unless they so wished. Without doubt, those countries which most carefully preserve the right of

¹ American Journal of Social Science, 1870.

private property will attract the greatest number of those colonists who set a high value upon local self-government and kindred institutions. When property-holders, for whatever reason, no longer have a voice in the disposition and amount of taxation, they have lost that form of government to which they most owe their prosperity. No matter what it is which cuts off the citizen from his equal share in the government of the community, — whether it be a ring-government, intimidation, manipulation of caucuses, tissue ballots, corrupt elections, or a generally mediæval condition of society, — that community cannot hope to attract many intelligent colonists. We are apt to hold our noses a little in the steerage of an ocean steamer ; but to the owners of land in partially settled districts the mere increase of mouths means, without any exertion on their part, an enormous accession of wealth. They, as well as the English landlord, “grow rich while they sleep ;” and this, in view of their boundless acres of fertile land, is what the South is now beginning to appreciate.

Indeed, it is in the application of the foregoing principles to the movements of population to different sections of our own country that the students of our future development will find most interest and enlightenment. As, when studying the separate colonies, we saw a strong preference given for those which possessed the best principles of government, so in looking at different parts of our own country it is rather startling to find, that of all past immigration one half of the country has received the whole, and another half has been practically ignored. The total foreign-born population in 1870 lay in the North and West, while the South had little or none. In the volumes of the ninth census General Francis A. Walker has given a colored map of the United States, which shows at a glance that all the States “north of Mason and Dixon’s line,” from Maine to Minnesota, were deeply colored, as an indication of a large foreign-born population ; but the old slaveholding States were touched only here and there by very faint bits of color. It is a suggestive contrast. The following table is made up from official sources, and tells its own story : —

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
Foreign-born in old slaveholding States	313,339	560,489	605,988 ¹	641,455
Foreign-born in free States, North and West	1,931,263	3,578,208	4,961,241	6,035,905
Total foreign-born population of the United States	2,244,602	4,138,697	5,567,229	6,677,360
Percentage of whole in old slaveholding States	13.9	13.5	10.8	10.6

¹ 222,267 of this number come from Missouri ; while the city of St. Louis is essentially a Northern city for present purposes.

Why the South has not hitherto been able to attract the foreign colonist into its fields to increase its wealth and production has been explained by Mr. Kapp, as the reader will have anticipated, by the existence of slavery. That the soil and climate of the northern States of the South are quite as attractive as in those Northern States into which immigration has poured is well known ; and it was declared by Mr. Kapp, that on the disappearance of slavery colonists would pour into the South as well as the North. But the facts show that allowance must be made for habits and customs which owe their origin undoubtedly to the slavery *régime*, but which continue to exist long after their originating cause has disappeared. The bad effects of an evil institution do not cease with the existence of the cause, but only with the decline of the mental habits engendered by the original system ; and a glance at the above table will show that even as late as 1880 the South had gained little from foreign immigration, — in fact the percentage of the whole foreign-born population is even less for the South in 1880 than in 1870. Some additional explanation of the movements of population, therefore, in the light of the foregoing discussion is to be found by an investigation lately made into the prevalence of homicide in the North and South by Mr. Redfield.¹ The facts are apparently of undoubted correctness, and illustrate in a curious manner the state of Southern society in many regions. In the old slaveholding States, as a rule, there exist, even after the abolition of slavery, influences which prevent the producer from being assured the enjoyment of the results of his labor, and which have cut off these States from a share in the colonizing schemes of late years. Southerners kill each other at a rate about eighteen hundred times greater than do the New Englanders ;² and where life is not secure, continuous production will not go on nor will property be generally accumulated. The text-books of political economy long ago pointed out that the accumulation of wealth is great only in those communities where men have the mental force to set a sufficiently high value on a future reward as compared with a present sacrifice ; and it naturally follows that when the expectation of enjoying in the future the result of present saving and sacrifice is destroyed, the saving and sacrifice will not be undertaken. As also tending to destroy material prosperity, insalubrity of climate and the prevalence of lawlessness and disorder are recounted in the same category. No man will sacrifice present indulgence if he does not expect to live to enjoy the fruits of his sacrifice ; nor will he save if he knows that he may be carried off at any moment by a dangerous disease, — so that disease and lawlessness have, in this respect, precisely the same economic effects. A country where law and order prevail to perfection may find its material prosperity checked by a deadly and

¹ Homicide North and South. By H. V. Redfield. 1880.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

fatal climate ; or, on the other hand, a people may destroy all the advantages accruing from matchless natural resources and climate by persistent disregard of life and property. A rather startling confirmation of this economic teaching is afforded by the fact that homicide has been as destructive of life in the South as yellow fever. Although there have been 40,000 deaths from yellow fever since the war, the deaths from homicide for the same period have been even greater.¹ In other words, the dread of such a malignant disease as yellow fever in the South would not have as much effect in preventing an influx of colonists, looking merely at the security of life, as the enormous death-rate from homicide. And yet the South is longing for increased immigration ! The terrible ravages from yellow fever excited the deepest and warmest sympathies of the North and the whole world, and drew liberally on the purses of all of us ; but the more terrible scourge of open murder, wholly irrespective of political causes, — more deadly than disease, because each death is the result of a heinous crime, — seems to be calmly accepted by public opinion as a part of the unchangeable social conditions of life in the South. It is not only an outrageous violation of the rights of persons, but, affecting as it does material prosperity, it must also seriously injure the best interests of these unfortunate communities, and react upon themselves. In Kentucky more men are killed in six days than in eight years in Vermont.² In a village in Connecticut a death from homicide has never occurred since its foundation ; while in one graveyard in Owen County, Ky., the majority are murdered men, and in another single county forty-two persons have been killed and forty-three wounded in two years.² What the effect has been on colonization in Kentucky it is needless to state. By the census of 1870, many interior counties were found to have absolutely no foreign population ; and these were exactly the counties in which the murders and lawlessness were the greatest. The colonist feared “the despotism of the pistol and the knife.” It would almost seem that Parkman, in recounting the causes of failure in New France, had the South in his mind when he said that “commerce wore the sword.” May the South soon feel the vigorous attacks of the abolitionists of homicide !

It is not, however, the present purpose to explain the causes of such frequent homicide, but merely to state the facts in their bearing upon the movements of immigration. Is it not then clear that some explanation has been offered of the questions proposed in the beginning of our inquiry, — Why almost the whole movement of population from Europe is to this country, and why this swarm has settled in the Northern and Western States ? The actual disappearance of slavery alone has not removed the obstacles to settlement in the South. All

¹ Homicide North and South, p. 11.

² Ibid., pp. 42, 43, 52.

those mediæval conditions which remain after the departure of the originating system will have an effect in proportion as they are indications of a lower state of civilization. Whatever things exist which give only the shadow, instead of the real enjoyment, of free local self-government, and do not secure to each producer the results of his labor, will, as has been only too well shown by the past, retard the desired increase of wealth and prosperity.

But certainly some rays of progress have already appeared. Those Southern States which have done most to remove these obstacles are increasing in prosperity and in the number of colonists in a gratifying manner. The attempts of the Legislature of South Carolina to repress duelling and homicide are worthy of attention and hearty commendation. Moreover, the invasion of these States by new settlers, whose habits of thought in this respect are different from those of the old type in the South, will itself be the cause, when once in existence, of further colonization. It is known that several fine farming districts in which immediately after the war social conditions were distinctly mediæval have been so far occupied by another element as wholly to change the tone of thought in the community. The rise of a system of small farmers deserves close attention ; and, as cordial well-wishers to the South, we must look with keen appreciation to the new influences which seem to be coming up there from the younger or more progressive element. The old universities of New England are again, since the war, receiving within their walls a sprinkling of earnest young men from the South ; and it is to be hoped, as their material condition improves, that the sprinkling may be changed to a lively shower. In bringing about the right state of feeling on social questions the power of a good educational system must be enormous ; and this seems to be generally understood. And when the penalty of law is unflinchingly executed upon murderers by the courts, there will be good reason to look for an increase of population and every prosperity. A country grows rich, not by planning enterprises, but by actually producing more valuable commodities.

It would be difficult to anticipate what the future has in store for us when industry is as active in the unequalled climate and soil of the South as it is in the North and West. Although one half the Union has been cut off by social conditions from settlement, our financial and productive powers are even now a surprise to the rest of the world. Give the South that energy, skill, and good government which their splendid resources deserve, and they will not only be thankful on economic grounds for the abolition of slavery, but the world will have new reason to respect the achievements of the American State whose best possession is free local self-government.

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SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

THE scheme of "pacification" and "final settlement" which was launched in 1850, under the leadership of Henry Clay, constitutes one of the chief landmarks in the history of the great conflict between freedom and slavery. It was the futile attempt of legislative diplomacy to escape the fatal logic of antecedent facts. The war with Mexico, like the annexation of Texas which paved the way for it, was inspired by the lust for slave territory. No sophistry could disguise this fact, nor could its significance be over-stated. The prophets of slavery saw clearly that restriction meant destruction. They girded themselves for battle on this issue, and were not at all placated by Northern disclaimers of "Abolitionism" and reiterated disavowals of any right or purpose to intermeddle with slavery as the creature of State law. Its existence was menaced by the policy of confinement and ultimate suffocation; and therefore no compromise of the pending strife over its prohibition in New Mexico, Utah, and California was possible.

This strife was aggravated by its own peculiar relations to the dominant political parties. The sacrifice of Martin Van Buren in 1844, because of his manly letter on the annexation of Texas, had been a sore trial to his devoted friends. They could neither forgive nor forget it; and when the opportunity for revenge finally came, in 1848, they laid hold of it with the sincerest and most heartfelt satisfaction. They bolted from their party, threw themselves into the Free-Soil movement, and thus made the defeat of General Cass inevitable by the election of General Taylor. Thousands of these bolting Democrats, particularly in the State of New York, cared more for the

personal and political fortunes of Mr. Van Buren than for the Slavery question, as their subsequent return to their party allegiance made manifest; but their action was none the less decisive in the emergency which called it forth. The trouble in the Whig camp was also serious. The last hopes of Mr. Clay and his worshippers had perished forever in the nomination of the hero of the Mexican war and the owner of two hundred slaves, by a convention which Horace Greeley branded at the time as "the slaughter-house of Whig principles." Very many of these Clay Whigs, like the devotees of Mr. Van Buren, would have been satisfied with almost any disposition of the Slavery issue if their chief had been nominated; but they were now enlisted in the Antislavery army, and like Joseph A. White, of Indiana, vociferously shouted for "Liberty and Revenge." Mr. Webster and his friends were also profoundly disgusted, and lent a strong hand to the work of party insubordination; while the election of General Taylor was quite naturally followed by formidable party coalitions. One of these made Salmon P. Chase a senator of the United States from Ohio, as John P. Hale had been chosen from New Hampshire some time before, and Charles Sumner came in a little later from Massachusetts; and the House of Representatives now contained nine distinctively Antislavery men, chosen from different States by kindred combinations, who had completely renounced their allegiance to the old parties, and were able to wield the balance of power in that body. Such were the complications of the great problem which confronted the Thirty-first Congress at the opening of its first session, on the third day of December, 1849.

In this Congress I was a representative, for the first time, of the fourth Indiana district. This district contained a large Quaker population, and in the matter of liberality and progress was in advance of all other portions of the State; and yet the immeasurable wrath and scorn which were lavished upon the men who deserted the Whig party on account of the nomination of General Taylor can scarcely be conceived. The friends of a lifetime were suddenly turned into enemies, and their words were often dipped in venom. It seemed as if a section of Kentucky or Virginia had in some way usurped the geography of eastern Indiana, bringing with it the discipline of the slave-master, and a considerable importation of "white trash." The contest was bitter beyond all precedent; but after a hard fight, and by a union of Free-Soilers, Democrats, and Independent Whigs, I was elected by a small majority. Owing to serious illness resulting from the excitement and overwork of the canvass, I did not reach Washington till the 19th of December, just in time to cast my vote for speaker on the fifty-sixth ballot, in this first important "dead-lock" in the organization of the House. With the exception of two Indiana

members I had no personal acquaintance in either branch of Congress; and, on entering the old Hall of Representatives, my first thought was to find the Free-Soil members, whose political fortunes and experience had been so similar to my own. The seat of Mr. Giddings was pointed out to me in the northwest corner of the Hall, where I found the stalwart champion of free speech busy with his pen. He received me with evident cordiality, and at once sent a page for the other Free-Soil members. Soon the "immortal nine," as we were often sportively styled, were all together,—David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, then famous as the author of the "Proviso," short and corpulent in person and emphatic in speech; Preston King, of New York, with his still more remarkable rotundity of belt, and a face beaming with benevolence and good-humor; the eccentric and witty "Jo Root," of Ohio, always ready to break a lance with the slaveholders; Charles Allen, of Massachusetts, the quiet, dignified, clear-headed, and genial gentleman, but a good fighter and the unflinching enemy of slavery; Charles Durkee, of Wisconsin, the fine-looking and large-hearted philanthropist, whose enthusiasm never cooled; Amos Tuck, of New Hampshire, amiable and somewhat feminine in appearance, but firm in purpose; John W. Howe, of Pennsylvania, with a face radiant with smiles and good-will, and full of Antislavery fervor; Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, with his broad shoulders, giant frame, unquenchable love of freedom, and almost as familiar with the Slavery question in all its aspects as he was with the alphabet. These, all now gone to their reckoning, were the elect of freedom in the lower branch of this memorable Congress. They all greeted me warmly; and the more so, perhaps, because my reported illness and doubtful recovery had awakened a peculiar interest in my fortunes at that time on account of the political situation, and the possible significance of a single vote. John P. Hale happened to enter the Hall during these congratulations, and still further lighted up the scene by his jolly presence; while Dr. Bailey, of the "National Era," also joined in the general welcome, and at once confirmed all the good opinions I had formed of this courageous and single-minded friend of the slave. I was delighted with all my brethren, and at once entered fully into their plans and counsels.

An incident connected with the organization of the House, which caused intense excitement at the time, seems to deserve some notice. It occurred on the 12th of December, while William J. Brown, of Indiana, was being voted for as the Democratic candidate for speaker. He was a pro-slavery Democrat through and through, and commanded the entire and unhesitating confidence of Southern members; and yet, on the last ballot for him, he received the votes of Allen, Durkee, Giddings, King, and Wilmot, and came within two

votes of an election. The support of Mr. Brown by the leading Free-Soilers was a great surprise to both sides of the House, and the suspicion that some secret arrangement had been made gave birth to a rumor to that effect. After the balloting, while Mr. Bailey, of Virginia, was on the floor, Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, asked him whether a secret correspondence had not taken place between some member of the Free-Soil party and Mr. Brown, by which the latter had agreed to constitute the committees on the Judiciary, on Territories, and on the District of Columbia in a manner satisfactory to that party? Mr. Bailey scouted the idea, and asked Mr. Ashmun what authority he had for the statement. Mr. Ashmun replied, "Common rumor;" to which Mr. Bailey rejoined, "Does not the gentleman know that common rumor is a common liar?" Turning to Mr. Brown, he said, "Has any such correspondence taken place?" Mr. Brown shook his head, and Mr. Bailey became more emphatic than ever in his denial. But the fever was now up, and Southern members scented treason. Several of them had withheld their votes from Mr. Brown because of his Free-Soil support, and thus prevented his election. He was in a very trying dilemma with his Southern friends, while the Free-Soilers who had supported him were also placed in a novel predicament and subjected to catechism. The fact was finally revealed, in the course of a long and exciting debate, that Mr. Wilmot *had* entered into a correspondence with Mr. Brown on the subject of the organization of the committees named, and that the latter *had* promised in writing to constitute them as stated in Mr. Ashmun's inquiry, — declaring that he had "always been opposed to the extension of slavery," and believed that "the Federal Government should be relieved from the responsibility of slavery where it had the Constitutional right to abolish it." This, in substance, was the whole Free-Soil gospel; and the disappointment and rage of Southern members when the letter was produced can be more easily imagined than described. Mr. Brown labored very painfully to explain his letter and pacify his Southern friends, but the effort was utterly vain. He was branded with treachery and duplicity by Bailey, Harris, Burt, Venable, Stanton, and McMullen, while no man from the South pretended to excuse him. In the midst of great excitement he withdrew from the contest for speaker, and the catastrophe of his secret manœuvre was so unspeakably humiliating that even his enemies pitied him. But he was unjustly dealt with by his Southern brethren, whose fear of betrayal and morbid sensitiveness made all coolness of judgment impossible. While he possessed very social and kindly personal traits of character, no man in this Congress was more inflexibly true to slavery, as his subsequent career amply demonstrated. If he had been chosen speaker he would doubtless have

placed some of the Free-Soil members on the committees specified, but the whole power of his office would have been studiously subservient to the behests of the slave oligarchy; and nothing could excuse the conduct of Mr. Wilmot and his associates but their entire ignorance of his political character and antecedents. I regretted this affair most sincerely, for I knew Mr. Brown well, and could undoubtedly have prevented the negotiation if I had been present.

The speakership was obviously the first question on which the slave-power must be met in the Thirty-first Congress. No question could more completely have presented the entire controversy between the free and slave States which had so stirred the country during the previous eighteen months. In view of the well-nigh autocratic power of the speaker over legislative measures, no honest Free-Soiler could vote for a candidate who was not known to be sound on the great issue. We could not support Howell Cobb, of Georgia, the nominee of the Democratic party, however anxious our Democratic constituents might be to have us do so; nor could we vote for Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, to please the Whigs and semi-Free-Soilers who affiliated with them, since Giddings, Palfrey, and others had demonstrated that he was wholly untrustworthy in facing the rugged issue of slavery. This had been proved by his acts as speaker in the preceding Congress. We therefore united in the determination to vote for neither of these candidates. The contest was protracted till December 22, when, on the sixty-third ballot, Mr. Cobb was chosen. The result was effected by adopting, at the instigation of the Whigs, what was called the "plurality rule," the operation of which enabled a minority to choose the speaker. The Whigs, when they entered upon this proceeding, well knew that the Free-Soilers were willing and anxious to vote for Thaddeus Stevens, or any other reliable member of the party. They well knew that none of us would vote for Mr. Winthrop under any circumstances, and for excellent reasons which we had announced. Further, they well knew that without Free-Soil votes Mr. Cobb would certainly be chosen; and yet the angry cry went up from the Whigs in Congress and throughout the Northern States that the Free-Soilers had elected a slaveholder to be Speaker of the House! For a time the ridiculous charge served the mischievous purpose of its authors; but the subsequent career of Mr. Winthrop finally and entirely vindicated the sagacity of the men whose resolute opposition had thwarted his ambition.

In the further organization of the House Mr. Campbell, a Tennessee slaveholder, was chosen clerk on the twentieth ballot, by the help of Southern Democrats, over John W. Forney, who was then the particular friend of James Buchanan, and who had made himself so conspicuous by his abuse of Antislavery men that the Free-Soil members

could not give him their support. On the eighth ballot Mr. Glossbrenner, of Pennsylvania, the nominee of the Democrats, was chosen sergeant-at-arms, and after fourteen ineffectual ballots for doorkeeper, Mr. Horner, the Whig incumbent of the office in the preceding Congress, was continued by resolution of the House. This was on January 18, and the organization of the body was not yet completed; but further proceedings in this direction were now postponed till March 1.

In the mean time the Slavery question had been receiving daily attention. The strife over the speakership had necessarily involved it, and constantly provoked its animated discussion. The great issue was the Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories, then popularly known as the Wilmot Proviso; and the first vote on it was taken December 31, upon the motion to lay on the table Mr. Root's resolution which embodied it. The yeas were 83, nays 101; being a majority of only 18 in its favor. The Southern men seemed to gather hope and courage from this vote. On January 4 the President sent in his special message relative to California and New Mexico, announcing his famous policy of "Non-action," which was simply another name for the "Non-intervention" dogma of General Cass. A year before he had declared that the new Territories must not be "surrendered to the pistol and the bowie knife;" but a new light now dawned on him, and he advised Congress to leave the Territories to themselves till their people should be prepared to ask admission into the Union as States. He talked as glibly about "geographical parties" and "the operation of natural causes" as any trained Whig politician, and seemed to have totally forgotten his repeated pledges not to interfere with the action of Congress respecting "domestic questions." While the hand of the Executive was thus at work, extreme men in both Houses led the way in violent and inflammatory speeches. "When we ask for justice, and to be let alone," said Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, "we are met by the senseless and insane cry of Union, Union! Sir, I am disgusted with it. When it comes from Northern gentlemen who are attacking us, it falls on my ear as it would do if a band of robbers had surrounded a dwelling, and when the inmates attempted to resist, the assailants should raise the cry of peace, union, harmony!" He gave out the threat, that unless the slave-masters were allowed to extend their system over the virgin soil of our Territories they would block the wheels of government, and involve the nation in the horrors of civil war. He charged that the free States "keep up and foster in their bosoms Abolition societies, whose main purpose is to scatter firebrands throughout the South, to incite servile insurrections, and stimulate by licentious pictures our negroes to

invade the persons of our white women." Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, said he regarded slavery "as a great moral, social, political, and *religious* blessing, — a blessing to the slave, and a blessing to the master." He graciously admitted that Northern people thought slavery an evil; but he added, "Very well, think so; *but keep your thoughts to yourselves.*" Jefferson Davis, then as ever afterward the apostle of disunion, declared that "slavery existed in the tents of the patriarchs and in the households of His own chosen people;" that "it was established by decree of Almighty God," and "sanctioned in the Bible — in both Testaments — from Genesis to Revelation." Southern members pointed to the battlefields of the Revolution, and warned the people of the free States to beware; while the menace was uttered that if the representatives from the Northern States should vote California into the Union as a free State, without some compensating measures to the South, their numbers would be decimated by violence. On January 29 Mr. Clay introduced his eight resolutions of compromise, which still further weakened the Antislavery policy of Northern Whigs; and when, on February 4, another vote was taken on the Wilmot Proviso, it was laid on the table by yeas 104, nays 75, — showing a majority of 30, and a change of 48 votes in a little more than one month! Thus began the sickening career of political apostasy, which so gathered momentum during the spring and summer months that it became impossible to admit the free State of California into the Union till the passage of the Texas Boundary Bill and the new Fugitive-Slave Act had been made certain.

Early in the session I called on President Taylor, with Mr. Giddings and Judge Allen. I had a very strong curiosity to see the man whose name I had used so freely in two exasperating political campaigns, and desired to stand corrected in my estimate of his character if I should find such correction to be demanded by the truth. Our interview with the old soldier was exceedingly interesting and amusing. I decidedly liked his kindly, honest, farmer-like face, and his old-fashioned simplicity of dress and manners. His conversation was awkward and labored, and evinced a lack of self-possession; while his whole demeanor suggested his frontier life, and that he had reached a position for which he was singularly unfitted by training and experience, or by any natural aptitude. In the few remarks which he addressed to me about farming in the West he greatly amused us by saying: "I would like to visit Indiana, and see your plows, hoes, — and other reaping implements;" failing, as he often did, to find the words he wanted. He frequently mispronounced his words, hesitated and stammered, and sometimes made a breakdown in the middle of a sentence. But although he seemed to be in the hands of the slaveholders, and was then about to proclaim his policy of Congressional non-inter-

vention with slavery in the Territories, he impressed me as being personally honest and patriotic. In this opinion I was fully confirmed later in the session, when he sorrowfully but manfully resisted the attempt of Senator Davis, his son-in-law, and other extreme men to bully him into their measures, and avowed his sympathy with the Anti-slavery sentiment of the country. I believe his dying words in July, "I have tried to do my duty," were the key-note of his life, and that in the Presidential campaign of 1848 I did him much, though unintentional, injustice.

It was about the same time that I called, with other Western members, to see Mr. Clay, at the National Hotel. He received us with the most gracious cordiality, and perfectly captivated us all by the peculiar and proverbial charm of his manners and conversation. I remember nothing like it in the social intercourse of my life. One of our party was a prominent Whig politician of Ohio, an old friend of Mr. Clay, and who seemed anxious to explain his action in supporting General Scott in the National Convention of 1848. He failed to satisfy Mr. Clay, whose eye kindled during the conversation, and who had desired and counted on the nomination himself. Mr. Clay addressing him, but turning to me, said: "I can readily understand the position of our friend from Indiana, whose strong opinions on the Slavery question governed his action; but your position was different; and besides, General Scott had no chance for the nomination, and you were under no obligation to support him." He spoke in kindly terms of the Free-Soil men; said they acted consistently in supporting Van Buren in preference to Taylor, and that the election of the latter would prove to be the ruin of the Whigs. I heard Mr. Clay's great speeches in the Senate on the Compromise measures; and, although I believed him to be radically in the wrong, I felt myself at times drawn toward him by that peculiar spell which years before had bound me to him as my idolized political leader. I witnessed his principal encounters with Colonel Benton during this session, in which I thought the latter had the better of the argument; but his reply to Mr. Barnwell, of South Carolina, on July 22, in which he said, "I owe a paramount obedience to the whole Union,—a subordinate one to my State," and denounced the treasonable avowals of Mr. Rhett, was altogether inimitable and unsurpassed. His scheme of Compromise, or "Omnibus Bill," was the darling child of his political ambition and old age; and when, after lovingly nursing it and gallantly fighting for it through seven or eight weary months, he saw it cruelly dismembered on July 31, and his sovereign remedy for our national troubles insulted by the separate passage of the bill providing a Territorial government for Utah, I could not help feeling a profound personal sympathy with him. Beaten at last at every point, deserted by some senators in whom he had

trusted implicitly, crushed and exhausted by labors which few young and vigorous men could have endured, he bowed to the inevitable and retired from the Senate chamber. But the next morning, prior to his departure for the sea-shore, he was in his seat ; and with lightning in his eye, and figure erect as ever, he paid his respects to the men whose work of political havoc he deplored. His impassioned arraignment of the disunionists was loudly applauded by the galleries, and clearly indicated the part he would have played in the late Rebellion had his life been spared to witness that direful event. "So long," said he, "as it pleases God to give me a voice to express my sentiments, or an arm, weak and enfeebled as it may be by age, — that voice and that arm will be on the side of my country, for the support of the general authority, and for the maintenance of the powers of this Union."

I heard the famous "7th of March speech" of Mr. Webster. To me his oratory was a perfect surprise and curiosity. He not only spoke with very unusual deliberation, but with pauses having no relation whatever to the sense. His sentences were thus broken into the oddest fragments, and the hearer was often perplexed in the endeavor to gather his meaning. In declaring, for example, that he "would put in no Wilmot Proviso for the purpose of a taunt," etc., he made a long pause at "Wilmot," perhaps a half-minute, and finally, having apparently recovered his breath, added the word "proviso ;" and then, after another considerable pause, went on with his sentence. His speaking seemed painfully laborious. Great drops of perspiration stood upon his forehead and face, notwithstanding the slowness of his utterance, — suggesting as a possible explanation a very recent and heavy dinner, or a greatly troubled conscience over his final act of apostasy from his early New England faith. The latter was probably the truth, since he is known to have long and seriously pondered the question of his ultimate decision ; and with his naturally great and noble traits of character he could not have announced it without manifest tokens of uneasiness. I was greatly interested in the brief dialogue between him and Mr. Calhoun, which followed this speech. Reference was made to their famous passage-at-arms twenty years before ; and Mr. Calhoun, while taking exception to some of Mr. Webster's positions, congratulated him on his strong deliverance in the interest of slavery. The great Carolinian was then wrestling with the disease which soon afterward terminated his life, and was thin, pale, and feeble of step ; but his singularly intellectual face, and the peculiar light which flashed from his eye while speaking, made him the most strikingly picturesque figure in the Senate. No man can compute the evils wrought by his political theories ; but in private life he was thoroughly upright and pure, and no suspicion of political

jobbery was ever whispered in connection with his name. In his social relations he was most genial and kindly, while he always welcomed the society of young men who sought the aid of his friendly counsel.

I happened to be in the Senate on April 17, just before the memorable fracas between Foote, of Mississippi, and Colonel Benton. They had had an unfriendly encounter not long before, and it was well understood that Benton had made up his mind that Foote should not henceforward name him or allude to him in debate. Foote was on the floor, and in speaking of the late "Southern Address" referred to Benton in terms which everybody understood. In an indirect way he became more and more personal as he proceeded. Colonel Benton finally rose from his seat with every appearance of intense passion, and with a quick pace moved toward Foote, who was addressing the Senate from his desk near the main aisle. The vice-president demanded "order," and several senators tried to hold Benton back; but he broke loose from his keepers, and was moving rapidly upon his foe. When he saw Benton nearing him, Foote sprang into the main aisle and retreated toward the vice-president, presenting a pistol as he fled, or, as he afterward expressed it, as he "advanced backward." In the mean time Benton had been so obstructed by the sergeant-at-arms and others, that Foote, if disposed to shoot, could not have done so without firing through the crowd. But Benton, with several senators hanging to him, now proceeded round the lobby so as to meet Foote at the opposite side of the Chamber. Tearing himself away from those who sought to hold him, and throwing open his bosom, he said: "Let him shoot me! The cowardly assassin has come here to shoot me: let him shoot me if he dares! I never carry arms, and he knows it: let the assassin fire!" He was an embodied fury, and raged and raved, the helpless victim of his passions. I had never seen such an uproar in a legislative body; but the sergeant-at-arms at last restored order, when Mr. Clay suggested that both parties should voluntarily enter into bonds to keep the peace; upon which Benton instantly rose, and said: "I'll rot in jail, sir, before I will do it! No, sir! I'll rot in jail first, — I'll rot, sir!" and he poured forth a fresh torrent of bitter words upon the man who was then so well known throughout the Northern States as "Hang-man Foote."

The sudden death of General Taylor July 9, 1850, produced a very profound impression. The shock to the people of the Northern States was felt the more keenly because of the peculiarly threatening aspect of public affairs, and of the unexpectedly manly course of the President in withstanding the imperious and insolent demands of the extreme men of his own section. Millard Filmore then stood well

before the country, and was quite as emphatically committed to the growing Antislavery sentiment of the free States as Governor Seward himself; but he was now to be severely tried, and no one could tell whether he would be true to the policy of his predecessor in resisting the ultra demands of the South, or whether he would repeat the perfidy of John Tyler by flagrantly turning his back upon his past life. For the time being, however, the national bereavement seemed too absorbing for any political speculations. The funeral pageant which took place on the 13th was very imposing. The funeral car was a long-coupled running gear, with wheels carved from solid blocks of wood. Over this was raised a canopy covered with broadcloth, and surmounted by a magnificent eagle. Curtains of black and white silk in alternating festoons hung from the canopy, with rosettes, fringes, and tassels. The car was drawn by eight white horses richly caparisoned, and led by as many grooms, who were all white men. "Old Whitey," the venerable war-stud of the President, followed immediately behind the remains of his master, and attracted universal attention. The procession was accompanied by the tolling of bells, the firing of heavy ordnance, and plaintive strains of music; and the whole affair exceeded anything of the kind that had ever taken place in Washington, although the outpouring of people would bear no comparison with that of several notable funerals of later years.

The dreadful heat of the summer months and the monotonous "ding-dong" of the debate on the Compromise measures made life dreary enough. The "rump session," as it was then called, became more and more dismal as it dragged its slow length into the fall months. Members grew pale and thin, and sighed for their homes; but the Congressional mill had to be kept running till the grists of the slave-power could be got fully ready for the hopper, and ground in their regular order. Mr. Clay's Omnibus Bill having gone to pieces, the "five gaping wounds" of the country, about which he had talked so eloquently, called for treatment in detail; and by far the most threatening of these was the dispute between Texas and New Mexico. The remedy was the Texas Boundary Bill, which surrendered a large belt of country to Texas and slavery, and gave her ten million dollars besides. It was vehemently opposed in the House, and its fate seemed to hang in doubt up to the moment of the final vote upon it; but its passage was really assured from the beginning, by the corrupt appliances of its friends. Texas bonds, which were then worth ten cents on the dollar, would be lifted nearly to par by this measure, and its success was undoubtedly secured by the bribery of members. The Territorial question was disposed of by the legislative covenant, that new States might be admitted from our Mexican acquisitions either with or without slavery, as their people might determine. This was not

only an open abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso, but a legislative condemnation of the Missouri Compromise line as a violation of the principle of "popular sovereignty," and was sure to breed the mischief which followed four years later. But of the several compromises or "healing measures" of this session, the Fugitive-Slave Bill was by far the most atrocious. It made the *ex-parte*, interested oath of the slave-hunter final and conclusive evidence of the fact of escape and of the identity of the party pursued, while the simplest duties of humanity were punished as felonies by fine and imprisonment. The method of its enactment perfectly accorded with its character. It was reached on the speaker's table on September 12, and on motion of Mr. Thompson, of Pennsylvania, the previous question was seconded on its passage; and thus, without reference to any committee, without even being printed, and with no opportunity whatever for debate, it became a law. It is needless to say that these pretended measures of final adjustment paved the way for the repeal of the Missouri restriction, the bloody raid into Kansas, the Dred Scott decision, and the final chapter of the Civil War; while they completely vindicated the little party of Independents in this Congress in standing aloof from the Whig and Democratic organizations, and warning the country against further submission to their rule. One hundred guns were fired in Washington over the final triumph of slavery in this memorable struggle; and Congress adjourned, at last, on September 30,—the session having lasted nearly ten months, and being considerably the longest thus far since the formation of the government.

The adjournment was followed by great Union-saving meetings throughout the country, which denounced "Abolitionism" in the severest terms, and indorsed the action of Congress. Multitudes of "lower-law" sermons by conservative Doctors of Divinity were scattered over the Northern States through the mails, and a regular system of agitation to *suppress* agitation was inaugurated. The sickly air of compromise filled the land, and for a time the deluded masses were made to believe that the Free-Soilers had brought the country to the verge of ruin. Both clergy and laity zealously dedicated themselves to the great work of sectional pacification. The labors of Dr. Nehemiah Adams and Dr. Lord in this direction will not be forgotten. The Rev. Moses Stuart, of Andover Theological Seminary, in a work in the interest of peace, spoke of the "blessings and comforts" of slavery, and declared that "Christ doubtless felt that slavery might be made a very tolerable condition,—ay! even a blessing,—to such as were shiftless and helpless." Another book, entitled "Aunt Phillis's Cabin: Or, Southern Life as it is," was issued from the press; in which it was said that slavery was "authorized by God, permitted by Jesus Christ,

sanctioned by the Apostles, and maintained by good men in all ages." A very remarkable book made its appearance, entitled "A Choice of Evils : Or, Thirteen Years in the South. By a Northern Man." Its author was a Mr. Hooker, of Philadelphia. In this work he made the discovery that slavery is not only an unspeakable blessing, but a great "missionary institution for the conversion of the heathen." One of the chapters of this book is on "The Pleasures of Slavery." He declared that the Southern slave is not merely contented, but "a joyous fellow ;" and that "in willing and faithful subjection to a benignant and protecting power, and that visible to his senses, he leans upon it in complete and sure confidence, as a trusting child holds on to the hand of his father, and passes joyously along the thronged and jostling way where he would not dare to be left alone." Mr. Hooker declared that "his are the thoughts that make glad the cared-for child, led by paternal hand ;" and that "of all people in the world, the pleasures of the Southern slaves seem, as they really are, most unalloyed." The press teemed with kindred publications, while "Graham's Magazine" and other periodicals joined in the united effort to shout the Antislavery agitation into silence.

During this session some laws were passed, having no connection with the Slavery question, which were pregnant with very great mischief, and have only yielded up their meaning as they have been practically applied and extended. The act of September 28, granting land-bounties to the soldiers of the Mexican war, opened the way for the monopoly of many millions of acres of the public domain by sharks and speculators, while proving a wretched mockery of the just claims of the men in whose name it was urged. The swamp-land act of the same date, owing to its loose and unguarded provisions and shameful mal-administration, has been still more fruitful of wide-spread spoliation and plunder. Also the act of September 20, granting alternate sections of land in aid of the Illinois Central Railway, inaugurated our famous land-grant policy, which, becoming more and more reckless and improvident in its exactions, and cunningly combining the power of great corporations with vast monopolies of the public domain, has signally eclipsed all other schemes of commercial feudalism, and left to coming generations a problem involving the very life of our popular institutions. The fruits of this legislation were not foreseen at the time ; but the legislation itself fitly belongs to the extraordinary work of this Congress.

The events of this session formed a new bond of union among Antislavery men everywhere, and naturally strengthened the wish which I had long cherished to meet some of the famous people with whose names I had been most familiar. Accordingly I paid a visit to James and Lucretia Mott, in Philadelphia, which I greatly enjoyed ; meeting

there Dr. Elder, J. Miller McKim, Dr. Furness, and other well-known friends of freedom. Oddly enough, I was invited to dine with Judge Kane, then conspicuous through his remarkable rulings in fugitive-slave cases, and I found his manners and hospitality as charming as his opinions about slavery were detestable. From Philadelphia I went to Boston, and attended the Free-Soil State Convention, which met there early in October, 1850, where Sumner and Burlingame were the principal speakers. The latter was extremely boyish in appearance, but was counted a marvel in native eloquence. Mr. Sumner was then comparatively a young man, apparently somewhat fastidious, with a winning face, commanding figure, and a voice singularly musical. At that time he was only famous through his orations, and I think knew relatively little of American life and society outside of Boston and his books. He told me that he had recently been lecturing at several points out of the city, and had been delighted to find the people so intelligent and so capable of understanding him. He seemed much surprised when I told him how many admirers he had in Indiana; and I found that others shared his unflattering impressions respecting the general intelligence of the West. At this convention I met Dr. Palfrey, then actively interested in Anti-slavery politics, and Charles Francis Adams, the Free-Soil nominee for Vice-President in 1848. I enjoyed the honor of a call from Theodore Parker while in the city, but failed to meet Mr. Garrison, who was absent. At the "Liberator" office, however, I met Stephen S. Foster, who entertained me with his views on "non-resistance." I attended a spirited anti-Fugitive-Slave-law meeting at Lynn, where I first met Wendell Phillips, and enjoyed the long-coveted pleasure of hearing him speak. The music of his voice so charmed me that I became completely his captive. From Boston I went to Worcester, and after a delightful visit with my excellent friend, Judge Allen, returned to my home in the West.

After a vacation of two months the work of the Thirty-first Congress was resumed at the opening of its second session. Members returned so refreshed and invigorated that they did not appear to be the same men. All parties seemed more friendly; but the agitation of the Slavery question had not been suppressed. Many thousands of fugitive slaves had fled to Canada, or to remote sections of the Northern States, through the fear of re-capture under the harsh features of the new Fugitive-Slave Act. The method of enforcing it in different States, involving the intervention of the army and navy, had stirred the blood of thousands who had else remained unmoved by the Slavery issue. The effort of the National Government to make the harboring of a fugitive constructive treason was the farthest thing possible from a peace-offering to the Abolitionists; but the friends

of the Compromise measures failed to see that their scheme had proved entirely abortive, and made one further effort to silence the voice of humanity. They entered into a solemn compact in writing to support no man for President or Vice-President of the United States, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, or member of a State legislature, who was not known to be opposed to disturbing their "final settlement" of the Slavery question. The signature of Henry Clay was the first on this document, and was followed by that of various prominent men of the free and slave States and of different political parties. But the extreme men of the South and most of the moderate men of the North refused to assume this obligation, while the Free-Soilers felt perfectly sure that their cause would be advanced by the very measures which had been taken to defeat it. In this they were not mistaken. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," born of the Fugitive-Slave Act, was then making its first appearance in weekly numbers of Dr. Bailey's "National Era." Hildreth's "White Slave" and Sumner's "White Slavery in the Barbary States" were widely circulated, and exerted a powerful influence. The writings of Judge Jay and William Goodell on the Slavery question found more readers than ever before ; while the pro-slavery literature and "South-side" theology already referred to called forth replies from various writers, and contributed largely to the general ferment which the friends of the Compromise measures were so anxious to tranquillize. Indeed, while the champions of slavery were exerting themselves as never before to stifle the Antislavery spirit of the free States, the Abolitionists were delighted with the tokens of progress which everywhere saluted their vision, and animated them with new courage and hope.

It was early in the first session of this Congress that Andrew Johnson introduced a bill providing homesteads for actual settlers on the public domain. This was the legislative initiation of a measure which completely reversed the early policy of the Government, when settlers on the public lands were dealt with as trespassers ; while its triumph, years afterward, marked an epoch in our legislation, and has done more to make the American name honored and loved, at home and abroad, than any single enactment since the year 1789. Having earnestly espoused this policy years before, I sought the acquaintance of Mr. Johnson for the purpose of co-operating with him in urging it, and found him its sincere friend. Although loyal to his party, he had little sympathy with the extreme men among its leaders, and no unfriendliness to me on account of my decided Antislavery opinions. When my homestead speech was ready for delivery, he was anxious that I should be recognized, although the slaveholders hated its doctrines as heartily as they hated "Abolitionism"

itself; and it was through his friendly tactics that I finally obtained the floor, in opposition to the earnest wish and determined purpose of Speaker Cobb.

Near the close of this session, at the instance of Charles Allen, of Massachusetts, a man of high ability and stainless life, a preamble and resolutions were offered in the House calling for a committee to inquire into the alleged corrupt conduct of Daniel Webster in accepting the office of Secretary of State as the stipendiary of Eastern capitalists. On the motion to suspend the rules to allow this to be done, the yeas were only thirty-five; but this vote was quite as large as could have been expected, considering the excellent standing of Mr. Webster at that time with the pro-slavery sentiment of the country. I think it is not doubted that, being then poor, he accepted office, as he had done before, on condition of pecuniary indemnity by his rich friends in Wall Street and State Street; but, in the light of the far greater immoralities and profligacies of later times, it now seems a relatively small matter.

Political morality was at a very low ebb during the period covered by the Thirty-first Congress. The Whigs, now that they were in power, saw nothing amiss in the spoils system inaugurated by General Jackson, which was in full blast. The President had declared that he had "no friends to reward and no enemies to punish;" but under the party pressure he totally lost sight of these words, and seemed almost as powerless to withstand it as did General Grant in later years. Thousands of officials were turned adrift for no other than party reasons, while political nepotism was the order of the day. Under the brief administration of General Taylor unprecedented political jobbery prevailed, both in the legislative and executive departments of the Government, and these evils seemed to be aggravated by the accession of Mr. Fillmore, and to gather strength as the spirit of liberty declined. Nor was the personal morality of members more to be commended than their political. The vice of intemperance was not, as now, restricted to a few exceptional cases, but was fearfully prevalent. A glass of wine could sometimes be seen on the desk of a senator while engaged in debate, and the free use of intoxicating drinks by senators was too common to provoke remark. It was still more common in the House; and the scenes of drunkenness and disorder in that body on the last night of the last session beggared description. Much of the most important legislation of the session, involving the expenditure of many millions, remained to be disposed of at that sitting; and as a preparation for the work a large supply of whiskey had been deposited in a room immediately connected with the Hall of Representatives, which was thronged by members at all hours of the night. The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee

became so exhilarated that he had to be retired from his post ; and some of his brethren, who had been calling him to order in a most disorderly manner, were quite as incapable of business as himself, while Order had sought her worshippers elsewhere. The exhibition was most humiliating ; but it now pleasantly reminds us of the wonderful changes which have been wrought by thirty years.

In this Congress the chief leaders of the Rebellion were conspicuous, and foreshadowed their future course. Among the notable men from the Northern States, Hannibal Hamlin, lately retired from public life, was in the Senate. He was then a young man, erect, fine-looking, a thorough Democrat, but not the tool of slavery. Thaddeus Stevens was in the House, and just at the beginning of his remarkable Congressional life ; but the slave-power, then in the full sweep of its despotism, took good care to keep him in the background in the organization of the committees. He made several speeches, in which he displayed his rare powers of invective, irony, and sarcasm in dealing with the Southern leaders ; and no one who listened to his speech of Feb. 20, 1850, can ever forget his withering reply to Mr. Mead, of Virginia, who had argued against the prohibition of slavery in the Territories because it would conflict with the interest of Virginia as the breeder of slaves, or his allusion to his colleague from Bucks County, Mr. Ross, who had attacked him in a violent pro-slavery speech, and now precipitately fled from the hall under the return fire of his foe. But Mr. Stevens then gave no clear promise of the wonderful career as a parliamentary leader which awaited him in later years, when perfectly unshackled by the power which at first held him in check.

The Thirty-first Congress was not alone remarkable for the great questions it confronted and its shameless recreancy to humanity and justice : it was equally remarkable for its able and eminent men. In the Senate were Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, who appeared together in public life for the last time. With them were associated Benton, Cass, Douglass, Seward, Chase, Bell, Berrien, Soulé, Davis of Mississippi, Dayton, Hale, Ewing, Corwin, Hamlin, Butler, Houston, and Mason. In the House were Thaddeus Stevens, Winthrop, Ashmun, Allen, Cobb of Georgia, McDowell, Giddings, Preston King, Horace Mann, Marshall, Orr, Schenck, Stanley, Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Vinton. If mere talent could have supplemented the lack of conscience, the slave-power might have been overborne in 1850, and the current of American history turned into the channels of liberty and peace. But the better days of the Republic, when high integrity and unselfish devotion to the country inspired our statesmen, were past, and we had entered upon the era of mean ambitions and huckstering politics. "The bulk of the nation," as Harriet Mar-

tineau said a little later, "was below its institutions," and our fathers "had laid down a loftier programme than their successors were able to fulfil." It was not strange, therefore, that the little band of Free Soilers in this Congress encountered popular obloquy and social outlawry at the capital. Their position was offensive because it rebuked the ruling influences of the times, and summoned the real manhood of the country to its rescue. They were treated as pestilent fanatics because they bravely held up the ideal of the Republic, and sought to make it real. But they pressed forward along the path of their aspirations. They found a solace for their social ostracism in delightful gatherings which assembled weekly at the residence of Dr. Bailey, where they met philanthropists, reformers, and literary notables. They had the courage of their opinions and the genuine satisfaction which accompanies manliness of character; and they lived to see their principles vindicated, and the political and social tables turned upon the men who had honored them by their scorn and contempt. The Antislavery revolt of 1848, which they represented, saved Oregon from slavery, made California a free State, and launched the policy of free homes on the public domain which finally prevailed in 1862; and it was the prophecy and parent of the larger movement which rallied under Fremont in 1856, elected Lincoln in 1860, and played its grand part in saving the nation from destruction by the armed insurgents whom it had vanquished at the ballot-box. This will be the sure award of history; but history will find another parentage for the party despotism and political corruption which have since disgraced the administration of the Government.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

COLLEGE GRADUATES IN THE MINISTRY.

THE question of the apparent over-supply of ministers has often been discussed; but that the percentage of the graduates of American colleges entering the clerical profession has, since the establishment of the oldest college in 1636, suffered a constant and enormous decrease has seldom been noted, and never fully considered. This decrease is larger in the case of the older than of the younger colleges, and larger also in those subject to Presbyterian and Congregational influences than in those under Methodist and Baptist control. In Harvard and Yale the decrease is most striking.

HARVARD.

	Graduates.	Clergymen.	Percentage.
1642-1650	45	26	53.3
1651-1660	71	37	52.1
1661-1670	69	31	44.9
1671-1680	49	28	57.1
1681-1690	89	43	48.3
1691-1700	123	68	55.2
1701-1710	122	68	53.7
1711-1720	151	74	49.0
1721-1730	365	136	37.2
1731-1740	312	116	37.1
1741-1750	239	73	30.5
1751-1760	270	90	33.3
1761-1770	422	122	28.9
1771-1780	408	65	15.9
1781-1790	381	79	20.7
1791-1800	399	78	19.5
1801-1810	465	72	15.2
1811-1820	607	88	14.4
1821-1830	568	105	18.4
1831-1840	562	69	12.2
1841-1850	627	59	9.4
1851-1860	864	76	8.7
1861-1870	997	67	6.7

YALE.

	Graduates.	Clergymen.	Percentage.
1702-1710	33	25	75.7
1711-1720	55	36	65.4
1721-1730	140	57	40.7
1731-1740	179	72	40.2
1741-1750	219	97	44.2
1751-1760	290	97	33.4
1761-1770	325	106	32.6
1771-1780	333	82	24.6
1781-1790	415	110	26.5
1791-1800	307	62	20.1
1801-1810	540	126	23.3
1811-1820	607	139	22.8
1821-1830	766	234	30.5
1831-1840	814	263	32.5
1841-1850	923	187	20.2
1851-1860	1005	208	20.6
1861-1870	1012	152	15

Of Harvard's graduates since its establishment 30.9 have entered the ministry, and of Yale's 33.4. Down to 1701 the percentage was at Harvard 52.2; through the eighteenth century 29.3; at Yale 40.3; and in the first seven decades of the nineteenth it was, respectively, 11.4 and 23.5. At Harvard the percentage has fallen from 53.3 to 6.7, and at Yale from 75.7 to 15.

Princeton, — although founded on a religious, yet not so distinctively an ecclesiastical, basis as these two older colleges, — exhibits a similar decline.

PRINCETON.

	Graduates.	Clergymen.	Percentage.
1748-1760	161	80	50
1761-1770	192	81	42.2
1771-1780	161	71	44.7
1781-1790	167	21	12.5
1791-1800	236	29	12.3
1801-1810	344	41	11.9
1811-1820	339	75	22.1
1821-1830	330	57	17.3
1831-1840	537	111	20.6
1841-1850	649	107	16.5
1851-1860	682	135	19.6
1861-1870	622	132	21.2

Down to the beginning of the present century 32.3 of the Princeton graduates entered the ministry; and thus far in this century the percentage has been 18.4. The lowest average was touched in the thirty years between 1781 and 1810. In 1781-1790 the percentage fell from 44.7 of the previous decade to 12.5; and this low rate continued through the first ten years of the current century. The cause of the change was the prevalence of the "loose opinions and genteel vices" which were introduced into society, and so into the college by the popular Frenchmen of the period. Owing to its situation, the French influences were stronger in the College of New Jersey than at either Yale or Harvard. At Yale they were successfully combated by President Dwight; but at Princeton, under the presidency of the eloquent but mediocre Dr. Smith, they ran riot.

Brown University also exhibits in the decrease of its graduates who became ministers in this French period the effect of the same tendencies. Yet during the last thirty years the decline is the most marked.

BROWN UNIVERSITY.

	Graduates.	Clergymen.	Percentage.
1769-1780	60	21	35
1781-1790	89	19	21.3
1791-1800	196	47	23.9
1801-1810	250	52	20.8
1811-1820	276	76	27.5
1821-1830	308	196	31.1
1831-1840	267	107	40
1841-1850	294	99	33.6
1851-1860	315	76	24.1
1861-1870	383	86	22.4

None of the older colleges has furnished a smaller proportion of her graduates to the ministry than Columbia. The percentage has never exceeded 18, and its average is only 10.5. The principal reason of this fact is probably that the majority of her students have been drawn from families of the highest social standing, whose sons are not ordinarily attracted by the clerical profession.

COLUMBIA.

	Graduates.	Clergymen.	Percentage.
1758-1770	81	8	9.8
1771-1776	76	3	3.9
1786-1790	35	6	17.1
1791-1800	176	20	11.3
1801-1810	222	21	9.9
1811-1820	180	32	17.7
1821-1830	255	28	10.9
1831-1840	245	31	12.6
1841-1850	274	30	10.9
1851-1860	264	18	6.8
1861-1870	359	20	5.8

Amherst and Oberlin, founded under and fostered by strong religious influences, have sent nearly one half of their graduates into the ministry, — the former 46.8, and the latter 46.5. As they have furnished nearly the same percentage of clergymen, so the decline is very similar.

AMHERST.

	Graduates.	Clergymen.	Percentage.
1822-1830	219	139	63.4
1831-1840	449	236	52.5
1841-1850	283	127	44.8
1851-1860	462	194	41.9
1861-1870	495	157	31.7

OBERLIN.

	Graduates.	Clergymen.	Percentage.
1837-1840	56	37	66.0
1841-1850	131	62	47.3
1851-1860	130	54	41.5
1861-1870	201	64	31.3

To summarize, then, the facts of the decline in these seven representative colleges: at Harvard the percentage of graduates entering the ministry has fallen from 53.3 to 6.7; at Yale from 75.7 to 15; at Princeton from 50 to 21.2; at Brown from 35 to 22.4; at Columbia from 9.8 to 5.8; at Amherst from 63.4 to 31.7; and at Oberlin from 66 to 31.3.

The causes of this remarkable decrease are various; several are

direct, several indirect. The direct causes are embodied in the consideration that the demand for ministers has lessened.

The demand for ministers has decreased because, first, the attendance at church services has vastly diminished. In colonial New England, "failure to attend church was not a thing to be tolerated except in cases of utter necessity. People who stayed away were hunted up by the tithing-men: for one needless absence they were to be fined; for such absence persisted in four weeks, they were to be set in the stocks or lodged in a wooden cage."¹ But at present only one of every two persons in the United States could, even if he wished, find a seat in its churches, and a much smaller proportion desire to find seats there.² In both the country and the city the church has lost its power to attract the masses. A recent canvass of Oxford County, Maine, showed that in nineteen towns, containing twenty-nine hundred and nineteen families, only slightly more than one third—ten hundred and seventy-two—attend any place of worship. On the first Sunday of last October, the "New York Times" sent reporters to fifteen of the most prominent and popular Protestant churches of that city. Two of these churches they describe as "nearly full," but by no means crowded; one as three quarters, five as two thirds, four as one half, and one as one quarter, full. In the remaining two only one tenth of the seats were occupied. In fifteen of the most popular Protestant churches of New York capable of holding twenty thousand worshippers, only ten thousand were assembled on a pleasant October Sunday. The attendance on the services of the church, therefore, has diminished; with this diminution the demand for clergymen has necessarily lessened; and with the decrease of this demand runs a corresponding decrease of the supply.

The population, moreover, increases in compactness. The cities grow more rapidly than the country towns. At the beginning of the century one seventy-fifth of the population of the United States was in the cities; the present proportion is one fifth. As population becomes more dense, the number of parishioners whom each clergyman can serve without a proportionally larger amount of work increases. In the New England of the seventeenth century it is estimated that there was one minister for each three hundred persons.³ In the present New England there is one minister for every six hundred and fifty persons, and in the whole country one for every nine hundred.⁴ In a city church a minister can serve two hundred families with as much ease as in a country church he can serve one hundred, simply because

¹ Tyler's *History of American Literature*, i. 189.

² Census of 1870 reports 21,665,062 seats in 63,082 edifices.

³ Palfrey's *New England*, vol. i., chapter on Religious History.

⁴ The six New England States contain 3,487,924 population, and 5,343 clergymen. The United States, with a population of 38,558, 371, has 43,874 clergymen. Census of 1870.

they are more accessible. Since, therefore, the services of each minister are more effective, the demand for clergymen has decreased, and with the demand the supply has diminished.

The demand for college-bred ministers has, again, lessened because of the rise of the Methodist church. Although no statistics are gathered in reference to the proportion of Methodist clergymen who have received a college training, yet it is undoubtedly much smaller than in the case of other leading denominations. It is only in the present century that this church has risen to great popularity and influence. In this country it is claimed that not less than one fourth of the entire population are her adherents. Of the twenty thousand of her travelling and local preachers only a small proportion are college-trained. But in the days when Congregationalism was the "standing order," and when the large majority of the inhabitants belonged either to that or to the Episcopal communion, every clergyman, with scarce an exception, had taken his degree at either Oxford, Cambridge, or an American college. The rise, therefore, of the Methodist church, which has failed to insist on the need of a college training for the preacher, helps to explain the decrease in the demand for, and so in the supply of, graduates entering the clerical vocation.

Yet it is to be noted that the proportion of the Methodist ministers who are college-bred increases every decade. That church requires of her preachers a higher intellectual standard than formerly. This fact, and the fact of the enormous growth of the church, with the consequent increase of the demand for preachers, explains the rise of the percentage of the graduates of Wesleyan University — the oldest and a leading college of the denomination — who enter the ministry. The increase of the proportion in this college by reason of exceptional circumstances emphasizes the decrease in the seven colleges already considered.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

	Graduates.	Clergymen.	Percentage.
1833-1840	142	55	38.7
1841-1850	363	102	28.1
1851-1860	276	131	47.4
1861-1870	263	123	46.8

The indirect causes which contribute towards the decrease are numerous ; but for the consideration of only two is there space. One cause is the current religious scepticism. That such scepticism is potent in both pew and pulpit is unquestioned. Its tendency is certainly to exclude students from the ministry. If the principles which form the foundation of the science of medicine were undergoing heated discussion, the number entering that profession would nat-

urally diminish. The principles of theology are undergoing a severe discussion. The questioning extends not merely to the usefulness of the clergy, but also to the fundamental principles of Christianity, and even of all religion. This condition of affairs naturally affects at least a few of the Christian students of the college to such a degree as to lead them to choose some other profession than the clerical.

A second indirect cause of the decrease is found in the increase of the proportion of graduates who enter mercantile life. It is not till a college is firmly established in a wealthy community that a large number of her graduates adopt any other than one of the "learned professions." Colleges are primarily founded, not to train merchants, but ministers, lawyers, and physicians. The number of the early graduates of Harvard and Yale who followed mercantile pursuits was very small. In the first decades of the present century the percentage had risen to twenty; but at the present time in some of Harvard's classes one third of the members enter business. Therefore, in every succeeding decade a large proportion of graduates are entering business, and as a consequence the percentage of those who may enter the ministry diminishes.

The decrease which has been shown to have existed down to 1870 still continues. Although many of the graduates of the last decade are not yet ordained, yet so far as the materials for forming an opinion can be gathered, it is evident that the proportion is much less than in any previous ten years. At Yale it is about nine per cent, and at Harvard it is less than two.

CHARLES F. THWING.

AN AMERICAN BONAPARTE.

NAPOLEON had already proclaimed himself the successor of Charlemagne, and was rapidly advancing toward European dominion, when the deserted wife of his brother Jerome, excluded from all the Continental ports, took refuge in England; and, at Camberwell, on July 5, 1805, gave birth to her only child, Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte. Although the nephew of an emperor, and the son of a future king, the boy was born in a lodging-house, among strangers, in an obscure English village. Less than three months after this event, Madame Bonaparte, convinced that her marriage would never be recognized by Napoleon, and that her weak and worthless husband, unable to resist the threats and the brilliant promises of his brother,

was about to consent to a divorce, left England and returned to her father's house in Baltimore.

It is a well known historical fact that Jerome repudiated his American wife at the command of Napoleon, and was rewarded for his pusillanimity by the crown of Westphalia and the hand of the daughter of the king of Wurtemberg. Notwithstanding this, in a letter dated May 16, 1808, from Cassel, addressed to Mr. Patterson, he requested that his son should be sent to him by a trusted messenger, M. Le Camus, who was despatched to the United States for that purpose. In this letter, the King of Westphalia said he had the authority of the Emperor for this action, in order to prepare the boy for a career suitable to his birth. At the same time, Jerome addressed a letter to his former wife, in which he declared that the events which had taken place since their separation had not effaced her from his memory; that he had always preserved the tenderest feeling for her, and that he had never ceased to be interested in her happiness and that of their child. He hoped that she would not allow her affection for the latter to prevent his departure for Westphalia, where a brilliant destiny would be opened to him. He said, in conclusion: "rien ne me fera jamais oublier les liens qui m'unissent à toi, et le tendre attachement que j'ai voué pour la vie;"¹ and signed himself "her affectionate and devoted friend."

Upon Madame Bonaparte's declining this proposition, Jerome, Nov. 22, 1808, wrote her a more urgent letter, inviting both mother and son to take up their residence in Westphalia; and promising to create her son and herself Prince and Princess of Smalcalden, with an income of two hundred thousand francs per annum, and to provide a handsome residence worthy of herself and her son. He reassured her of the Emperor's approbation, who, he said, held her in the highest esteem. Madame Bonaparte, who had long since lost faith in her husband's promises, declined this brilliant offer, and remained quietly in her father's house. It was on this occasion that she made her celebrated and witty answer, that Westphalia was a large kingdom, but not quite large enough for *two queens*. At the date of the above letter, the King of Westphalia addressed the following "A mon fils, à Baltimore":—

CASSEL, le 22 Novembre, 1808.

MON FILS, BIEN-AIMÉ, — Séparé de vous, je ne vis que dans l'espoir de vous embrasser bien tôt. Je vous aime tendrement, et j'espère qu'il ne sera pas nécessaire de casser le cœur de votre bonne maman, et qu'elle pourra venir avec vous en Europe.

Adieu, mon fils, bien-aimé; n'oubliez jamais votre père, qui vous aime de toute

¹ "Nothing will ever make me forget the ties which unite us, and the tender affection which I vowed to you for life."

son âme et qui veut que vous soyez l'objet de son orgueil comme vous êtes l'objet de sa tendresse et de son affection. Je vous envoie mon portrait.

Votre bon papa,

JEROME NAPOLEON.

The young American Bonaparte was not baptized until he was nearly four years old. The ceremony took place May 9, 1809, in the Cathedral of Baltimore, and was performed by the same prelate who had married the parents of the child,—Bishop Carroll,—who was also his godfather, Miss Mary Caton being his godmother. The sisters of the latter, Elizabeth and Louisa, were among the witnesses. These three ladies were called the "Baltimore Graces," and married respectively the Marquis of Wellesley, Baron Stafford, and the Duke of Leeds.

So late as Feb. 20, 1812, the royal hypocrite of Westphalia sent to his American wife and son verbal expressions of affection. To the former he wrote: "Dans le monde entier vous ne pourrez jamais trouver un meilleur ni un plus tendre ami que moi;" telling her at the same time to be patient, that "everything will be arranged sooner or later," for "the Emperor is the best as well as the greatest of men." King Jerome tells his son not to forget his father, because "rien ne pourrait me remplacer votre tendresse." As the young Jerome had never seen his father, he would have found it rather difficult to keep him in eternal remembrance, especially as it could hardly be expected that such a woman as Madame Bonaparte would teach her son to love and respect so unworthy a parent.

The battle of Waterloo, which closed Napoleon's career, opened for Madame Bonaparte a social life in Europe of which she immediately availed herself. Her son, who had now reached his tenth year, was placed at a college in Maryland. In a letter of eight lines, dated August 30, 1815, Jerome announced his "safe arrival" to his grandfather Patterson, "after a pleasant journey of two days." His next letter is so characteristic that it is given in full:—

COLLEGE, Oct. 1, 1815.

MY DEAR GRANDFATHER,—I have the unhappiness to tell you that I hate this place above all things. I do not like one single master in this house, for they all treat me so ill that I cannot like them. There is one in particular, who is a Frenchman. Do not be surprised at what I write you, for there is not one of my playmates that likes this place this year. They were all pleased with it, but the rules being so strict this year, none of us like it. The house is built much like a hogpen. That is not all, for I find frequently worms in my bread.

Yours forever,

JEROME NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

It should be mentioned that after Jerome had had a longer experience of this college, his opinion of it had changed; and he wrote to his grandfather that he liked the place very well.

Mr. Patterson had the boy's confidence from the beginning. It was to his grandfather, not to his mother, that he told his boyish sorrows, his youthful aspirations, and his little wants. In one of his letters at this time, he writes to Mr. Patterson: "Please send me some macaroni, some chocolate, some sugar kisses, and some sugar candy." He complains that he had written three letters to which his grandfather had sent no reply, and begs that this letter be answered.

On May 1, 1819, Jerome sailed with his mother for Europe. When off Cape Henry he sent a few lines to Mr. Patterson, in which he spoke of having been sea-sick in Chesapeake Bay, and of his acquaintance with "everything about the ship." The following extract from the same letter shows the affection of Jerome for his grandfather and family:—

"When I think to myself of the many dear relations and friends I have left behind I wish myself at home, and am sorry that I ever left Baltimore. I would have come to take leave of you; but the thought of leaving one to whom I am so entirely devoted, and whom I love so much as I love you, prevented me from doing so."

The object of Madame Bonaparte in taking her son to Europe at this time was that he might enjoy the advantages of a European education. Accordingly, immediately after arriving in Amsterdam they set out for Geneva, from which place Jerome sent his grandfather the following interesting description of the journey, which is a remarkable production from a boy not yet fifteen years old:—

GENEVA, July 15, 1819.

DEAR GRANDFATHER, — I left Amsterdam on the 27th of last June, with a respectable voiturier Swiss, who has been in the habit of travelling from Amsterdam to Geneva for the last twenty years. He has his own carriage and horses, which he never changes the whole journey, and for the sum of seventy-five guineas he agreed, and has landed us safe in Geneva. We were obliged to take Mr. Dixon's brother as far as Basle, because mamma was afraid to travel through Holland and Germany by herself. But as soon as we entered Switzerland he returned to Amsterdam. We are informed that living in Geneva is enormous, and the defraying of Mr. Dixon's brother-in-law's expenses from Amsterdam to Basle and back again added a great deal to our expenses. The journey from Amsterdam to Geneva has been delightful. We have passed through Holland, Prussia, the dominions of the King of Bavaria, and of the Dukes of Darmstadt and Baden. The country is beautiful. Through Holland it is flat, and nothing but magnificent châteaux, gardens, fields, canals, and everything you can imagine most beautiful, are seen. Prussia in commencement is very ugly, the land poor, and everything looking miserable; but towards the end, along the banks of the Rhine, it is magnificent. On both sides you see very high mountains, so steep you can hardly climb them, and covered with grapes until the top. On the tops of them many old castles, towers, and châteaux are seen in ruins. Then the Rhine running in a serpentine form, and large caves in the rocks, as well as beautiful houses built on islands in the middle of the river, form a most beautiful and magnificent prospect. Through

the other places nothing remarkable is seen. This is a very short and imperfect account of it as it is entirely from recollection, as I did not take notes on the road. The air of Switzerland is very elastic and light, the sky clear, and in fact just such a climate as that of America, except it is not so warm.

Your devoted and affectionate grandson,

JEROME NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Madame Bonaparte's fame had preceded her to Geneva, and on arriving there she became the recipient of attentions from the most distinguished residents, as may be seen from the following letter : —

GENEVA, July 21, 1819.

DEAR GRANDFATHER, — . . . Every one here has been very attentive to us ; the first day we went to Mr. Hentsh's, then to Madame Pigot's, then to Mrs. Faezy's, then to Mr. Capt's, and to-morrow we are invited to go and see the Princess Potemkin, — for the Princess Potemkin, who is one of the oldest families in Russia, sent another princess to mamma to beg her to come to her country seat to see her, for the princess is in such delicate health that they are obliged to carry her up and down stairs. . . .

Yours affectionately,

JEROME N. BONAPARTE.

It may be well to remark here that Madame Bonaparte was always known in Europe as Madame Patterson, and while in Geneva her son assumed the name of one of his uncles, — Edward Patterson. On account of his striking resemblance to his uncle the Emperor, he was not allowed to pass through France, the Bourbons fearing that his presence might cause a Bonapartist insurrection. His mother thought it more prudent that it should not be known that a Bonaparte was in Switzerland, lest the French Government should cause his banishment from that country as it had done concerning the other members of his family. We also find the name of Edward Patterson signed to his letters at this time, because his mother suspected the passengers on ship-board of opening and reading letters in order to beguile the tedium of a long voyage.

In a letter of Aug. 18, 1819, Jerome congratulated his grandfather that he had escaped the commercial disasters which had overtaken so many Baltimore merchants that year, and expressed a hope that the Baltimorians would now acknowledge that Mr. Patterson had more prudence than any of his friends, and that he had always set a wise example to all his family. Among the failures was that of General Sam. Smith, who had commanded the old Maryland line during the Revolution. In the same letter Jerome says that his mother intends to limit her expenses to \$3,000 a year. He writes : —

"I pay six guineas a month for my board and tuition, and mamma pays for her board three hundred francs a month ; from the above prices you will imagine how dear Geneva is ; and, besides, every advantage is taken of strangers. Boys of my age are invited to the parties of grown people, to form their manners."

The boy wrote frequent letters to his grandfather during his absence in Europe, and displayed an intelligence beyond his years in speaking upon subjects not generally interesting to youths of fifteen. The young Jerome Bonaparte was no ordinary boy, and might have become an extraordinary man had opportunity offered or inclination prompted ; but he was neither cursed by his father's miserable weakness nor his uncle's insatiable ambition.

In the following letter, Jerome gives a detailed account of his studies, etc. : —

GENEVA, April 5, 1820.

DEAR GRANDFATHER, — I received a letter from you the other day which gave me a great deal of pleasure, as it brought the news of the cold weather which put an end to the yellow fever. There are a great number of English in Geneva, who will prevent me from forgetting my English. I pursue my studies as diligently as possible. Now I get up at half-past five o'clock, and am dressed by six ; then go to the manège, ride until seven, when I go to school ; study until eight, when I breakfast on a cup of coffee and a piece of dry bread, which fare, though light, is very suitable for me, because if I were to eat too much I could not study so well.

Since I have been in Europe I have dined with princes and princesses and all the great people in Europe, but have not found a dish as much to my taste as the roast beef and beef steaks I ate in South Street. After breakfast I go immediately to my studies of Latin and Greek until eleven o'clock, when I take my fencing lesson until twelve ; at twelve I have holiday until a quarter after one, during which time I eat my dinner. At one I go to my studies of drawing and arithmetic until four, when I take a dancing lesson, twice a week. The other days I have holiday from four to five ; at five I go to school and study until eight o'clock my geography, history, and mythology. At eight o'clock I sup, and at nine go to bed, except the Saturday and Wednesday nights, when I go out until eleven or twelve o'clock, because the Thursdays and Sundays I have nothing to do, and can sleep late in the morning to make up the time lost from my sleep the night before. My education costs mamma a great deal of money ; she lives otherwise as economically as possible, without carriage or man servant. Of my lessons of dancing, fencing, drawing, and riding, though I have made progress enough in them to dance at all the balls, to fence a little, and to draw a sketch, I have only shown a great taste for riding ; for I ride with ease all the horses at the manège, among which are eight or ten stud horses which are generally given only to persons who learned to ride a year or two, and which he gives to me because I have made more progress in six months than the generality of boys have made in a year's time. These stud horses are fed very highly, and taught to jump in every manner possible. Dear grandfather, I have but one thing to ask you, which is to allow me fifteen dollars a month, and money enough to buy a horse, that I may be enabled to see all the natural curiosities at about from ten to fifty miles distance from Geneva, and that I may keep up the knowledge I now have of riding. . . .

GENEVA, July 2, 1820.

DEAR GRANDFATHER, — . . . France is never quiet ; every paper brings an account of civil battles and rebellious cries ; the general opinion is that the present king will soon die, and that none of his relations will be able to reign. I need not speak of the disturbances occasioned in England by the bad conduct of the queen, for you know all of that before I do. I wish you would tell me what you think of the Floridas, whether the American Government means to take pos-

session of them by open force, which I think much the most advisable plan, or to wait until the Spaniards give them up spontaneously, which will never happen. I like Geneva very well, though I shall always desire to return to America.

When Mr. Patterson, at Madame Bonaparte's suggestion, declined to comply with Jerome's request for money to buy and keep a horse, the dutiful boy expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with his grandfather's decision in the matter, saying, "your smallest desires always have been and always will be orders for me." During the autumn vacation of 1820, Jerome made a ten days' tour in Savoy, and "spent all his American money except one half-dollar, which he kept to remember the coin." He sent Mr. Patterson a detailed account of this excursion, which is too long to be published in full, but we make room for the following extract:—

"At Salench we met with a little Englishman, who accompanied us a part of our journey afterward, and whom Sterne would denominate under the class of 'simple travellers;' for without knowing the French language, and with two shirts and pairs of stockings, he had set out without having any object in view but to kill time, and without knowing where he was going, and who was very happy to join us."

The beautiful valley of the Chamounix was included in this trip, which the young traveller said contained the "greatest natural curiosities in the world."

In one of Jerome's letters at this period he said his mother had been taking dancing lessons and now danced at all the balls; and that if she had not so large a son (although only fifteen years old, Jerome was five feet seven inches high) she might have passed for a woman twelve years younger. Madame Bonaparte was at this time thirty-five years old. She constantly regretted that she had not danced years before.

GENEVA, September 23, 1820.

DEAR GRANDFATHER,—This is the third letter I write you without having received an answer from you. But I hope to receive one in a day or two. You have certainly heard long ago of the trial of the Queen of England; of the insurrection in Sicily, etc. Geneva is always filled with strangers, and there are in it princes of every nation. The Princess Bacciochi¹ is dead, and has appointed her brother Jerome preceptor to her children. I go on with all my lessons as usual, and have commenced astronomy. I am exceedingly fond of that and mathematics. The climate of Geneva is the finest in the world.—in a word just such a one as that of Baltimore, only that it is never either so cold or so warm. This summer I took a swimming-master; and at the end of the sixth lesson, added to the few I took last year, I could swim about ten yards, and the other day I swam from the shore to the second island in the lake (which is formed by a large rock ten feet square) without stopping,—which is considered a quarter of a mile English. The Lake of Geneva is a delightful place to bathe in, as the water is as clear as crystal, and very warm. And in the Rhone after it has passed through the lake, and which is an ex-

¹ Eliza Bonaparte, sister of Napoleon.

tremely rapid river, I can swim with the current at least a mile, though to save me I could not swim a hundred yards against the current. Good-by, dear grandfather ; there is nothing new in Geneva. Give my love to the family. I regret America more and more every day.

Your ever affectionate grandson,

ED. P.

Jerome was of a sociable disposition, and complained that it was impossible to become intimate with the natives of the country in which he was then living, as they never had any more communication with strangers than merely inviting them to a large party or to a ball, but never asking them to a family dinner or social tea-drinking. Mr. Patterson had reproached him for his careless writing and spelling, to which the young student immediately answered : —

“As to my writing, I own that it is very bad ; but I have been so much occupied with my studies that I have not had the time to pay much attention to my handwriting ; besides, on the continent people pay little attention to their writing. But I hope I do not make any mistakes in spelling ; however, I will pay more attention to it in the future, for it would be shameful if on my return to America I did not know my own language. I never had any idea of spending my life on the Continent ; on the contrary, as soon as my education is finished, which will be in two years, I will hasten over to America, which I have regretted ever since I left it.”

He concludes his letter by saying : —

“I am very sorry to hear that Aunt Sidney has been so unwell, and hope that she will soon be better ; but I think that in such hard times she and Uncle Edward might be satisfied with three children.”

Upon reading this precocious remark from a youth of fifteen, the question naturally arises as to whether he had yet read “Malthus on Population,” or “Adam Smith’s Wealth of Nations.”

GENEVA, Oct. 25, 1820.

DEAR GRANDFATHER, — . . . I suppose that you have already heard that the Duchess of Berry had a son some days ago, who is called the Duke of Bordeaux.¹ I began in my former letters to copy a little journal of the curiosities I saw at Chamounix, but unfortunately the maid of my mother burned it the other day by mistake to light the kitchen fire, so that I cannot continue it so well ; but I remember everything I saw perfectly well, but do not remember where I left off in my last letter. But I shall continue, supposing that I was as far as Martigny, a village in Switzerland. From it I went to the Hospice on the top of the Mont Grand St. Bernard, founded in the 10th century by Bernard Duke of Aost, — a nobleman of Savoy, whose parents were enormously rich, and who himself possessed a large fortune left him by his uncle at the age of 25 years, and who eloped from his parents and went to this mountain, which is so high that it is covered with perpetual snow ; there he built an immense house, which can contain six hundred persons at a time, to receive the poor people who are constantly obliged to pass from Italy into Switzerland, and who always take that road as it is much the shortest, and who before this house was established frequently

¹ The present Comte de Chambord.

died from cold and hunger and by losing their way. There they receive every one who comes. They have a quantity of those large dogs, precisely like your dogs at Springfield; they are so well educated that they scent the travellers and guide them to the Hospice. We had not need of the dogs, as it was during the summer and we had good guides, but arrived there on our mules at five o'clock in the evening. You may imagine our pleasure at being near a fine large fire and eating a good dinner after having come through the snow, and not even seen a house for seventeen miles. This establishment is kept up by a religious society of monks instituted by Bernard, who was a saint. But they are so very charitable that they could not subsist were it not for the alms given them by rich travellers who pass there; and I, though I could not call myself a rich traveller, could not refrain from giving them thirty francs, though ten would have fully paid them.

Good-bye, dear grandfather; the bell rings for class, so I am obliged to finish my letter.

Your ever affectionate grandson,

ED. P——.

In November, 1821, Jerome and his mother visited Rome by invitation of the Princess Borghese, the boy's aunt. During this visit he met all the members of the Bonaparte family then residing in Italy. He did not see his father, who was living at the time at Trieste. The young American won the admiration of them all by his personal beauty and his gentle and graceful manners. Madame Mère and the Princess Borghese having proposed to Madame Bonaparte a marriage between her son and his cousin the Princess Charlotte, who was then sojourning in America with her father Joseph Bonaparte, Jerome, who was now seventeen, entered into the scheme with boyish eagerness, because, as he wrote to his grandfather, it would enable him to return to America. He did sail for America; but although the marriage never took place, he and his cousin became friends for life. As another evidence of his attention to the interests of his grandfather, it may be mentioned that Jerome wrote immediately after arriving at New York, April 13, 1822, that on the voyage "we touched at Gibraltar, where your brig the 'Margaretta' was with a cargo of flour, and as there was only flour enough in Gibraltar to feed the troops for two days, yours will bring a very good price, unless other cargoes arrived shortly after my departure."

After spending two months in Baltimore Jerome went to Lancaster, Massachusetts, where he placed himself under a private tutor as a preparation for entering Harvard College. He says:—

"I board in a very respectable plain family where my tutor boards, as well as five other young men who are also under him. He does not keep a school, but each one goes and says his lessons separately. He devotes his whole time to his six students, who all intend entering college in August. His price is one hundred dollars (\$100) per quarter for tuition. Board and washing amount to about four dollars a week. I study as hard as I can. I get up every morning at four o'clock and study till seven, and again from eight until twelve; after dinner from two until six. We have no other drinks than cool water and small beer; so I have given up drinking wine."

In his next letter he said he would make every effort to enter Harvard in September ; but, he added, —

“Should I not succeed, and be obliged to wait until winter, you must not be astonished ; for they are rigid beyond all conception, and every year getting more so. They require almost as much from a man to admit him, as formerly they did to give him a degree ; no allowances are made for Greek or anything else, though they did make many for Carroll and Harper,¹ owing to the influence of one of the professors who was a friend of their family ; but the Faculty regretted it afterward.”

In a postscript to a letter about this time Jerome complained to his grandfather of the want of attention shown to him by the people of Boston to whom he had brought letters of introduction.

“When I left Baltimore, General Smith gave me three letters of introduction, — one to Dr. Eustis, who has been very kind to me ; another to Harrison Gray Otis, who has shown me no attention whatever ; and a third to Jonathan Mason, who has not even returned my visit. I would have told you this before, but I waited to give them time, if they were disposed to be civil ; so that if they ever come to Baltimore, I hope you will show them no attention, and, if you think proper, tell General Smith how much his old friends have regarded his letters.”

On Feb. 15, 1823, Jerome informed Mr. Patterson that he had passed a successful examination, and after eight months of hard study had been admitted to Harvard. In a subsequent letter he gives the following particulars : —

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 25, 1823.

DEAR GRANDFATHER, — I wrote you in great haste the other day informing you of my admission to college, and profit by my first leisure moment to give you the details. On Friday morning, February 15, I presented myself to the President of the University and gave him a letter from my tutor, of which, as it was open, I took a copy that I might send it to you. It was worded as follows : —

“To the immediate Government of Harvard College :

“GENTLEMEN, — Jerome N. Bonaparte has been a pupil under my care since last June. He has studied with exemplary diligence all the books preparatory for admission to college, and all which the present Freshman class have studied at college. He is now offered for admission to the Freshman class, with confidence that he will be found upon examination well qualified for that standing. His moral character since he has been at Lancaster has been unblemished, and his habits of diligence and attention are such as to insure him a respectable standing in his class. I remain

“Your very obt. servant,

“JAMES CARTER.

“LANCASTER, Feb. 14, 1823.”

After I had given the above letter to the President he sent me to the tutors of the college, by whom I was very rigorously examined, got the highest mark in mathematics, and was admitted as student. . . .

Three hundred dollars more will probably carry me through the year ; wherefore my expenses this year will have amounted to between \$1400 and \$1500, which I am conscious is too much. If I continue living as I have done so far, my expenses

¹ The grandsons of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

next year and for the ensuing years I pass at college will amount to at least \$1100 annually, as I shall no longer be paying so much for tuition, and as my furniture is paid for. But if you think that \$1100 a year is more than I should spend, I can reduce them by taking one of my classmates to live in the same room with me; by which means I will save half my fire wood, half my lights, and half my room-rent, which will make a considerable reduction. My expenses as relates to my dress have been as low as possible. I have been in the habit of allowing myself a ride once or twice a week, whether on business or for pleasure, when frequently I might have walked, as I did not consider that to be too great an indulgence; however, if that amusement, which is the only one I have taken, is too expensive, that also shall be reduced. It was my intention to go on to Baltimore during the next vacation, which takes place in May, and to stop at my uncle's in Philadelphia; but as my expenses have so much exceeded my calculations, I am dubious whether I shall or not. Good-bye, dear grandfather; I have thought it best to speak candidly concerning my expenses, rather than to wait any longer. . . .

Your very affectionate grandson,

JEROME N. BONAPARTE.

Jerome was very anxious that his mother should not be informed of the large amount he had spent since his arrival in America, as will be seen from the following extract:—

“I am glad you have not written anything to mamma about my expenses. I do not intend to write her about them until I have seen you and find out certainly what is the least I can live here for. I would wish you not to tell Miss Spear anything about them, as she would write out to mamma immediately, if it were only to make mischief.”

About this time some difficulty was occasioned in reference to Jerome's attending the Protestant chapel, and he requested his grandfather to write a letter to the president of the university, — the Rev. Dr. John Thornton Kirkland, — requesting him to excuse Jerome from attendance at church on Sundays. He assigned the following reasons for this course:—

“I would appear very inconsistent if, after having stayed away from the Protestant church for upwards of a year, I were to go there now (—— and ——, who changed their religion while here, were thought on that account inconsistent by the Bostonians). And as I have been brought up a Catholic I would not wish to change my religion; and, moreover, my grandmother and several of my father's family being great devotees, they would think it a crime if I were to enter an heretical church.”

Young Christopher Hughes returned to the United States in the summer of 1823, bringing a report that Madame Bonaparte was engaged to be married to Lord Henry Cholmondeley. Jerome wrote that he had heard from both of them, and they mentioned nothing more of this reported marriage than that they had both had a hearty laugh about it.

In addition to the absorbing worldly ambition which characterized Madame Bonaparte, she possessed two other predominant sentiments,

— the love of her son and the love of money ; and she sometimes found it difficult to reconcile the two. When she ascertained that Jerome had spent \$2,150 during the fifteen months which had elapsed since his return to America, she was horrified. She had carried economy to the verge of parsimony, and she was not willing to allow any extravagance on the part of her son. She wrote repeated letters to him on the subject, and urged Mr. Patterson to censure him for his thoughtless waste of money. During the next few months Jerome's life was made a burden to him by a succession of reproachful letters written to him by his grandfather and his mother. At length even his gentle spirit was aroused by these repeated reproofs ; and he wrote to Mr. Patterson that although he highly appreciated the advantage of a college education he would prefer giving it up entirely to enduring these complaints, when he was conscious of doing everything in his power to avoid giving dissatisfaction of any kind. After this spirited rejoinder the complaints ceased, and Jerome was allowed to continue his studies in peace.

The question having arisen as to where Jerome should spend the winter vacation of 1824-25, it was decided in favor of Baltimore, much to his satisfaction ; because, he said, "there are many Southern students at Harvard who live at too great a distance to go home, and being without any restraint, and for want of other occupation, would dissipate more or less ;" and although he thought he would have more prudence than to frolic as much as they did, still he could not "promise himself or his grandfather not to dissipate a little." And besides he wished to see his uncle Joseph Bonaparte in Philadelphia, particularly as his cousin Charlotte was about to return to Europe ; and if he neglected to visit them it would be attributed to a want of respect, — at least to a want of courtesy.

Jerome's interest in public affairs is shown by the following extract : —

"I see that the newspapers are filled with Mr. Monroe and General Jackson. I fear the General will have injured himself by saying he would have punished the leading members of the Hartford Convention. I think he would have done better to have kept it to himself ; however, the publication of his letters was called for by circumstances, and although his sentiments are such as must please all liberal-minded and honest men, I fear his *liberality* will injure him among the Democrats, and his *justice* among the Federalists. By the by, I dined last Saturday at Mr. Otis's, who, you know, was the head of the Hartford Convention. He gives the General credit for his liberal sentiments, and ascribes his (Jackson's) blame of the Hartford Convention to ignorance of its object."

In the spring of 1824 Jerome wrote his grandfather a long letter, in which he said that during the ten weeks since his return from Baltimore he had spent neither more nor less than ten dollars, and that

he had left off smoking because it was too expensive, and horseback riding for the same reason.

Early in the summer of 1824 Jerome informed his grandfather that he had received a letter from Achille Murat, who was at that time in St. Augustine, Florida, where he intended to remain for a year; and if pleased with the country at the expiration of that time, he would purchase land and settle there, which he did. This gentleman was the eldest son of Joachim Murat, king of Naples, and Caroline Bonaparte, sister of Napoleon. He married the daughter of Byrd Willis, a grand-niece of Washington, and died in Florida in 1847. Madame Bonaparte returned to the United States in August, 1824. Jerome met her in New York, and they both proceeded to Lancaster, Massachusetts, where Jerome was at this time rustivating, having been suspended for three months from college for a trifling breach of discipline. The young man regarded the suspension as of very great advantage, as it gave him an opportunity of improving himself very much by miscellaneous reading; but Mr. Patterson did not look upon it in the same light. Jerome defended himself by saying that the cause of his suspension was so slight, and such occurrences were so common, that he could not possibly lose anything in any one's opinion. He writes:—

"I might quote twenty instances of the like occurrence among my acquaintance. When mamma first heard of it, it made her very uneasy; but when she found out the cause and the nature of the punishment, she did not mind it at all."

In a letter of June 16, 1825, he wrote:—

"I suppose you have received mamma's letter telling you of her departure. I waited in New York until she departed. She sailed in the packet ship 'Montano' on the sixth of June for Havre, in company with Madame Toussard and Mlle. Dutil, Colonel Toussard's step-daughter. . . . Our annual examination took place the day before yesterday, and I believe that your grandson acquitted himself very well, and was found well prepared in the studies of the last year."

The persevering efforts of Madame Bonaparte had induced the ex-king of Westphalia to allow his American son \$1,200 a year, which his relatives here doled out to him with the same caution as they would have done had it been taken from their own pockets. After the departure of Madame Bonaparte for Europe Mr. Patterson wrote to Jerome, and attributed her return to the Continent to her great partiality for France; her son however said that such was not the case, but that it was owing to the difficulty of finding a suitable establishment in this country. Before he should graduate "next year," he said, "she will certainly return to America and take possession of her house on Prince George Street, Baltimore." Under date of August 1, 1825, Jerome writes:—

"I received yesterday a long letter from my father, enclosed in another from my Uncle Joseph. My father does not tell me anything, except that he has seen Lloyd Rogers,¹ and intends giving him some articles to bring to me; but he does not mention what those articles are. . . . I have been to see Stuart the painter, and delivered him your letter. He says he will take a picture of me as soon as his health permits, which is not very good just at present. I paid old President Adams a visit yesterday. He received me very kindly. I am told that his faculties are still perfect, but his body is entirely worn out."

A few days after the date of the preceding letter Jerome informed Mr. Patterson that he had received another letter from his father, two from his cousin Charlotte, and one from Napoleon, the eldest son of his uncle Louis, whom Charlotte was to marry as soon as she recovered from the small-pox, from which she was then suffering at Rome:—

"My father tells me that since *that* marriage did not take place, he has been and is still looking out for another match for me, and asks what my mother could give me in case he should find a suitable person for me. I answered him that my mother's fortune was so small that it would be impossible for her to do anything for me. I would wish to have your opinion on this subject. For my own part, I do not think that a wife (however rich she might be) would be at all desirable for me. I am too young, by many years, to marry. And as long as I can live comfortably without a wife, I think it more wise not to marry. I am perfectly happy and contented with my present situation and prospects,—a wife would be apt to mar the whole; and as I have been brought up to hold the single state as preferable to the married state, my plans have always been formed with a view of remaining unmarried. If I marry, I must change them all. This is my way of thinking; but I would submit it all to your better judgment and experience."

In a letter of August 13, 1825, Jerome again alluded to his father's proposition of marrying him on the Continent:—

"In my last I mentioned having received several letters from my father, and asked your opinion with respect to my forming a matrimonial connection with some European girl, which my father seems to have very much at heart. Indeed, he says that he is looking out for a suitable person, and will give me notice as soon as he finds one, which he expects will be very shortly.

"For my own part, I should be averse to any such connection, but will, of course, be guided by your and mamma's advice on the subject."

We gather from the following extract from Jerome's next letter that Mr. Patterson agreed with his grandson regarding the disadvantages of a European marriage:—

"I am glad to find that your advice on that subject agrees perfectly with my own inclinations. I think with you that my education and habits do not at all qualify me for living in Europe. I have, heretofore, sometimes indulged the hope of passing a year in Europe (after I had finished my education at Cambridge), to which I

¹ The former owner of Druid Hill Park in Baltimore, a seat which had been in the Rogers family for nearly two hundred years. It was sold to the city of Baltimore for \$450,000 in the year 1859.

would be prompted by the very natural desire of seeing my father. But the more I reflect on it, the more I perceive the impropriety of interrupting my studies before I have acquired my profession, which will be of more importance to me than anything else. I should also be afraid (if I went to Europe) of losing the habits of study and application which I have formed in Cambridge, and which, I am happy to say, are growing stronger and more agreeable every day."

Jerome's deep interest in his uncle Napoleon is shown by the following paragraph in the same letter:—

"I have been occupied for the last two weeks in reading some works which have just been published in Boston relating to the Emperor, — I mean Ségur's 'Russian Campaigns,' Ségur's 'Mémoires,' and Fouché's 'Mémoires,' — and I shall be occupied during the vacation (which begins in a week) in sitting for my picture and in reading Napoleon's 'Mémoires,' dictated at St. Helena to Generals Gourgaud and Montholon. This last work is in seven large octavo volumes, and comprises the whole of the Emperor's political career. It has been published only in England, and I have been able to purchase the *only* copy which has been imported to this country. It is a work of so much importance to me that I determined not to lose the opportunity of buying it, although it cost me the enormous sum of twenty-seven dollars. I had intended making a little trip to Portsmouth during this vacation, but my recent purchase will render it necessary for me to stay in Cambridge."

It would appear from the following extract from Jerome's letter of Sept. 25, 1825, that he was served by Stuart in almost the same manner that his father and mother had been before him: their pictures were never finished, while his was only completed after a long delay:—

"Mr. Stuart has finished the head of my picture; he took five sittings, and has made an excellent likeness, but there is no knowing when he will finish the rest of it."

It appears from a letter from Jerome dated Oct. 14, 1825, that Madame Bonaparte again spoke of her determination to return to America the following summer, and even went so far as to make arrangements for the purchase of wall-paper and furniture in Paris, for her house in Baltimore. As is well known, however, she did not return to her native city for nine years. In this same letter to his grandfather he said:—

". . . Mamma tells me that she has seen in the English papers that my Aunt Pauline has left me by her will the sum of twenty thousand French francs, which is worth a little less than \$4,000. I hope that it may prove true, but shall not rely on it until I see the money in this country. I believe that Stuart has finished my picture; I shall call on him to ascertain, the first time I have an opportunity. When it is finished, I suppose the safest way to send it to Baltimore will be by the packet; or may be it would be safer to wait until a ship or brig goes to Baltimore."

Jerome was mistaken about his portrait being finished at this time, as will be seen hereafter.

The last letter from Jerome to his grandfather in 1825 was dated Dec. 12, and contained several interesting items :—

“ I have received several letters from mamma, and one from my Cousin Charlotte from Rome, since my last to you. Mamma tells me nothing new. Charlotte writes principally about the legacy, which she says will be paid to any one whom I may legally order to receive it; but as I am yet a minor I cannot authorize any one to receive it, so that it must remain there until next July, when I shall have completed my 21st year. Charlotte says that she is still unmarried. I should not be surprised if that marriage¹ did not take place at all; but I reason only from conjecture.

“ Our vacation commences in about a week, and lasts for two weeks. I shall pass it in Cambridge. My picture is still unfinished, and I am at a loss how to induce Stuart to finish it for some time. He is very little to be depended on, as he has promised for a long time to finish it as soon as he had a moment of leisure; but as I have not paid him for it, it will be of less consequence if he does not finish it.”

The college career of Jerome Bonaparte was drawing to a close; and in the spring of 1826 his mother suggested that he should visit Europe during the following summer, thinking that the most favorable time had arrived for him to meet his father, as well as to see his grandmother once again, who was now very old and infirm, and who had treated him with such affectionate kindness when he visited Rome in 1821–22. Madame Bonaparte seemed to think that it would be a great advantage to Jerome to pass a year in Europe, under the protection of his father's family, before settling down in Baltimore; that living with strangers, under the restraints imposed by society, his manners would become easy and elegant. The dutiful young man, as usual, consulted his grandfather about the matter, and it was decided that he should go. At Harvard Jerome was more studious than brilliant; he distinguished himself in mathematics, but not in the classics. In French he was the first student of his class, but was conspicuously deficient in English literature.

Jerome sailed from Philadelphia on the ship “William Penn” in the month of May, 1826, and arrived at Rotterdam on the 15th of June. The next day he wrote to his grandfather :—

“ On my arrival I found two letters from mamma, telling me that she was very glad I had come out by the way of Rotterdam, and requesting me to meet her at Lausanne in Switzerland,—for which place I shall start to-morrow by a steamboat, which runs about one third of the distance on the Rhine; the remainder of the journey I shall go by the stage. . . . Mamma has succeeded in securing my legacy of 20,000 francs from the Princess Pauline, but has not been able to obtain possession of it; but it will be paid to my order as soon as I claim it. It is no longer in my father's hands, but has been paid back to the testamentary executors. . . .

“ When I left Boston I was so much hurried that I forgot to give Stuart any

¹ The marriage between Napoleon, the son of Louis Bonaparte, and Charlotte, the daughter of Joseph.

directions about my picture ; the head was finished, and he can finish the remainder without seeing me. I would be much obliged if you would have the goodness to write to Stuart that you wish him to finish it immediately, and send it to Mr. Thorndike, who will send it to Baltimore, and pay for it. I think that if you write to Stuart yourself, it will have some influence on him, and perhaps induce him to finish it. I called on him frequently for six months, before I left Boston, to hurry him, but without any success ; perhaps, now that I am away, he may be prevailed on to finish it at once. When I left Boston I was on excellent terms with Stuart, but he is so capricious that he may possibly be offended at my having left the country without giving him any notice of it."

Jerome joined his mother in Switzerland on the 28th of June. After remaining a week at Lausanne and Geneva they visited the baths of Aix in Savoy, from which place Jerome wrote under date of July 30:—

DEAR GRANDFATHER, — We have been here for a fortnight, and intend remaining a fortnight longer, when we will go to Italy. I wrote you some days ago by Mr. Brown,¹ who was going to Paris. I have not received any letters from you since I have been in Europe. This place is remarkable for hot sulphur baths, which are a certain cure for all rheumatic affections. Mamma and myself have been taking them for some days, and will continue them as long as we remain here. There is a great deal of society here, and the country is beautiful. I have not received as yet any letters from Rome, but have seen a gentleman from that place, who has given me all the news. The match which was proposed for my Cousin Charlotte is definitively broken off, and she is at present disengaged. My family, there, are all well. I shall remain two or three weeks in Florence, before going to Rome, and shall see my Uncle Louis, who now resides in Florence. I shall probably arrive in Rome about the end of September, and stay there until the middle of April. I am yet undecided whether I shall embark for America at Leghorn or at Rotterdam or at Liverpool ; but will certainly leave Europe next spring. I am not the least anxious to prolong my stay in Europe beyond the time which I fixed before I left America ; on the contrary, the more I see of Europe the more I become attached to America, and the more fully am I persuaded that I cannot live happily, or at least so happily, out of my own country. I perceive by the newspapers that my Uncle Joseph has obtained permission to live at Brussels, from which I suppose that he has some intention of leaving America.

By the President's letter I see that my degree will be given me with the rest of my class, of which I am very glad. There will be ten dollars to be paid for my diploma, which you will have the goodness to direct Messrs. C. & A. Thorndike to pay. I hope you have written to Stuart about my picture.

Ever your most affectionate and obedient grandson,

EDWARD PATTERSON.

Jerome and his mother remained at Aix until the first week in September, when they proceeded to Florence, where Madame Bonaparte established herself for the winter, while Jerome joined his father at the château of Lanciano. This was the first meeting of father and son. After spending two months at this château they went to Rome, whence Jerome wrote as follows, in December, 1826:—

¹ American Minister to Paris.

"I have now been for two months with my father in the country, and have just arrived in Rome yesterday. My having been in the country at 150 miles from Rome is the reason of my not having written to you before; indeed, it was only on my arrival here that I found your letter. From my father I have received the most cordial reception, and am treated with all possible kindness and affection. I have only seen my grandmother since my arrival in Rome,—that is two days ago. She is but little changed during the five years which have elapsed since I saw her, and treats me with the same affection and kindness as before. I have not seen mamma for two months; she is still at Florence. I do not expect to see her before the spring."

At Rome the young American Bonaparte renewed his acquaintance with his grandmother and other relatives, and was received by them all as the eldest son of his father. It was during this visit to Italy that Jerome met for the first time his cousin Louis Napoleon, who upon Jerome's departure for America, some months after, expressed the wish that he would return in a few years and before their hairs were gray. Jerome's sojourn with his father's family did not cause him to forget the home of his grandfather in Baltimore, and he constantly expressed a wish to return to America, "to whose government, manners, and customs I am so much attached." In a letter dated Rome, Feb. 12, 1827, he says: "If Stuart has not health enough to finish my picture, it will be better to take it in its present condition, as the head is almost if not entirely finished, and the body can be painted by some other artist; but if Stuart will finish it, it would be much better." He says: "All my relations, except my grandmother, are living beyond their means, and there is not the least hope of any of them doing anything for me." About the first of March Jerome joined his mother in Florence, where he entered into much of the gayety of the Tuscan capital, going to a ball every night. On the first of June he left Florence for England, whence he sailed for New York on the 28th of the same month.

Madame Bonaparte had brought up her son with the idea that he was to make a brilliant European match; that his birth unfitted him for a residence in America. With this object she had endeavored to instil into him from the hour of his birth the fact that he was too highly connected ever to marry an American woman. Her endeavors to "elevate" the ideas of her son had about the same effect as had Chesterfield's efforts to make his son shine in society. As soon as Jerome was his own master he married to suit himself, and settled down to a quiet life in Baltimore. "He was a private gentleman, and had no ambition beyond that position." He had "none of his mother's restless and worldly ambition. She loved to be surrounded by the brilliancy and gayety of courts; she was only happy in society, fashion, rank." Her son "was of a quiet, retiring, unambitious disposition." He "preferred a plain dish of roast beef at his grandfather's

table in Baltimore to the lavish splendor of the Princess Borghese's palace." He was skilled in all manly exercises, — fencing, swimming, riding, driving, etc. He was always devoted to horses. As we have seen, his grandfather refused to allow him the pleasure of a horse in Switzerland; but the young man made up for this youthful disappointment when he was master of himself and of his fortune: he then formed the best-stocked stable of any gentleman in Maryland. When Jerome married a Baltimore lady in direct opposition to his mother's wishes, she could scarcely find words sufficiently violent to express her indignation. She had sought to inspire him with her own pride and ambition, — to give him ideas suitable to what she considered his rank in life; but "a parent cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear," she sarcastically said. After his marriage Jerome abandoned the profession of law, and lived on his wife's money. He was very much interested in agricultural pursuits, and much of his time was spent at his country-seat near Baltimore, which he bought with a portion of the \$50,000 left him by his grandfather. His attempt to be recognized, after the restoration of the Empire, as a member of the Bonaparte family, seems to suggest that his patriotic sentiments for America, so frequently expressed in his letters, were written to please his grandfather; for in after life he prided himself upon being a Frenchman, and called himself "a French philosopher," whatever that may be. His professed disregard for rank reminds one of the fox in the fable. Although he constantly declared that European society was not to his taste, still we do not find that he mingled much in American society. He lived forty years in a city which enjoys more than a national reputation for the social hospitality of its inhabitants, yet his beautiful home on Park Avenue was rarely the scene of social festivities. We do not know whether he secretly shared his mother's antipathy for America, and looked down on American society as composed of *shopkeepers*; but it is certain that he abstained from general association with his fellow-citizens. Like Byron, he "lived a life within himself" with his horses and dogs. After his last attempt and failure in 1860 to obtain justice from the Imperial Government, Jerome Bonaparte returned to the United States, where he continued to reside until his death on June 17, 1870.

Mr. Bonaparte's eldest son, now known as Colonel Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, was born in Baltimore Nov. 5, 1830. After a short time spent at Harvard, he entered West Point, July 1, 1848. His career there was extremely brilliant, and he graduated high in his class in 1852. After serving two years in the United States army, Lieutenant Bonaparte and his father visited France in 1854, where they were very cordially received by the Emperor Napoleon III.

Young Bonaparte, having resigned his commission in the United States army, was appointed a lieutenant in the French army. He went to the Crimea, where he distinguished himself by his gallant conduct, and was decorated with the Victoria medal by the Queen of England, and with the Cross of the Legion of Honor by Napoleon III. He was promoted to the rank of captain, and for his bravery during the Italian campaign of 1859 King Victor Emanuel conferred upon him the Order of Military Valor. Colonel Bonaparte returned to France, after the death of his father, in time to take part in the disastrous campaign against Prussia in the summer of 1870. After the surrender of the Emperor at Sedan Colonel Bonaparte accompanied the Empress Eugénie to England, and then hastened back to Paris to take part in the defence of that city. When the capital fell into the hands of the Communists in the spring of 1871, he escaped with great difficulty from the city, and returned to Baltimore.

The unhappy death of the Prince Imperial was a great blow to the Bonapartist cause ; but a cause which survived Waterloo, St. Helena, and Sedan must possess an imperishable vitality. Napoleon died ; but Bonapartism lived. Prince Napoleon is unpopular in France, and is only accepted as an unfortunate necessity. It was an act of historical justice that the grandson of the divorced Josephine should succeed Napoleon. A similar act of historical justice may be in store for the grandson of the divorced Madame Bonaparte. The prisoner of Strasbourg and the dreamer of Ham founded the Second Empire ; Colonel Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, of Baltimore, the hero of the Crimea and the defender of Paris, may restore the Empire which was lost at Sedan, and reign over the French people as Napoleon V.

EUGENE L. DIDIER.

THE DIVORCE QUESTION.

[NOTE. — The laws of Divorce existing in the United States have of late been the subject of much comment. Recent cases before the Courts have received mention not alone in the newspaper column devoted to Law Reports, but on the editorial page. That the subject is one deserving earnest attention and consideration, no one who is at all acquainted with it will deny ; that it is, at the same time, but imperfectly understood is evident from many of the criticisms upon a satire lately published by the writer, called “ Who Is Your Wife ? ” wherein some of its statements of law are doubted or termed “ extravagant,” the critics apparently either overlooking or receiving *cum grano salis* the averment made in the last chapter of the book, that “ every statement which is here made is a correct statement of the law as it variously exists in some one or more of the States of the

Union." To show upon unquestionable authorities the mischiefs of our Divorce laws, and that I have not exaggerated, as well as to suggest a remedy, and in compliance with many requests, the following essay has been written.]

IT is not my intention to discuss the wisdom or policy of laws of divorce. They have existed from time immemorial. There might be, if human nature should suffer severe organic changes, an ideal state of society in which laws would be unnecessary; but as it does not exist we may as well, while not relaxing our efforts to bring about so desirable a pass, accept facts as they are, and not refuse remedies to present evils because they clash with imaginative ideals of what we would like the world to be. Marriage being a contract, although of an exceptional and peculiar nature, is as much entitled to a remedy when a breach occurs as any other contract; but the welfare of society and the rights of third persons—in this case primarily and especially the innocent offspring who are unable to care for themselves—being affected, require to be protected; and it is for equity properly to say whether or not a breach of the marital contract should work its abrogation. When there are no children to be affected, a dissolution of the tie for a proper cause cannot do much, if any, harm to society; where the case is otherwise, the evils of divorce are no doubt many, but the results of a rigid unrelaxing law forbidding any annulment of the marriage contract are probably infinitely worse. People will make mistakes in marrying as well as in other things; irreconcilable tempers will occasionally mate; time and change of circumstances will bring out traits which in the halcyon days of courtship and honeymoon, when only the better side of our natures and dispositions are on exhibition, are not thought to have an existence; and there is no infallible method, if indeed under the circumstances, when passion holds sway and love has blindfolded our eyes, the suggestion of such an idea would be, or can generally be expected to be, entertained,—there is no infallible method by which we can ascertain, in advance of taking the final step, the true and entire character of a proposed partner. Nevertheless, to allow the contract to terminate simply because one of the parties tires of the other, or both become *enemies*, or because a fit of temper is indulged in, would be destructive of social order and detrimental to the best interests of a community. Even ordinary contracts cannot be abrogated for such reasons. It is true that the laws of Belgium allow divorce by mutual consent,¹ and that society in that country is still not in a chaotic state; but the policy of such a law is extremely questionable. It certainly takes no cognizance of the rights of third parties, which even the most simple contract between individuals is compelled to respect.

¹ It is strange that, notwithstanding this, divorces are not so numerous in Belgium as in some of the other Continental countries.

On the other hand, marriage was instituted for certain well-defined purposes ; and when it fails entirely of these, and, instead of contributing to good conduct and order and the welfare of the body politic, rather does the contrary, its objects are not attained, its reason ceases, and society is not benefited. Why then, since such cases must exist to a greater or less degree, should the contract be iron-clad and absolutely indissoluble ? Of what sense is it to compel people who cannot possibly get along together to live as husband and wife ?¹ Is it not true that under such circumstances perpetual discord must exist ; that among the lower and more brutally organized classes, at all events, there must be breaches of the peace and serious infractions of the criminal law ; and among all classes temptations to adultery ? Is it not equally true that " children born during a discordant cohabitation have their natures tainted by it, while their education is not apt to be of a salutary character ? " And, in the language of Judge Swift, is it not " therefore the best policy to admit a dissolution of the contract when it is evident that the parties cannot derive from it the benefits for which it was instituted, and when instead of being a source of the highest pleasure and most enduring felicity, it becomes the source of the deepest woe and misery ? " ²

I am led into making these remarks because there are a great many intelligent and respectable people who, fortunately happy in their domestic relations, look upon divorce as an unmixed evil, and oppose any change in the laws which, instead of abolishing it, would correct the mischief arising from the clashing of the policies and legislation of our various States, because it would compel a further recognition of the principle itself. To them the statistics of divorce and its increase present only additional evidence of the immorality of the age in which we live. There is always a certain class who ignore history, and see in the ages which have passed into oblivion a Utopia of goodness, a lost paradisiacal existence, and in their own times an era of demoralization and sin. Whereas the truth is that the world always has been and is continually improving ; and they who cannot see that the good vastly preponderates in it are victims either of physical or mental dyspepsia. The so-called statistics which have of late been given to us are often misleading, and the moral which some persons have attempted to draw from them is consequently unwarranted and false. When, for instance, ex-Governor Dingley states that during the year 1880 four hundred and seventy-eight divorces were granted in Maine, or *one for every six hundred and*

¹ There is an action in England known as the " suit for restitution of conjugal rights " which endeavors to do this. Thank Heaven ! it is not known in this country. How beautifully it works, Wilkie Collins has illustrated in " Man and Wife."

² 1 Swift's System, 191.

seventy-nine of the population, the words I have italicized startle those who do not reflect that under the divorce laws existing in the United States people are not required to bring their actions in the State of which they are *bona fide* citizens, but frequently, if not usually, take up temporary residences in another State for the purpose of availing themselves of its more liberal policy, or of evading the law of their actual domicile; and that, in all probability, the majority of the four hundred and seventy-eight cases were not brought by the one out of every six hundred and seventy-nine of the *bona fide* citizens of the State of Maine, but by mere temporary residents coming thither from various parts of the Union, and seeking that hospitable territory for their own immediate ends. So, also, the Rev. Mr. Dike, of Vermont, has lately delivered a lecture which has attracted much attention by its array of similar "statistics," and is supposed to argue strongly against divorce laws. Divorce he calls particularly a Connecticut institution, which has become more common as the years have gone on, until the ratio in proportion to population is greater than it was in France during the Revolution.¹ If we remember that the divorce laws of Connecticut are very liberal, we can see here again, in this statistical assertion, the error pointed out above. But Mr. Dike is not stating anything new. So long ago as 1816, President Dwight of Yale College, in a sermon delivered before the executive department and a great part of the Legislature of the State of Connecticut, said:—

"At this time the progress of this evil is alarming and terrible. In this town, New Haven, within five years more than fifty divorces have been granted; on an average calculation more than four hundred in the whole State during this period,—that is, one out of every hundred married pairs. What a plain proof is here of the baneful influence of this corruption on a people otherwise remarkably distinguished for their intelligence, morals, and religion! Happily a strenuous opposition is beginning to this anti-scriptural law,² which it may be fairly hoped will soon terminate in its final revocation."³

If these statistics had been correct in the sense in which they were intended to be conveyed, and divorce owing to liberal laws had increased at the rate represented by Mr. Dike, then in 1880, in Connecticut, one in less than every twenty-five married pairs should have been divorced!

¹ The truth is, France had for so many centuries been under the Roman Catholic rule of indissolubility, that social and matrimonial impurity had swollen to such a degree as at last to burst all bounds and overflow the country. Bishop, vol. 1 § 44.

² A law, that is to say, forbidding divorce for any cause but adultery.

³ This hope has not been realized. Several causes for divorce are given by the Connecticut statutes; and as it is possible for meritorious cases to arise outside of these designated causes, general jurisdiction to grant divorces in the discretion of the Judges is conferred upon the Courts of the State. "Notwithstanding," says Mr. Bishop, "no State in the Union has more domestic felicity and purity, unblemished morals and matrimonial concord and virtue, than abound in Connecticut, justly termed 'the land of steady habits.'"

In commenting upon Mr. Dike's lecture an editor¹ satirizes New England, and draws the moral that "generous divorce laws, framed for the purpose of remedying serious mistakes of judgment, offer the lower classes² a premium on careless match-making." In the same article, however, he states that loose laws are sometimes charged as the cause of the increase of divorce; and he answers the charge, while destroying the "moral," by showing that the increase has been as great in New Hampshire as anywhere else, while the law in that State has been changed but little in a century. In view of the additional fact that New Hampshire has a doctrine peculiar to herself, and which is a severe restriction on divorce suits; that only the tribunals of the country where the parties were domiciled when the *delictum* occurred have jurisdiction to grant a divorce; and that when the offence is committed when both parties are out of the court's jurisdiction, it is no ground for a divorce,³—it is difficult to charge the increase to loose laws, or to see the force of the "Herald's" moral.

The choice lies between divorce and something worse. In France the marital tie is indissoluble; but is France, which has been called "the home of the adulterine drama," any more moral, socially, than our own country, if indeed it is equally so? It has been the boast of South Carolina that no divorce was ever granted by her laws.⁴ Yet she has never made adultery indictable, and actually found it necessary to enact a statute regulating how much of his property a *married* man would be allowed to give to his *concubine*! One of her own Judges has declared from the Bench, in a case before him, that "in this country, where divorces are not allowed for any causes whatsoever, we sometimes see men of excellent characters unfortunate in their marriages, and virtuous women abandoned or driven away houseless by their husbands, who would be doomed to celibacy or solitude if they did not form connections which the law does not allow, and who make excellent husbands and virtuous wives still. Yet they are considered as living in adultery because a rigorous and unyielding law, from motives of policy alone, has ordained it so." Another held, that "all marriages, almost, are entered into on one of two considerations, — love or interest; and the Court is induced to believe the latter is the foundation of most of them." For my part I cannot see that South Carolina has much to boast of.

But however we may differ as to the policy of divorce laws, we can

¹ New York Herald.

² Divorce is no more frequent among the lower classes than it is among the higher.

³ *Frost v. Frost*, 17 N. H. 251, 34 N. H. 513.

⁴ With the exception of the "reconstruction" period this is true; and one of the first acts of the State, after the original element came again into control, was to wipe out the divorce laws of the so-called "carpet-baggers."

all agree that a system such as exists in the United States, — which results frequently in parties being regarded as divorced in one State, but not in another ; in a marriage being valid in one State, but invalid elsewhere ; in a child being a lawful heir in Ohio, but illegitimate in New York ; and under which it is possible for a man to have several wives at once in different parts of the Union, — is a disgrace to our civilization.

This state of affairs has been brought about mainly by the different judicial views taken of the question, "What effect should be given to a foreign [and in this sense our States are foreign to each other] divorce?" Before examining this question, let us look at a peculiar condition of things which arises in New York, owing to her laws affixing a penalty to a judgment of divorce for adultery, by which the guilty party is forbidden to re-marry during the lifetime of the other.¹ I confess myself unable to see the wisdom of a prohibition which does not prevent a marriage being contracted in another State and being perfectly valid there, and which, intended as a punishment to an offender, in addition to raising difficult questions, has invariably operated to punish helpless children and the innocent rather than the party upon whom it was laid ; and this must be in the nature of things. If it is advisable to punish an adulterer, why not do it by a criminal statute, as in Massachusetts? It would certainly work better and more justly, although if rigidly enforced in some localities it might necessitate the erection of additional penitentiaries. It is illogical for a State like New York, for instance, to affix such a prohibition to a decree of divorce, and yet to have no law against adultery on her statute books. With all due respect I may be permitted to say that the prohibition is based upon false reasoning, and is an absurdity. Let us see how it works. A procures a divorce from B in New York ; the statutory disability attaches then to B. Now if B marries again in New York, he will commit a misdemeanor, and the marriage will be void ; but he will not be guilty of polygamy. If, instead of this, he goes to any other State and marries there, as he has a perfect right to do, and then goes back to New York to live, he cannot be punished as for a crime, because penal disabilities are local in their nature, and do not follow the person ; but he will have a wife in the other State who would cease to be his wife when he reached New York, and whom he could then at his pleasure abandon : and she, the entirely innocent party, who may have acted perhaps under legal advice perfectly sound where it was given, would be the sufferer. The policy of a law which operates in this way is at least questionable.

To return now to the main point. The question long ago arose in England as to whether there could be any foreign divorce of Eng-

¹ This has been somewhat modified by a late statute, but not so as to affect the principle.

lish parties married in that country. It may be put in another form, thus: Must a marriage be dissolved by the law which created it? One Lolle, who had been married in England, became domiciled in Scotland and obtained a divorce. He then returned to England, and acting under the advice of counsel married again. He was tried for polygamy and convicted, the English courts refusing to recognize the Scotch divorce.¹ This case was never overruled, but the drift of professional English opinion tended later to the proposition that it would be, and that if the parties were domiciled in good faith in a foreign State, a divorce granted by the courts of that State would be recognized in England. The French courts, although divorce does not exist in that country, have adopted this view;² but, contrary to general expectation, the English courts in a case decided within the past year have affirmed the principle of Lolle's case. This doctrine may sometimes work hardships, but if it were generally adopted it would certainly prevent complications. The American courts, however, do not entertain it. If the court has jurisdiction over both the parties, the place where the marriage was consummated is immaterial, — as is also the place where the *delictum* occurred, except in New Hampshire. It is generally held to be enough if only one party was domiciled in the place where the action was brought, provided the other party appeared;³ but when the other party does not appear, or is not within the jurisdiction of the court except by "constructive" service, — that is, the usual "service by publication," as it is called, — questions and difficulties arise: for it is not correct law, as asserted by Mr. Bishop, that a valid divorce — by which I mean one that will be recognized by *all* the States — can be had, although the court has jurisdiction over one party only. Now in the majority of actions brought for divorce only one party is within the court's *actual* jurisdiction; and this is the effect of many causes, but principally of the fact that the laws of some States are more liberal than those of others. The effect which a decree of divorce granted under such circumstances — and it is a method of procedure in daily practice and common to almost if not quite all the States — shall have, has given rise to much discussion and dispute. The divorce would certainly be perfectly good and binding where granted; but how will other States regard it? The Constitution of the United States provides⁴ that "full faith and credit are to be given in each State to the judicial proceedings of every other State, and the effect thereof may be prescribed by general laws of Congress." In pursuance of this provision Congress has prescribed

¹ Russell & Ryan's Criminal Cases, 237.

² Mrs. Bulkley's Case, 4 Macqueen's House of Lords Cases, p. 649.

³ Cheaver v. Wilson, 9 Wallace, U. S. 109.

⁴ Art. 4, § 1.

that they shall have such effect in every court within the United States as they have by law or usage in the courts of the State in which they are taken.¹ Some of the States recognize fully a divorce granted in another State under the circumstances described; but others, as New York, limit the seeming force of these provisions, and say on general principles that the question of jurisdiction is always open, — and if the court has exceeded it, or has not obtained jurisdiction of the parties, its proceedings so far as another State is concerned are *coram non judice*, and void.² This is not to be taken too broadly. If the court had jurisdiction of the subject matter and actually of the parties, the New York courts concede that the judgment cannot be attacked because it is evidently wrong or not in accord with the evidence.³ In such a case the facts cannot be reviewed, or the question raised as to whether they square with the grounds of divorce created by the statutes. There seems to be, however, some doubt even about this; for in a Massachusetts case the court did refuse to recognize a divorce granted in Maine under a special statute, undertaking to declare the statute unconstitutional.⁴

The current of the New York decisions is to the effect that the courts of another State cannot dissolve the matrimonial relation of a citizen of New York who, during the pendency of the proceedings in the other States, was domiciled in New York, and did not voluntarily appear, but was served in the usual "publication" method.⁵ In a late case,⁶ urged on by its peculiar facts, the court stretched its doctrines somewhat and said: —

"It is our conclusion, whatever grounds may be stated, that in a suit of divorce a valid judgment *in personam*, so as to effect a dissolution of the marriage contract which shall be prevalent everywhere, may be rendered against a defendant not within the territorial jurisdiction during the progress of the suit, if that be the place of his citizenship and domicile, though process be served upon him only in some method prescribed by the laws of that jurisdiction as a substitute for personal service, and though he has not voluntarily appeared."

But at the very next opportunity, which was not long in presenting itself, the same court took occasion to reiterate its old doctrine, and to limit the effect of its decision in the Hunt case; which case it said "was close," and added, "We meant to keep the reach of our judgment within the bounds fixed by the facts in that case."

The facts of this last case are so remarkable, and it illustrates so strikingly the severe results to which our divorce laws lead, that I

¹ U. S. Rev. Statutes, 170, § 905.

² See *Hunt v. Hunt*, 72 N. Y. 217.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Simonds v. Simonds*, 103 Mass. 572.

⁵ *Kerr v. Kerr*, 41 N. Y. 272; *Hoffman v. Hoffman*, 46 N. Y. 30.

⁶ *Hunt v. Hunt*, *ante*.

shall state it a little at length.¹ It is somewhat surprising that it has escaped general attention.

In the year 1871 Frank Baker married Sallie West, in Ohio. She afterwards brought an action against him in that State, and a judgment was rendered dissolving the marriage on the ground of "gross neglect of duty." There was no personal appearance by him in that case, but the process was served upon him by publication. By the Ohio statute it appeared that the proceedings were regular and sufficient, and the judgment valid and binding under the laws of that State. In November, 1874, Sallie West being still living, Baker married one Miss Nelson, at Auburn, New York. He was then indicted for the crime of bigamy, and convicted in the Court of Sessions. The General Term of the Supreme Court reversed the judgment; but the Court of Appeals reversed the decision of the Supreme Court and affirmed the conviction, refusing to recognize the Ohio divorce as valid. Says Chief-Justice Folger:—

"We must and do concede that a State may adjudge the *status* of its citizen towards a non-resident, and may authorize to that end such judicial proceedings as it sees fit; and that other States must acquiesce, so long as the operation of the judgment is kept within its own confines. But that judgment cannot push its effect over the borders of another State, to the subversion of its laws and the defeat of its policy; nor seek across its bounds the person of one of its citizens, and fix upon him a *status* against his will and without his consent, and in hostility to the laws of the sovereignty of his allegiance. . . . If one State may have its policy and enforce it on the subject of marriage and divorce, another may. And which shall have its policy prevail within its own borders, or shall yield to that of another, is not to be determined by the facility of the judicial proceedings of either, or the greater speed in appealing to them. That there is great diversity in policy is very notable. It does not, however, seem to tend to a state of harmonious and reliable uniformity, to set up the rule that the State in which the courts first act shall extend its laws and policy beyond its borders, and bind or loose the citizens of other sovereignties. . . . It is better by an adherence to the policy and law of our own jurisdiction to make the clash the more and the earlier known and felt, so that the sooner may there be an authoritative determination of the conflict."

Answering the argument that it is not in good grace for the court to refuse to recognize the divorce when the laws of its own State provided for the giving of such a judgment against a non-resident by like substituted service, the Chief-Justice says:—

"This is but to say, that, on the principle of the comity of States, we should give effect to this judgment. But this principle is not applied when the laws and judicial acts of another State are contrary to our own public policy, or to abstract justice or pure morals."

It will be observed that the marriage was contracted and annulled in the same State, Ohio; that the divorce was in accordance with the

¹ The People *v.* Baker, 76 N. Y. 78.

lex loci contractus and the *lex fori*; that it was procured, not by Baker, but by his wife; and that he did not question or attack it. How was he to know that a divorce procured by his wife in Ohio was not a divorce in New York; that though Sallie was not his wife in Ohio, but possibly some other man's, she was his wife in New York; that he was at liberty to enter the matrimonial market in Ohio or in Maine, which States would recognize him as a divorced husband, but not in New York? Certainly no lawyer in Ohio, if any in New York, would have answered him negatively had he inquired whether he was at liberty to marry. Nevertheless he found himself sentenced to the State Prison for bigamy.¹

A harder case than this, so far as appears, it would be difficult to conceive. It affords us, however, a splendid illustration of the workings of our divorce laws. Let us look at it from a few different standpoints. If Baker's wife had procured her divorce in a similar manner in New York, and he had then married Miss Nelson in that State, he would have had no wife in New York, but he would not have been guilty of bigamy. The court left him with Miss West as his wife in New York, but with no wife in Ohio. If he had married Miss Nelson in Ohio, she would have been his wife there; but when he came to New York he could have deserted her with impunity, for Miss West would then have been his wife, although she might have had another husband in Ohio. If he had married Miss West in Massachusetts, and she had procured the divorce from him in New York, and he had then married Miss Nelson in Ohio, he would then have had Miss Nelson as his wife when he was in Ohio, Miss West as his wife when he was in Massachusetts, and no wife at all when he was in New York. If, having married Miss West in Massachusetts, she had after the divorce remarried in Ohio, and Baker had obtained, as he then could have done, a divorce from her in New York on the ground of adultery, and he had then married Miss Nelson in New York, and again, afterwards, Miss Nelson had procured a divorce similar to Miss West's in Rhode Island (or any State which maintains Mr. Bishop's proposition), and then Baker had married Miss Smith there, the result would have been Miss Nelson as Mrs. Baker in New York, Miss Smith as Mrs. Baker in Ohio and Rhode Island, and Miss West as Mrs. Baker in Massachusetts. The birth of children would have given rise to numerous other complications.²

As it was, he innocently got himself into trouble which he might have avoided had he simply crossed the Hudson River into New

¹ It is unnecessary to prove intent or guilty knowledge in a case of bigamy. *Hayes v. The People*, 25 N. Y. 390.

² I am proceeding, of course, on the supposition that the different divorces were by "substituted" service, and also taking into account the question of domicile as discussed in the New York cases.

Jersey, and had the marriage ceremony performed there. The amount of evil which, had he been versed in the intricacies of law and been so disposed, he could have done without running any risk of the State Prison is painfully evident.

We thus have prevailing in the United States a system, or lack of system, of laws which, as already stated, allow of parties being divorced in one State but not in another; of a marriage being valid in one State but invalid elsewhere; of a child being a lawful heir in one and illegitimate in another; and of a man, not a Mormon, having two or more legal wives, changing one or the other according as he moves from one State to another, — and which, as we have seen, operates to make those entirely innocent the principal sufferers.

The question remaining is, What is the remedy? The one generally suggested is that the causes for divorce be made uniform throughout the United States by a Constitutional amendment.¹ The obstacles in the way are apparently insuperable and the objections numerous. It is true that while it is natural and to be expected that different nations living under different forms of government, surrounded by different circumstances, and existing under different social conditions should differ in their views, the spectacle of component parts of the one nation having severally different systems and regulations on a question affecting the personal *status* of a *citizen of the Nation*, presents an absurd anomaly. Yet who is to say which of these States is right, — the one which admits of but a single cause for the dissolution of the marital tie, or the one which sees other causes in addition? And which of these States is likely, or would be willing, to give way to another in its views in regard to the *grounds* on which a divorce should be decreed? It is improbable that such an amendment would be ratified. It would further meet with violent opposition from the large number of people who would see in it a long step towards their *bête noir*, — centralization. But it is unnecessary to discuss this point, — because, in the first place, such an amendment is not needed; and, secondly, it would not afford the required remedy. We can, I think, do away with the evils without asking any State to decrease or increase the causes for which its laws allow of divorce, or requiring it to accept the views of another State upon this question of policy; for while it is true that a liberal policy induces those who desire to cast off the matrimonial yoke to seek that State which affords the relief which their own denies, yet the complications I have pointed out are not the result of the *grounds* of divorce, but of the judicial constructions which have been placed upon the question of *jurisdiction*, and upon the question of the effect of a foreign divorce where the court granting it had *actual* jurisdiction over

¹ Congress has no power to pass a general law of this kind.

only one of the parties to the suit, and the other, not being domiciled in or a citizen of the State, was constructively served with process, and did not actually appear.

To an inter-State convention to make the causes for divorce uniform, which has likewise been suggested, what has been said also applies, and for the same reasons. There is, further, another objection applicable; and that is, unless the State constitutions were amended, any and every succeeding legislature could revoke the laws enacted by its predecessor.

If the Supreme Court of the United States were to decide in a proper case that such a judgment as the one given in the Baker case, in Ohio, was absolutely binding on all the States, it would settle the question. In a measure, such a decision would be arbitrary, and would not, in the existing state of the law, meet with universal approval. Further than this, it might cause much trouble and many difficulties; for it should be remembered that courts do not *make* the law, but simply *declare* it; and when they declare it, it operates, theoretically at least, not as a new principle,—although practically it may be such, affecting only the case before the court, and such as may afterwards arise,—but is accepted as *always having been* the law of the particular point or principle passed upon, and previous enunciations, if they differ, are regarded as having been erroneous. It may be added, that so far as the Supreme Court has gone it has sustained the views of the New York courts.¹

Is there then no remedy which does not present reasonably objectionable features, and which would be likely to meet with general approval? I think there is; and after careful consideration submit two suggestions:—

1. The Constitution of the United States provides that the effect of the judicial proceedings of each State in every other State may be prescribed by general laws of Congress. The ready and at once available remedy is to be found in this clause. It is for Congress to pass a law declaring, in effect, that every judgment of divorce rendered by a State court of competent jurisdiction, and valid under the laws of the State, shall be of full force and effect and unquestionable, except for *actual* fraud practised upon the court which granted it, in every other State,—provided that the court granting it had actual jurisdiction over both parties, or provided that the marriage which it dissolves was contracted or consummated in the State the courts of which rendered the judgment; and so far as the *status* of any child or children may be affected, no judgment of divorce, valid under the laws of the State where it was rendered, shall in any wise be questioned or disregarded.

¹ Thompson v. Whitman, 18 Wall. 457. See Pennoyer v. Neff, 95 U. S. 714.

2. A Constitutional amendment practically to the same effect, but asserting it affirmatively by prohibiting the granting of a divorce when both parties are not within the *actual* jurisdiction of the court, except by the courts of the State where the marriage was contracted or consummated.

So far as the present power of Congress extends, and as the laws stand, the first is the only practicable remedy which suggests itself. It will be observed, however, that it is not quite complete ; because it is somewhat negative in its character, and does not absolutely prevent the granting of a divorce upon "constructive" service, or compel the recognition of such a divorce when granted by the courts of a State where the marriage was not contracted or consummated. For this reason the second is preferable, although it is a matter of more difficulty, and is apt to meet with some opposition from many who might urge that the subject is beneath the dignity of a Constitutional amendment, and that it would, perhaps, be slightly of a "centralizing" character ; objections which, however, — and it is said with all due deference and respect, — it would seem ought not to meet with the sympathy or concurrence of reasonable minds. An amendment of the States' constitutions would serve the purpose equally well ; but not a simple statute, unless there were a guaranty, which there could not be, that it would not be tampered with for the benefit of individual cases.

What objection, of sufficient weight to counterbalance the general benefit and public good, can be urged against a remedy of this kind it is difficult to perceive. Congress should at once pass a law of the nature proposed ; and then, if possible, the second suggestion should be carried into effect. On the one hand, no State is asked to give way to another, or to change its policy or its ideas of what are the proper causes for divorce ; a simple question of practice only is affected. On the other hand, a check would be put upon promiscuous divorces, because they could not be so easily obtained ; ignorance of the law, or the fact that legal advice perfectly correct where given was followed, could not be pleaded ; men and women could not unwittingly involve themselves in complications ; and, over and above all, the rights of innocent children would be protected in all cases, and they themselves would be spared the blasting stigma of illegitimacy. It is the greatest misfortune of our present system that the law, in its judicial and legislative sources, pays so little attention to the resulting consequences of the conflict as it affects the legitimacy of offspring and the duty of support. The question of the legality of cohabitation should be separated at least from the question of the legitimacy of innocent offspring, begotten not in meretricious commerce, but in an apparently regular matrimonial union ; and if we cannot for any reason have the Constitutional amendment, at all events let us have the pro-

posed law, which it is within the present power of Congress to enact and which would, if it did nothing else, accomplish this devoutly to be wished for consummation. But the second remedy is preferable, because, with the abolition of the absurd prohibition in force in New York, it would completely do away with the present state of affairs so disgraceful to our civilization, and bring order out of chaos. It still leaves to a deserted wife or husband who cannot serve process upon an absentee offender an opportunity to procure a divorce in the State where he or she was married. It may be said that sometimes this might work a hardship, owing to a party's lack of means ; but this is an ordinary case. The law offers to all the same remedies and redress, but it provides no one with money to carry on a litigation ; and the poor suitor is compelled to submit to an erroneous decision, honestly given or not, which the wealthy one is able to have corrected by an appeal to a higher tribunal. Further, to every man and woman it is left to marry in that State whose policy of marriage and divorce best suits his or her inclinations.

It is doubtless true, as Judge Folger states, that the present condition of the divorce question is only in degree "harder than the results of other conflicts in law," but that "it is more sharply presented to us because tenderer, more sacred, more lasting relations of greater consequence are involved ; and because the occasions calling attention to the conflict have of late years become so frequent." Nevertheless, it is easier to bear the conflict when it amounts only to a question of money than when it affects good name and social position ; and there is no comparison between that which involves a simple point of business rights and that which concerns our home, our children, our domestic relations, and our fair name. Surely, our personal *status* should not depend upon the locality in the common country of which we are citizens, in which we may happen from time to time to take up our abode ; and certainly the right of support and the legitimacy of offspring deserve to be regulated as subjects worthy of attention in themselves, and not as mere accidental incidents of the right to a divorce.

WALDORF H. PHILLIPS.

RIGHTS.

THE modern world is in love with rights : it is a distinguishing trait of the epoch. There is indeed somewhat too much of this, and the clatter of rights becomes wearisome at times. As one result of such affection, there is a marked inclination of many to conceive of ethical obligation under that form only. A curious illus-

tration of this propensity was afforded by a noted champion, now deceased, in the struggle against slavery, who in the latter years of his life, when the great conflict was over, lectured about the country upon "The Antenatal Rights of Children." It had been more immediately to the purpose to speak of the duties of parents, since it must have been the lecturer's object to impress upon parents a sense of their duties, and not upon the unborn a sense of their rights; but the proneness to assert *rights*, with a feeling that the word fills the mouth infinitely more to one's satisfaction than its correlative, *duty*, led him to seek his object by that roundabout and somewhat obscure road. Yet while rights are regarded with so partial an affection, and while the word is thus frequent upon the tongue, one may doubt if any other term of comparable import is in general spoken with less shaping of a definite and entire thought by the mind. Rights of various orders, and conditioned upon different data, are jumbled together as if there neither were nor could be any distinction of class among them; while, on the other hand, that ethical origin and import which is common to all, and by virtue of which they are all akin, is quite lost sight of. Thus the general character that makes their unity, and the particular characters that distinguish their several kinds, are at once and equally ignored. As popularly taken, a natural right may signify little but this,—everybody's privilege. And though, as asserted, it be plainly and flagrantly a reclamation of egoism against ethics, yet that fact may not be regarded as making at all against its title to the name and force of a natural right. Upon this matter, therefore, light is peculiarly needed. That it is not in the same degree desired, nor generally desired at all, is but too obvious. Yet in some of the better heads there has arisen a suspicion at least that the current notions upon this matter are much less clear than confident, and that in consequence the name of rights has been often invoked, and too often with success, in support of pretensions recommended by nothing else but a name. To such, a review of the subject, if it shall indeed afford light, will not be unwelcome.

Rights are parts or particular determinations of ethical law. To speak of them as more than imaginary is to assume moral obligation, a ruling principle peculiar to man and applicable only in the mutual relations of men,—as to speak of particular weights is to assume gravitation. No discussion of the subject can be of value unless attended and guided throughout by a perception of this primary fact. Unhappily, just that indispensable guidance was wanting to the speculation which formerly had a chief influence in America; and which, in the shape of unreasoned opinion, credited hearsay, and traditional habit of feeling and talking, is largely influential still. By the school

to which Samuel Adams, with his fellow doctrinaires, belonged, rights were supposed to come from the instinct of self-preservation, which was dignified with the name of "the highest law." But this instinct is common to men and beasts ; it has a perfect force in the mouse which it is the instinct of the cat to kill, in the lamb which is made over to the butcher, in the tiger which lives by destroying life, and in the creatures which, despite this instinct, Nature designs to be its prey. If rights issue from that source, for what a profuse and ceaseless violation of them, for what a filling of land, sea, and air with murder, does the scheme of Nature provide ! It was a cheap speculation, but it was taken for pure gold ; and those who had begun with deriving rights from a non-moral source presently went further, and pushed error into folly. Thus Samuel Adams announced in a solemn public declaration that "all men have a right to remain in the state of nature," — state, that is, of absolute anarchy, — "as long as they please." Sacred and inviolable right of anarchy ; sacred right of all men as long as they please to regard rape or murder as a mere offence against an individual, but no crime against the community ; sacred right of the community not to undertake a systematic protection of life, liberty, chastity, property ! The Pilgrims at Plymouth had hastened to say, on the contrary, "All men must live under law." According to the "puritan" Samuel, there is no such obligation. Did he really mean, however, to deny it ? I conceive that he had no such intention. Probably he would have said, "Certainly, all men *ought* to live under laws ; but they have a right not to do so, if it be their pleasure." To us that is a contradiction in terms ; but it would be none to him, since he did not think of rights as ethical in origin and character. Rights were "natural," duties only moral : why should not the two be opposed ?

But it must be seen so soon as once it is said, that there are rights only where there is moral relation. Such a relation cannot subsist between beasts ; therefore they violate no right in destroying and devouring one another. There can be none such between beasts and men ; therefore a man has no right of life which a tiger is bound to respect, nor does Nature commit a crime by the proxy of the tiger. But human beings are natural subjects of ethical obligation ; they are qualified and required to apply the moral conception, justice, as a governing law to their conduct and relations : hence, as the proper reflex of this obligation, every man innocent of crime has a claim to a moral *status* among his fellows, — a claim, that is, to the benefit of the law which he is bound to obey. This claim, when applied to some appropriate particular, such as liberty or life, is a definite right. The same order obtains in the case of legal rights. Every such right is a claim grounded upon some positive law, to which the claimant himself owes

obedience along with others ; and it signifies that he is entitled to the full benefit of the obligations which the law establishes or affirms. Thus duties and rights issue from the same source, — the former being determinations of what men ought to do or bear ; the latter of what they ought, in virtue of the same principle of obligation, to have, receive, or be assured of. In short, the mother of rights is the moral spirit :¹ every right alleged should be able to show its pedigree ; and in defect of such showing, when it is duly called for, the legitimacy of the pretension must remain doubtful. The imaginary right of anarchy is not the only one whose hollowness is quickly made apparent by an application of this test.

Rights, then, are ethical claims, or claims founded in the obligation of all men to obey the law of moral relation. This definition is still not definite enough ; on the contrary, it is the most general which can be framed. But it is offered only as initial, to be followed by a closer approach in due course. Proceeding upon this general definition, I propose, first, to look more particularly into the connection of rights with the other parts of ethics, and their consequent limitation ; secondly, to show what it is which distinguishes those rights with which political science is concerned, and to which alone the term is usually applied ; and thirdly, to attempt a comprehensive classification of these, or distribution of them into their three different orders.

I. It has been said that rights and duties issue from the same source ; it must now be added that they remain always reciprocal and inseparable. Where either is not, the other cannot be. The right of liberty, for example, is accompanied inseparably with the duty to keep this allowed measure of liberty under moral control ; and if either the will or the ability be wanting to fulfil this obligation, the right is wanting also. The right to life is attended by the duty to abstain from lawless killing, to set a moral value upon one's own life, not wasting it in a course of vicious indulgence or otherwise throwing it wantonly away ; and, I may add, to bear one's part in that succor of the helpless which is now systematized in the public care of the poor. Always the two go together. It follows that entire disqualification for the duty attendant upon a given right is disqualification for the right itself. It follows again that utter breach of the duty destroys the right. Thus a murderer kills his own right to life by the same stroke which takes the life of another. So he that will keep his lib-

¹ No, says a critic, the mother of rights is Nature. But Nature, to continue the figure, is the mother of rattlesnakes also, as of all which exists ; and what may be said of everything is distinctive of nothing. The statement is pointless in what it affirms, and opposed to truth in what it denies ; as if one should say that Nature, and not gravitation, caused the fall of Newton's apple. Nature says *right* only in and as the moral nature of man.

erty under no measure of moral control abandons the right to it, and is deprived of none in being sent to prison. The communists say, therefore, justly enough, "No rights without duties, no duties without rights;" though they say it only to show that a sound principle, like a good ship, may be put to piratical use. Hermann Ulrici, one of the most penetrating and most logical of living writers upon ethics, goes further and maintains that it is always the duty which *makes* the right. His reasoning is not easily resisted; but I am content to say only that the two are inseparable.

This does not signify that all which *may* be done by virtue of a right *must* be done under the obligation of a duty. The owner of a house may sit at pleasure in this room or that, with no sense of obligation to sit here or there. But this is simply a liberty implied in his right of property in the house. Yet was this right accompanied by no duty whatever? Or, to go at once to the root of the matter, let us ask how there should be a right of property at all. This is a question which has been considerably mooted and variously answered. Locke made a praiseworthy attempt to ground the right rationally, but with indifferent success. Rousseau would not hear of it as a fundamental or "natural" right at all; and Proudhon but followed his master in saying that property is robbery. Evidently it was through an influence proceeding from Rousseau that Jefferson, in pointed contrast to the custom of his American contemporaries, who with great uniformity put together the three rights of life, liberty, and property, forbore to mention the last in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, but substituted for it "the pursuit of happiness," — a mere ornamental flourish, since all it could signify is included in liberty. Even now there are thoughtful and studious men who, while no disciples of Rousseau, contend that property has only a conventional foundation. Yet the ground of the right is easily discovered when one looks from the proper point of view; and the present argument will perhaps be best carried on and concluded by taking this for a typical example.

Man is morally required, not merely to meet his animal wants when the instant pressure of them is felt, but to make such a provision for them as, by rendering him statedly beforehand with them, shall enable him to depose them from their immediate, exacting supremacy, and to lift his head into the free air above them. I say that this is morally required of mankind, since all the higher capability of the race, all its distinctive genius, must remain subjected and suppressed until that primary liberation is in some measure accomplished. But to this end man must take possession of external things, and make them his own by subjecting them to his rational will and converting them to human use as means, not alone to the content of animal needs, but also to

that liberated and cultured life which is the distinctive life of humanity. So possessed, he will fertilize the earth with thought and labor, becoming himself a creator of resource; and proceeding upon the vantage ground thus gained, he will become a creator of wants also, — wants which arise from his distinctive nature, and are themselves a wealth of the spirit which produced them. That possession is property; and the right of property, as a right morally inviolable, springs obviously from the obligation of man to be indeed MAN, and to that end a creator of resource. In the order of history, property — in land at least — vests first in the community as a whole; and it is to this rude primitive stage that communism would return under pretence of advancing to a higher plane of civilization. But the individual right arises in the natural order of development; it arrives when, on the one hand, industry is somewhat advanced, while, on the other, the bonds of law are so much strengthened that a considerable separation of interests is possible without prejudice to the moral coherence of the whole. It is like that process of differentiation which takes place in the embryo; over which differentiation, however, — a fact which Herbert Spencer seems not sufficiently to bear in mind, — the unity of the organism presides, — as the moral unity of the State presides over the distribution of rights and interests. In this instance, therefore, we find ourselves concurring with Ulrici: a universal duty is the ground of a universal right. But again I am content to assert no more than the inseparable connection and interdependence of the two.

This truth throws light upon a prevalent dogma. It has been sounded through the world that "all men have equal rights." We see, however, that this can be true only so far as it is also true that all men have equal duties. Doubtless the duties of all are the same in some respects, but that they are the same in all respects whatsoever will scarcely be said by such as speak from the mind and not from the mouth only. For an obvious example, the duties of a father are not those of the human individual simply as such. The whole truth concerning the equality of rights may be comprised, I think, in four propositions: —

1. A right is everywhere equal to itself, not varying in force and sanctity with the rank, station, or condition of the persons to whom it appertains. "If," said Fisher Ames, "the philosophers among the democrats restrict the word equality as carefully as they ought, it will not import that all men have an equal right to all things, but that to whatever they have a right, it is as much to be protected and provided for as the right of any persons in society."

2. Some rights, — to be distinguished in the sequel as a primary class, — must be attributed equally to all individuals having a title to be regarded as moral beings.

3. Rights conditioned upon special qualification should be equally open to all, without hereditary inclusion or exclusion.

4. All citizens are of right equal before the law, — which does not import that all must be equal *behind* the law, or in the making of it.

But the necessary connection of rights and duties is only one feature of a larger fact. Every right belongs to an entire system of obligation, as every civil law belongs to a coherent body of laws, and every citizen to a community. And as the citizen is limited as well as empowered by the system of social and civil relations, so it is with all rights : they hold good so far as the laws of moral relation, — which are also the laws of social welfare, — go with them ; and they cease at the point where they could be further continued only at the expense of the obligations associated with them, and of the interests which these obligations guard. If, now, any right be isolated and regarded as in empty space, it will seem quite unlimited, and thus will be falsely conceived of. But just in this manner they have been too commonly regarded by professed expositors and champions of natural rights : especially the right of liberty, — “ natural ” liberty, so called, — has been so contemplated ; and with what speculative chimeras, begot by conceit upon fatuity, but hailed as radiant forms of saving and rejuvenating truth, has the modern world been favored in consequence ! One limit of natural rights was indeed acknowledged ; namely, an obligation of every one to let others alone. Let alone ! by this one command rights were qualified, but otherwise had an unlimited force. Rousseau discarded even this limit. “ In the state of nature,” said he, “ I regard nothing as the property of another but that which is useless to myself.”

Stated thus, or with the let-alone limit only, rights become monstrous and flagitious, — become but fictitious rights of egotism, authorized to contradict and defy ethical obligation at every turn. Is the right to life an absolute one ? That is what the coward’s act imports, when he sneaks from the post where the duty he disowns had placed him. His act says that his life is all his own, and his right qualified by no associated obligation whatever. Many a wretch has been moved to prolong his worthless existence by running away from a danger which duty and honor called upon him to face ; but perhaps none was ever yet base enough to attempt a justification of his conduct on that ground. Yet the ground has been provided by men, — good men, too, — who supposed themselves enunciating truth of the first order. “ Self-preservation,” it was said, “ is the highest law.” For ordered nations or civil states charged with the supreme interests of civilization, and necessarily involving these interests in their ruin if they fall, it is perhaps the highest ; but to make the preservation of physical life the highest law of individual conduct is to embrace in a

proposition all the baseness of which selfish and faithless cowardice is capable. Whoever, therefore, states the right to life in that sense, — whoever does not state it as limited by the system of obligations to which it belongs, — either knows not what he says, or has the soul of a rat within him.

So of liberty. To what liberty has any man an ethical title? Only, it is plain, to a liberty qualified by the whole sum of his obligations, whatever these may be. His right is one particular in a system of moral relation, and has its measured place accordingly. Let us ask, now, What extent of obligation is of necessity comprised in such a system of relation? At the very least, it must comprehend all which is contained in the whole body of civil law, in so far as this is just law. For just law is but a determination of what ought or ought not to be done by the members of a community in a given situation; and so imperatively ought, that the sovereign voice of this community may justly say it *shall*. What do we mean by saying that a civil law is just? We mean that it is but an application of ethical law to the circumstances of a given case. Therefore every just law limits liberty only as the right is limited by the very principle from which it issues. We may indeed conceive of a more primitive society, in which practical relation, and with it ethical relation, was less expanded and complex, and wherein that right was otherwise qualified; but that is nothing to the purpose: the right of liberty as it exists here, — in other words, as it is a natural right here, — stands in relation with all those conditions of our life which bear upon the question of what we ought or ought not to do; and, meantime, in that primitive society it was qualified by all which actually was just law, or custom with the force of law, and by all which should have been law or imperative custom. Never since time began was there a spot on the earth where the right was not limited ethically precisely as it was limited actually by just and wholesome law. We see, therefore, what to think of that singular speculation which, beginning with a right of liberty either quite limitless, or limited only by a let-alone, proceeded to make a place for just law by imagining a bargain, according to whose terms some portion of that impossible right was to be bartered in exchange for protection and a vote. Surely a more flimsy and futile cobweb has seldom been spun in the human head.

It may be said, however, that one's right of liberty is indeed bounded morally by his obligations, but that every man has a right to judge for himself what his obligations are. Here, now, is a new right, — the right of private judgment, — set up as absolute and unqualified. But this is a limited right, like every other; it is correlate with a right of the community in its organic wholeness to judge also, and to act upon its judgment. To sustain an unqualified right of liberty with a like

right of private judgment is to prop one folly with another piece of foolishness.

So, again, of property. "Every man has an *absolute* right to his own property," said Samuel Adams in one of his doctrinal epistles: he said it many times, though but once, as I remember, with the italicized "*absolute*." That is, no man *owes* any part of his property or its usufruct to the uses of the community to which he belongs. The point was that there is no right of the community to levy and exact a tax upon property, but only a right of the individual owner to tax himself, — in other words, to gratify the Commonwealth with a donation, — should such be his pleasure. This notion must have been old even at that date, for the first English translator of Grotius' "*De Jure Belli et Pacis*," whose version was published in 1684, found occasion to say, "Taxes are not donatives, but just debts." Levied in just measure and for legitimate purposes, they are certainly no less. The "absolute" right of individual property, — absolute in not being qualified by any correlative public right, — must be relegated to the same limbo with its chimerical kindred. The question remains, by whom the measure of that debt should be determined. Very likely the reverend translator, being a churchman under the Stuarts, would have answered, "By the king." Democratists in our day will say, on the contrary, "By all adult citizens indiscriminately," including the considerable number of those who are not to share the burdens they impose, while least likely to be either considerate in laying burdens upon others or conversant with the needs and obligations of the politic community. A wiser answer than either might perhaps be given, but the question does not here concern us. The point here is that the private right of property is no "absolute" one, but is qualified by a right of the Commonwealth to so much of its usufruct as is necessary to a fulfilment of all public obligations. The contrary conceit was but a part of that make-shift theory with which epochs of transition help themselves at a pinch.

All rights, then, as being particulars in an entire system of ethical relation, are qualified by their connection with other obligations; and to state them otherwise is to make, not rights, but pretensions of egotism. Each is a sentinel at his post, who holds his position in submission to the design and plan of that service wherein he takes part.

II. Rights, it has been said, are moral claims; but not every such claim is a right in the sense of political science, and we must now proceed to distinguish. Among all which may be spoken of as rights there may be some to which it is fitting that legal force should be given; while other moral claims, equally real, are to obtain their due only through the willing response of individuals. There are duties

proper to be exacted by the politic community ; others, not less sacred, which must be left to the private sense of duty. It is needless to illustrate ; the distinction is familiar to all. Now, all rights to which force should be given by the State, together with all duties which should be exacted by it, constitute one great department of ethics, — that of juridical right, the German *Recht*, the Latin *jus* ; while all rights and duties which do not belong to the relation between the organic community and its members, but to the relation between different individuals, constitute another and correlative province of ethics, — that of personal morals.

This line of demarcation is not artificial, but is drawn in the nature of things. It lies in the necessary plan of civilization, — that is, in the moral order of the world, — that every entire community should make of itself, and for its members, a governed state ; and, in doing so, should pay systematically to the rights of all their just due. On the other hand, it is the express nature of these rights to claim such payment of public duty as their due. Just this it is which gives them a character of their own, distinguishing them from the multitude of moral claims, which it is not, nor ever can be, the duty of the State to make good by an exercise of power. A juridical right is a bill drawn upon the duty of the nation in its organic wholeness ; while a right in the sense of personal morals is a bill drawn upon the rectitude of individuals only. Juridical rights as thus taken, — to be spoken of in our further proceeding simply as rights, — are no mere product of a bargain made. It is as truly in the natural order of the world that there should be communities as that there should be individuals ; and, correspondingly, it is in the ethical order that there should be duties of communities — necessary and obligatory functions of civilization which they are to perform in the power of their organic unity — no less than duties and functions of individual men, acting each in his private capacity. Between these two, — between the integral community, on the one hand, and each of its members on the other, — there is ethical relation, not made by contract, but by the order of the world. Rights, as the term is henceforth to be understood, are particulars or fixed points of that relation. As attributed to individuals, each right therefore is a claim, not merely upon the rectitude of other individuals, but, over and above this, upon the duty of the integral social body, acting in the power of its wholeness and with the authority of its proper obligations. Accordingly, the right to life does not signify merely that murder is morally wrong, but that life is entitled to the protection of law, — that murder *must* be regarded by the community as a crime against itself, and *must* be systematically prevented by the power of public law or punished by the power of public justice.

It was the old commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." When Jefferson affirmed in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence a right to life, did he but reduce that text of the decalogue to a weaker form? And is it one of the "blazing ubiquities," not mere "glittering generalities," which Emerson discovers in the Declaration, that murder is immoral? If this most ancient commonplace of morals be the entire sense of Jefferson's statement, Mr. Choate flattered it fulsomely in imputing to it even a glitter. If, on the contrary, it meant that life has a sacred title to the protection of law, and that every community is under bonds of sacred duty accordingly, then it was a truth fitting to be solemnly declared as preliminary to a great political act, — an act by which the American colonies broke up the political system previously existing, and assumed the full responsibility of an independent people. Most suitable to the occasion it was that they should remind themselves of the nature, and manifest to the world their sense, of the responsibilities thus assumed. To all men the protection of law is due. They are endowed by their Creator with rights whose very nature it is to claim this as their due; and through them the Creator himself lays this claim at the door of every entire and independent community. The latter, that it may not be written down morally bankrupt on the books of high heaven, must be qualified as well as disposed to meet that demand; and to this end must have the order and power of a politic community. Such a declaration would indeed befit such an occasion; while a solemn declaration that murder is immoral were suitable rather to a missionary preaching for the first time to savages.

That Jefferson, in writing his pregnant words, was clearly aware of their import cannot be said. He and his teachers were in the limbo of the old natural-right speculation, with its rights at once absolute and empty, — rights which naturally claim nothing of the community in its wholeness, and to which, accordingly, the community naturally owes nothing. But it is evident that the truth which they did not intellectually apprehend was nevertheless obscurely present to their minds. This is shown by their selection of the rights to be stamped as natural, and thus made legal tender the world over. With rare exceptions, these were such, and such only, as await their due from the dutiful action of a politic body. We therefore but complete their imperfect thought in saying that every right lays claim to such a condition of public order as shall afford it the protection of law, and which, in doing so, shall define its measure, and place it in proper connection with all the obligations of the ethical system to which it belongs.

The general right, therefore, which comprehends all particular ones, is *the right of every man to a governed life of all*. Every specific

right applies this general one to a particular object. Thus the right to life claims of the community such a public system as shall secure to life the shield of law, and to felony the execution of justice. The right of liberty claims such a governed life of all as shall secure to every man his due measure of personal freedom, while keeping him firmly within that measure. And so of other rights; they all agree in being claims to the protecting force of law, and differ only in applying the claim to various objects.

A glimpse of this fact was caught even by Rousseau. In the first chapter of his "Contrat Social" it stands: "The social order is a sacred right, which is the foundation of all others,—*qui sort de la base à tous les autres.*" Of course, it was no sooner said than unsaid. "However," he continues, "it does not come from Nature; it is therefore founded upon convention." It is thus made to appear that the foundation of natural rights is itself founded upon conventional agreement, and therefore is subsequent to the structure it supports. But this inconsequence was to be expected from such a writer. It is the distinction of Rousseau that he had momentary glimpses of constructive principles, which, could he have made them permanent perceptions, would have placed him a century in advance of his age. He could never do so; but, after every surprising sally of intelligence, returned, like the sow of Scripture, to wallow again in the accustomed element.

Rights, then, are claims to a governed state of society; while each particular right determines a point at which the ruling power should apply, and an effect to which it should be exerted.

From the point of view thus gained we may see how much there was of good sense or of sanity in a pretension which long played a conspicuous part in the political speculation of Liberalism. It was conceived and proclaimed that the natural liberty of man is a liberty *not* to be governed. In a declaration of the "Rights of the Colonists as Men," prepared by Samuel Adams and James Otis, and adopted by the town of Boston in 1772, it was said: "The natural liberty of man is to have no superior on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man." It was in allusion to speculative exhortations of this sort that Fisher Ames said in 1787, with the anarchy of Massachusetts about him: "The people have turned against their teachers the doctrines which were inculcated in order to effect the late Revolution." But that particular piece of doctrine was copied *verbatim* from Locke's treatise "Of Civil Government." This was the text-book of the Revolution. In it may be found the substance, and to no inconsiderable extent the phraseology, of every bill of rights which has been framed in America for more than a century. Richard Henry Lee said on the floor of Congress that the preamble to the Declaration of Independence had been borrowed from it, and

Jefferson, in noticing the statement, did not deny it, but only said that he had had no book before him while writing or meditating his production. But the quality of the work is not to be inferred from the above quotation. For Locke, when fairly away from the supposititious "state of nature," could speak in part like a sensible man, even upon the root-principles of civil polity, — a topic in whose treatment at that date the struggle was, for the most part, between speculative nonsense with a just purpose behind it and speculative nonsense as vicious in motive as windy in content. Having, therefore, in his fourth chapter done his *devoir* to "philosophy," by ballooning with it in the clouds of natural liberty so called, he returns to his sober wits in the sixth, and signalizes his descent into ordinary sanity by the following emphatic utterance: "In all the states of created beings capable of laws, where there is no law there is no liberty." And he proves it by an argument very simple and short, which by no means contains the whole truth, but contains quite enough for the purpose; "for," says he, "liberty is to be free from the restraint and violence of others, — which cannot be where there is not law." Hence the grand right of natural liberty, or right to be ungoverned, were an original and indefeasible title of all men *not* to be free; while a claim to real freedom rather than to its negative must be a title to the supremacy of law, — or, as has been said, to a governed life of all. From the lips of every theorist, whose wits were not utterly bewildered, this truth has in some form escaped. It should be an escaping truth no longer, but one laid at the foundation, and consciously built upon in every doctrine of rights, as it is built upon practically in every wholesome structure of society.

III. If the nature of rights has been so much misconceived that an ethical claim of all men to a condition of anarchy could be imagined, — a right that there should be in effect no rights, — the confusion has been yet worse confounded by placing them all upon the same footing in every respect. Thus, if any one of them be universal, all, it is conceived, must be so; and the right to life and the right to vote appear in the same straight line, — equal brothers, of whom the one may be an inch taller than the other. This misapprehension can be corrected only by a clear and well-grounded classification.

There are three kinds of rights: (1) Those conditioned only upon the fact of personal existence; (2) Those conditioned upon certain definite relations between persons, or between them and a community or nation, — the latter being, as defined by publicists, a "moral person;" and (3) Those conditioned upon the qualification of persons for definite offices or functions. These may be briefly named Rights of Persons; Rights of Relation; and Rights of Function. All are, indeed, those of persons, — for rights, like duties, are attributable only

to personal beings; but only the first are necessarily those of every person: these, therefore, are rights of persons *par éminence*. The short titles are not perfectly exact; but they are convenient, and, following upon the more precise characterization just given, will serve. Let it be added that no attempt will here be made at a complete enumeration of the rights comprised within each of these three departments. Such will be mentioned as may best serve to distinguish the characters of the several classes, together with some that specially claim attention, the present state of opinion being considered.

1. *Rights of Persons.* A person is a being qualified to execute consciously and voluntarily conceptions formed, considered, and judged good by his own mind; therefore qualified for moral action. A begetting by the mind, together with a judgment passed by the mind upon the offspring of its conceptive power, precedes and produces the outward act, rendering the doer true *author* of his work and its fruit. No other act than one that thus arises, or may thus arise, *can* have a moral quality, — can be either moral or immoral, either just or criminal; and a person, as distinguished from a mere individual (the alligator also is an individual), is a being qualified for moral action. This qualification implies, first, a power of the mind to take up organic impulses and incitements into itself, and to make of them conscious conceptions, which it can stand apart from and survey; secondly, a power, by reference to some standard or authoritative principle within itself, to pronounce upon them as worthy or unworthy, and, accordingly, to authorize or forbid their becoming designs and taking effect as deeds. A power to judge only as the servile wine-taster of appetite were nothing to the purpose; nor would that be indeed a mind whose natural ability were thus limited. But the power of a veritable personal mind, as it has been described, is that of all human beings, more or less. Therefore the inward conditions to action having a moral quality, and therewith a human worth, are supplied. But there are outward conditions also; and these at their worst may be such as to arrest all the distinctive power of personal being at the point where it would pass from design into deed. In the state of anarchy, for example, an embargo is laid upon the ships of the conceiving and purposing spirit: they may be built, but cannot sail. They will indeed scarcely be built, all men being occupied in securing themselves as animal existences only. Now, the outward and public condition, without which there can be no effective and general putting forth of the powers proper to personal or morally qualified beings, and without which, accordingly, all that can give to action a human dignity and worth were immured, enchained, and virtually suppressed, — these are the conditions to which

every person has an indefeasible claim. The claim addresses itself to that which alone can make public conditions, — the organic community. By this very fact it states itself as subject and submitted to the proper authority of that community, taken in its wholeness as a moral personality. But to every human individual those public conditions are due which shall remove from all the bonds of the beastly life, and permit them to act as personal or morally qualified beings.

The first of these conditions is the general security of life, — such a security as will be afforded by laws which brand murder as a crime against the whole community, and provide for a sure and solemn execution of justice upon the murderer accordingly. For without such security all men, reduced to the outward condition of beasts, will be able to live only in the manner of beasts; and the proper abilities of personal beings, straitly shut up and never allowed to breathe the air of action, will die suffocated in their souls. Observe especially that it is a public condition, a general security, which is here demanded. The right of life is not the mere servitor and watchdog of self-interest; its voice, as issuing from the moral nature of each individual, does not say, "Give *this* man a particular protection, make *this* man safe." So taken, it would lose all the largeness, all the native nobility, of ethical right, and, besides, were little to the purpose even as an ally of self-interest. For, suppose that one man is in condition to feel himself quite safe, yet that with respect to all others violence were left to rage without restraint of public law: he were but safe in the midst of a moral desert where the fruit of a life really human could grow as little for him as for another.

That one may be able to act as a person, he must be publicly secured in possession of himself, — in the use of his proper powers; in liberty of movement, of labor, of engagement, etc. To that security, therefore, he has a claim; and it is the right of personal freedom. Claiming the force of public law, it states itself as subject to law; and, had this plain fact been seen two centuries ago, the world would have been spared much eructation of mental flatulence, jubilantly taken for an outbreathing of inspiration. But even by those with whom the hiccough of "natural liberty" passes for what it is worth, that claim is often stated as a right of every man to "do as he pleases" within the limits of law; that is, to make his mere will and pleasure the rule of his private action. Now, one's right is simply to *be* secured in the just possession of himself. When the question is what he may properly *do* in the use of his allowed liberty, — so that he do not become a transgressor of public law, — the State is silent, and the right that appeals to it is silent no less. But where they are silent the law of personal morals speaks; and its voice is, that one may act at pleasure in matters morally indifferent, or in choosing

between courses equally right. But the right of personal freedom claims only that condition of public order which, as against physical constraint to the contrary, shall permit every man to be the proper author of his doing and dealing within the bounds of law. Of the principles by which he shall govern himself in the use of his opportunity, it says nothing directly. Nevertheless, so far from authorizing him to make his pleasure his law of private action, it assumes that he will not do so. Fitz-James Stephen has said bravely that he cannot tell whether or not any man has a right of liberty until he shall know what use will be made of it. In saying this, he has given to a class of noisy and noisome pretensions a buffet richly deserved; but he has not shed a clear light upon the matter in hand. It is true that the law, in securing to every man opportunity to act individually as a moral being, goes upon the presumption that he will indeed do so, — will make a human, and not a beastly, use of his allowed and guarded space for personal action. The same is presumed in every rational attribution of the right; and where there should be no ground for such a presumption, the right could exist no more than among dogs and horses. But the State can never *know* beforehand what any man will do; therefore to condition all acknowledgment of the right upon foreknowledge, as Mr. Stephen does, is to debar such acknowledgment in all cases without exception. Therefore the rule is, not that the proper rights of personal being should be denied to every man until we shall know that he will make a fit use of his liberties and powers, but that they must be conceded to every man until we shall know the contrary.

Again, man's relations with the world he inhabits are so intimate that he can do nothing without making some use of outward things, and can form no considerable designs without a power so to appropriate things, and so to feel himself in permanent and secure possession of them, that he may include them in his designs as if they were parts of himself. Hence the right of property belongs to the primary class. Without it, personal freedom were little but a name. For to real freedom *power* is essential. What does it avail that no law of the land or violence of individuals forbids a paralytic to walk, run, leap, dance, ride? He has no liberty to such effect, nevertheless, since no power. The right of freedom were itself paralytic without a right of permanent and secure appropriation. Accordingly, every person has a claim to such action of the organic community as, while determining what methods of appropriation are legitimate, shall afford to property thus acquired the security of law.

But it is not of external things alone that man has need, in order to any effective power of personal action. The ability of man lies in the concert of men. So little one can do in mere isolation! so little

he can form designs without including in them some determinate and calculable action of others! He may not appropriate these others, and so assure himself of them; for they too are persons, not things. But he can enter into engagements with them, by which he and they shall alike be bound; and thus, in consistency with all the rights of personality, can bring about that concert and concentration of powers without which human ability were caged within limits fatally narrow. Hence the right of contract belongs also to those of personal being. By this I do not mean — as at this stage of the discussion it can hardly be necessary to say — a liberty of all competent persons to *make* contracts, if such be their pleasure, but a right of all that the obligation of engagements duly entered into shall be recognized and sustained by the community in its organic wholeness. This wanting, the alternative is slavery or imbecility, — a power of some at the expense of others or an adequate human power of none. Slavery excluded, civilization is conditioned upon the secure maintenance of good faith. It is not enough to say that every man ought to keep his engagements. Will he actually do so? Who can know, if it be with him altogether matter of choice? And who will proceed to expend his labor and his means without security that the correlative action of others, upon the pledge of which his own is conditioned, will actually be forthcoming? But it is the office and obligation of the organic community to furnish *all* those fundamental securities which are strictly necessary in order to a general liberation of human power. To this end, every man must be secured in four respects at least: in respect to his life; his possession of himself; his possession of outward things lawfully acquired; and his use of powers and aids freely engaged to him by others of his kind in return for engagements made by himself. So far at least a governed life of all is due to every personal being.

2. *Rights of Relation.* In all times men have felt that a moral tie accompanies blood relationship; and we give voice, accordingly, to the spontaneous sentiment of mankind in saying that among human beings ethical goes with natural connection. Stated in the more usual terms of political science, the fact is that rights and duties arise from every determinate system of relation which belongs to the natural order of the world, — that is, of the human world. Because this order is human, the moral nature of man takes part in it, and cannot do otherwise. But the rights and duties which inseparably attend such natural connection are not those of personal beings simply as such; never absent where that connection is, they are never present where it is not. The obligations of a father are not obligations of human beings universally: they attend the relation in which he stands, raising it to the character of an ethical connection. And

though the relation be entered into of free-will, yet if it be anticipated and grounded in the system of nature, it is accompanied by obligations quite inseparable from it, and whose tenor is determined by the nature of the relation. So in the case of marriage. "When we marry," said Burke, "the choice is voluntary; but the duties are not matter of choice: they are dictated by the nature of the situation." He perceived that it was a general law of which he spoke, applicable to political no less than to marital relation. The whole passage¹ may be read with profit by democratists of the traditional school, or by such of them as are not hopelessly boxed up in their own narrow dogma. It is one of those large sheddings of fresh light which are frequent upon the pages of that singular man, — too passionate, and in some respects too much prejudiced, to be impartially just; but always disinterested, always evincing greatness of soul in his passion, while so full of thought and wisdom as to saturate with them even his prejudices.

Marriage is defined in law as a civil contract; and, as a purely legal definition, this may perhaps pass muster. But contract here proceeds upon the great natural fact of sex; and it is as little competent to make, annul, or determine the obligations which arise from relations of sex as to make the fact itself. Here is a relation which, as designed and realized by Nature, makes the reciprocal qualities of man and woman, builds itself into their physical structure, charges every nerve and informs every sensibility with its import, is the source of a mighty passion and the spring of all life, while in the entire shaping of character its impress is seen. It is impossible that from all this the ethical nature of man should stand aloof, disengaged and indifferent, — impossible that in the design of such a relation between human beings duties and rights should not also be designed. Now, marriage simply determines that the full effect of this relation shall take place between two persons, — its full effect as at once physical and ethical. It is a civil contract; but the contract has force only so far as the parties are qualified to choose. It is matter of choice whether or not the relation of sex, with its attendant obligation, shall take effect between them personally as between husband and wife. But whether or not those obligations shall accompany the physical relation, or what shall be their tenor, they are as little qualified to determine by choice as to choose whether or not they will be man and woman. They enter into the relation; but the relation as entered into is one whose essential character, ethical no less than physical, is determined *for* and not *by* them.

Marriage gives rise to new lives; and the relation of the child to

¹ Vol. iv. p. 164 of the edition in twelve volumes issued by Little, Brown, & Co., Boston, 1865.

the parent is not on its part matter of choice : its consent thereto has clearly not been awaited. But no sooner does the natural connection exist than ethical relation is there also. And with so signal an instance always in view, and always inviting attention to analogous facts, how has it happened that rights of relation were not earlier recognized as a distinct class? I suppose the oversight was largely due to that one-sided rigor of Roman law which made sons and daughters rightless beings in their relation to the father during his whole life. The prestige of that law was sufficient to hide the significance of those facts which lay in the obscurity of its shadows. When the modern speculation arose, it quickly followed the lead of Hobbes in assuming absolute individualism as its premise. To find natural rights, organic relation of every sort was to be shut out from view ; and of course there could be no recognition of the obligations naturally attendant upon it. The blindness lasted long. In a text-book prepared by a follower of Kant, and extensively used in the schools of Germany during the entire first quarter of the present century, it was laid down that there is no obligation of a father to provide for his child, and of course no right of the child to be provided for, since there has been no contract to such effect ! The right to be provided for could be no natural one, since natural rights were those of insulated individuals, and as such called for no positive action on the part of others, but only for a due letting-alone. All other rights, it was conceived, must arise from contract ; and there having been none as antecedent to the relation of father and child, the logical consequence was gravely drawn. But the good sense of mankind, if it cannot conquer folly once for all, will at least have novelty in foolishness, and not permit any one reigning absurdity to reign forever. So at the present date that folly has been quite deposed ; and it is seen, as soon as said, that ethical relation, with its duties and rights, attends inseparably the natural connections of the family, as it must go with all organic relation of human beings.

Therefore it goes with the mutual relation of the individual and the nation ; for this too is natural. It is natural, or, as the alternative, the whole of human history is unnatural. So long as there have been beings really human there have been communities also, — organic and ethical unities of men, implying some definite social structure and some fixed mode of government ; unities never initiated by conscious and voluntary composition, but which *grew* under the operation of laws which, instead of being made by man, make him to be the creature he is. Abstract these from human history, and nothing human remains ; not only history but man himself disappears ; and the residuum left is a biped beast, creeping furtively about a world of whose existence as a world it is not aware. Suppose that in

some inchoate condition of the human creature, a condition morally and intellectually embryonic, there were no such communities: is it argued thence that they are not natural facts? As well say that grass is no natural product, and does not really grow, since there was a time in the history of our planet when grass did not and could not spring beneath the vernal sun upon its surface. Or suppose we recall for a moment the timeworn and outworn fiction, which represented as real, and not as fictitious, an original purely individualistic "state of nature" and a subsequent voluntary "entrance into society," — suppose that somewhere in the darkness that lay beyond the earliest faintly glimmering twilight of history's dawning there had been such a state and such an event following, — what of it? What bearing could that far-away fact have upon our obligations here and now? *We* are born members of a nation none the less; and so men in the smallest degree civilized have ever been born; and, so to be indeed men and heirs of civilization by right of birth, they must ever continue to be born. Nay, it is now known that even the savages of North America have their tribal organizations vastly more elaborate than had been supposed, and immemorial in date.

Will any one now venture to say that the nation naturally owes nothing to one thus born into the community of its membership? Through what skin-deep sapience, with solid idiocy underneath, should it be said that the nation may indeed "consent" to afford him the protection of law and the advantages of governed life, and, having consented to do so, will be bound by its bargain, but that it is pre-engaged to nothing of the sort by the ethical order of the world? Speculative fatuity will scarcely go so far. But if it were fatuous to speak thus, it is no less so to pretend that the duty of the individual to the nation is one that cannot exist until he himself shall make it by an act of choice. Ethical relation runs in both directions, or in neither. If the ethical order of the world engages the nation to a mode of duty, it engages every born member of the nation to a reciprocal mode of duty. And it does, indeed, engage both. Since there is organic connection, ethical relation, with its imperial voice, is there also. Because, therefore, the nation is a nation it is bound to be a commonwealth, and to make for every one of its members the effects of a life justly and wholesomely governed; and every one of them, in virtue of the relation in which he stands, is qualified to claim those effects at its hands; and his claim is the voice of that sovereign somewhat, name it as one will, or seek its source where one may, which makes human obligations for human beings.¹ Because, on the

¹ It will be seen that the force of this right of relation was assumed when the character of judicial rights was described. The right of life, taken quite apart from this, signifies only that murder is morally wrong, and that, accordingly, one may justly defend himself

other hand, the born member of it is such, and not because of bargain struck or vote conceded, he is bound also, and reciprocally, — owing to the nation his loyalty, his just obedience, his aid and support; and to the effects of his duty the nation has a right, as he a right to the wholesome effects of impartial public rule.

One may, indeed, migrate and transfer his allegiance. Such a liberty has not always been conceded or claimed; but it is demanded by the modern spirit. The moment, however, one enters into the membership of another nation his allegiance is *ipso facto* transferred, and the duty of that nation is engaged in return. No need of a formal contract, — no need of explicit promises on either side; the relation itself, in the instant that it is established, makes its appropriate obligations, and pledges the parties to their fulfilment. The case is like that of marriage: the choice is voluntary, but the duties are not matter of choice; they are dictated by the nature of the situation.

In every relation of human beings there is a right way, and a duty of the parties to keep it; but rights and duties of relation, having that permanent distinction of character which should constitute them a class, do not arise from all. Temporary connections are formed, and specific obligations created, by contract; and obligations may be thus made wherever contract is in place, — that is, where the parties are morally free to engage or not to do so, and to engage to one or another effect, at their own discretion. Also, there are many modes of voluntary association without express contract, in which the attendant obligations must be referred to the rules of personal morals. But there are circles or systems of relation which belong to the necessary structural order of civilization. Such are the Family and the Nation; which latter, when equipped for the discharge of its obligations, has the form and name of a State. These so lie in the structural design of human history that there could be no history and no life really human without them. Hence, the rights and duties peculiar to these have the same distinctness and permanence of character with the natural facts to which they apply.

By the school of Krause, of which Ahrens is the most distinguished living representative, the family and the State are regarded as but two out of comparatively many structures of relation included in the whole organic plan of civilization. Numbers of European publicists not of this school — and among them one at least, J. F. Stahl, who must

against violence if he can; but taken in connection with that right of relation it has another force altogether. It actually stands in such connection wherever a society exists; that is, wherever there are beings really human. The doctrine of rights has suffered from that dislocated and piece-meal thinking, resulting from an inability to embrace in one view an entire complex system of truths, which has been more frequent among professed thinkers than could have been wished.

be accredited with golden contributions to political science — have been strenuously of opinion that to those two a third must always be added; namely, the Church. In America churches have the footing of voluntary associations, and religion is regarded as belonging, like personal morals, not to the organic form of civilization, but to that spirit which must inhabit the form that the power of life may be in it; and so far the present writer is content to go with his countrymen generally.

3. *Rights of Function.* — Here we have in view, not an organic form which belongs to the whole structural design of civilization, but a definite work which belongs to its sustaining and required activities. A right of personality is the right to *be*, — to be in that state of security which a just system of public order affords, with respect to life, liberty, or the like. A right of relation is a right to *receive*, — as of the child to receive the fostering care of the parent, and of the parent to receive the filial obedience and duty of the child. A right of function is a right to *do*, — not, that is, to act generally, but to undertake a definite office or function, or to engage for the performance of a particular task. For the sort of performance here spoken of some qualification is required, — some measure of natural understanding and of acquired knowledge or skill, which cannot be assumed as that of all adult persons indifferently. Of this sort are all professions, arts, and trades of whatever description. It is only the lowest and rudest kinds of labor to which every man is equal who has muscular strength and the use of his five senses. For all others some distinctive aptitude and some apprenticeship or course of training and study are required. A good carpenter or cook cannot be extemporized from even the best human material; and there is a human material, not altogether worthless, from which no education can extort the qualifications of a good carpenter or cook. Now, it is a principle which has been many times recognized in law, and whose justice will be seen at a glance by any man of ordinary good sense, that no man has a right to engage for the performance of a work which he is nowise qualified to do as it should be done; and that such engagement is morally inhibited if injurious consequences must follow upon his inevitable failure. No man has a right to engage as ship-master, and to put to sea, if unacquainted with the art of navigation or otherwise unprovided with the requisite knowledge and skill; none to ship as an able seaman if not qualified to hand, reef, and steer; none to assume the responsibilities of an Alpine guide if ignorant of the way and of the dangers to be encountered. The principle is of universal application, and it is needless to multiply examples.

In multitudes of cases, to which the principle applies, the matter must be regarded as lying within that province of private action

where every man is to judge for himself, and take the consequences. But suppose a continuous work, which belongs not merely to the convenience of civilized life, but to its general health and the right cultivation of its higher interests. This has a public importance; and has this, not merely as it touches the wish of all or of many to be safe and comfortable, but as it affects the whole tone, character, and quality of the community, causing life within its limits to be worth less or more. Suppose, further, that for the right doing of this work specific qualification, natural and acquired, is necessary in an emphatic sense, and that gravely injurious consequences will follow its ill doing. Now, he that makes such a work his profession assumes a social function. This is the meaning of a *profession*, as distinguished from a private vocation. The English word still retains the sense of its Latin original; though how long it will do so, now that boxers, barbers, boot-blacks, sleight-of-hand performers, and what not, are becoming "professors," one cannot say. But in measure as any work has the character of a required social function, as it touches interests with which the moral sentiments of the community or the dearest of human affections are connected, and as he that undertakes it makes thereby a profession of specific and important qualifications, and as those who intrust themselves to his care must indeed do so in a spirit of trust, not being able personally to test his qualifications, — in the same measure the right to exercise it is one which society, as organized in the State, must look to. For example, the sick are to be healed: it is a required work, and one to which the resources of science should be brought. For if diseases are allowed free course; if pestilences rage unchecked; if sanitary conditions are not studied with the lights of science, — not only will many lives be lost needlessly, and not only will many mourn who might otherwise rejoice, but larger, if not graver, effects are likely to follow. Niebuhr was of opinion that great epidemics have more than once broken the spirit of entire societies or systems of civilization. Besides, where medical science is not, superstition with its incantations, and half-superstitious jugglery with its tricks, will surely be. Medical science, while it heals, tempers, or wards off physical disease, is the prophylactic against forms of mental and moral disease which are seen to prevail where it is wanting; and which, in measure as they prevail, degrade the whole spirit of a society. He, therefore, who professes this science as a practical art puts himself in influential relation not merely with the felt interests of individuals, but with those which concern the community as a moral whole; and his right to his place is conditioned accordingly. Of course, the practitioner has his private ends, — his profession is to him a means of livelihood; but the end of his *art* is healing, and as professing it he assumes a function in soci-

ety. Plainly, his right to do so arrives only with his acquisition of the art ; and the function being such, the corporate community has a concern in it, and should see that it is not assumed without the qualification upon which it is ethically conditioned.

Let us now pass to the case of a function strictly public, — a function which, in the first instance, is that of the community as a corporate whole, and which could not exist at all if there were not such a community. It is therefore exercised by individuals, not as they are individual persons simply, but only as they are members of that corporate body ; hence is exercised, not for himself as a separate individual, but for the whole body to which he belongs. It has no private end ; and is to no man a means of livelihood. On the other hand, no man can choose whether or not he will be subject to its effect ; every one is compelled to be so. Add, to strengthen the case, that no legal responsibility can be forced upon the functionary : he is not liable for the effects of his incompetence, like a surgeon who sets a broken bone badly. Here is obviously a case where the right is to be taken at its strictest ; where, that is, the function, as exercised by individuals, is to be kept with a degree of wholesome rigor to its proper ethical conditions.

It is the right of suffrage which has been described. Suffrage is a means by which a corporate community seeks to effect a judicious lodgment of public power. This is its immediate end ; while the end which lies beyond this is that governed life of all which, as we have seen, it is the nature of every personal right to claim. If there were no such corporate body, or if it had not that work to do, there would be no such thing as suffrage. Therefore whoever puts his hand to that work does so as *serving* toward a public end ; and his right to take part is conditioned upon his qualification to be indeed serviceable.

This is so obvious that one might wonder how there should be two opinions upon the matter. There is a contrary opinion only because Rousseau and others borrowed a certain notion of sovereignty from that very political barbarism with which they were at war. An unconditioned sovereignty of will, — this was the notion. It was attributed to a single individual in a nation. For him and for all others in the kingdom his will, merely because it was his will, was law, edict, authority, sovereignty, — a determining power from which there could be, and should be, no appeal. Rousseau seized upon that unconditioned and absolute sovereignty of mere will, distributed it among all men, and made it universal. By the law of Nature, he said, every man's will is for him a supreme and incontrovertible authority ; there is, there can be, nothing above it ; and he has an indefeasible right to follow his will, lead whither it may. And lest there should lurk in

the minds of his readers some notion of a moral authority to which this will ought to be subject, he was at pains to say that it is sovereign as inspired by pure egotism, or by "that preference which every man naturally gives himself ;" which preference he declared to be "the nature itself of man." When, now, a number of these wills are clubbed or "pooled" to form a civil State, the resulting mass constitutes a "will of the people," which is in like manner sovereign and absolute, simply because it is will. But of course every individual party to that composition has a right to put his private will into the pool, else the law of Nature were violated in his person, and he would become, as Thomas Paine said, "a slave," — according to which doctrine all women and all minors of both sexes are slaves. Being permitted to throw his will into the general lump, and to exercise it there, he would not be a slave, because, as it was pleasantly said, he would obey only his own will in obeying that of the people. Even the strong-headed Kant was captivated by this nonsense. Nonsense, I say ; for what else is it, to imagine that he who throws his will into a mass along with ten million others, to be governed by the balance of that mass, is not really governed by it, but only by himself : does not obey the will of the ten millions, or of a majority, but is subject only to the will he expressed in the act of voting, — his will, namely, that A and not B shall have the power of a magistrate, the result being, very likely, that the man against whom his will was expressed has the power, — what is this but nonsense ? It is nonsense, again, to talk at all of one's "obeying" his own will. To obey is an act of will : it is will itself which does the obeying, if there be any ; and to say that one obeys his own will is to say that his own will obeys his own will. But, these absurdities aside, it is plain that according to such a conception of the case the voter exercises no public function, but acts for and from himself alone ; he is there to express the national sovereignty of his private will, to the end that in the State as out of it this will may still be sovereign, seeing nothing above itself. His right therefore inheres in his personality, — it is made for him by the aforesaid "law of Nature ;" and it is not conditioned upon any other qualification than the possession of an individual will : in short, it is not conditioned as rights of function must be, since it does not belong to this class.

That conception is here dismissed as spurious and barbarous from beginning to end. The pretended natural sovereignty of individual will need not be noticed further, for in that mire the thoughts of men no longer wallow ; but it is not superfluous to say that the right of sovereignty attributed to the will of any and every people — meaning by people any aggregate of men inhabiting a distinct territory — is mere fiction. *When* a people is united in the purpose to maintain

justice and provide for the common welfare ; and *when* its action as a whole is dictated and controlled by that loyal intent, — *then* its corporate will derives authority from the moral purpose it serves. This common purpose makes of the people a moral unity ; and there is a place for suffrage, or for any expression of the public will as authoritative, only in virtue of this unity. As a republic the nation at once governs and is governed : it governs in its corporate wholeness, and is governed in its severalty. But it has not in both of these aspects the same numerical extent. If, as governed, it consist of forty millions, it will, as governing, — assuming universal suffrage, and thus giving it the widest possible extension, — consist of no more than some eight or ten millions. Accordingly, the famous formula, “ Government of the whole people, for the whole people, by the whole people,” slips with its last member into a sense of the term “ whole people ” widely different from its sense in the two preceding. As introduced by the prepositions *of* and *for*, “ whole people ” means the forty millions governed ; while, as following upon *by*, the same term means only the whole body of voters. Nor do the voters really govern ; they are always under government, and no less so than they would be as subjects of a monarchy, — always governed by the legislators and magistrates they have chosen. But, as choosing, they have an influence upon the government which must be ultimately controlling with respect to any matters upon which a majority has come to a determinate and unalterable opinion. In a loose and popular way of speaking, therefore, they may be said to govern. Now, all legitimate government is undoubtedly *for* the whole people. For this people, therefore, the voting body acts, alike in its totality and in its severalty. The voter, accordingly, stands forth neither to present plumply his private will nor to reproduce that of any other, but to represent on the one hand the duty of the nation in its governing capacity, and on the other the rights, needs, and interests of the whole people governed. In short, he exercises a public office. To conceive of his position otherwise is to mistake it in a manner to which some contempt, if not some blame, must attach ; for it is to betray a want of understanding along with some measure of moral obliquity or obtuseness. It betrays a want of understanding, and not moral stolidity only, since a little exercise of mother wit would show the mistaking parties that their conception is confuted by the words most frequent in their own mouths. The people govern, we say, — meaning by people the body of voters. The voter, then, is a ruler. But every right of rule is morally conditioned ; an immediate, unconditioned, personal right to govern there cannot be. Just this note it was that Milton, Sidney, and their compeers sounded in their brave contention against that pretence of an unconditioned privilege to govern called “divine

right," which Rousseau caught up and distributed to all mankind under the title of "natural right." The voter is a ruler, acting with authority for a whole corporate people ; and he is qualified for his office if competent to contribute a well-motived and intelligent personal judgment in answer to this question : With whom shall public power be lodged, to the end that there may be a just, provident, and salutary government of all ? And if he be not qualified, what then ? Is there a right of moral and intellectual incompetence to act with authority on behalf of a whole people ? How should there be occasion for such a question, seeing that we do not speak in an asylum for lunatics ? But if it must be answered, the negative should be emphatic. For since it is the nature of all primary rights to claim a just public order, all are menaced and all assailed by a pretended right of rule, set up in insolent separation from that moral and intellectual competence without which every such pretence can be no otherwise than insolent, as well as spurious.

I. H. Fichte, in whose death some two or three years since Germany lost one of its purest, noblest, and most liberal scholars, looked at the matter somewhat differently, though coming to the same practical result. In a passage of his excellent work, "*Recht, Staat und Sitte*," etc., he gave it as his judgment, that the right of suffrage must be regarded as universal in any nation which has come to a consciousness of itself and its rights as a national whole. But, he says, though it might seem that where there is a right there must also be a power to execute it, yet between the two there may be a great cleft to be gradually filled up if the right, as is the case with political ones, include a certain performance (*Leistung*), which depends upon moral, intellectual, or technical capabilities : here the right must be considered as "slumbering" until those capabilities shall have been acquired. This statement is practically just, but it is not clear. The excellent professor was on the point of recognizing the class of rights we have here in view. Indeed, by a sidewise glance he did recognize it, but not with his full power of vision. For he speaks of the right as "including" a certain performance. It includes and relates to nothing else ; it is definitely and only a right to undertake such performance. Moreover, that there may be any question of such a right, — a right in the sense of political science, — the performance must have a public importance, as being undertaken on behalf of a community in whole or in part. Under other mental conditions Fichte might probably have clung to his imperfect thought, have followed it clearly out, and thus have arrived at a definite classification ; but he could never quite shake himself free from his inherited persuasion that all rights whatsoever must needs be those of all men. Unable to accomplish for himself this deliverance, and honorably unable, on the other hand,

to ignore that obvious peculiarity which the right of suffrage shares with some others, he was forced upon his conception of "slumbering" rights, — a conception which remains hopelessly obscure. *Abilities* may slumber or be undeveloped, — that is, their organic conditions may be actually present in the cerebral or mental structure, though their active force is not a present fact ; but rights conditioned upon their waking power, or upon a competence to *act*, arrive only with their awaking.

It will be seen that suffrage is here considered only so far as it is made matter of personal right. The question is not raised whether universal suffrage is on the whole expedient. Nor, were it raised, could an answer be given which should be everywhere applicable. Such a question can be intelligently considered only when it is taken in connection with the circumstances and morals of a particular community. But it may be supposed that in our case, or in any other particular instance, the attempt to discriminate and to restrict suffrage in fact to its limits as a right would encounter insuperable difficulties, or would be attended with evils more than sufficient to offset any good that could be gained. The present writer by no means intimates an opinion to that effect ; but if such be the fact, the system of suffrage should be placed frankly on the ground, not of personal right, but of public expediency, assuming that competence of the corporate people which was affirmed in the Declaration of Independence, — a competence, namely, to adopt such a system as, in view of all the circumstances, shall promise the most wholesome effects.

DAVID A. WASSON.

SOME CURIOSITIES IN HOROLOGICAL RECKONING.

FROM the days of Captain Cook's voyages until the present time, what a stride in the world's progress ! Tickets around the world over an established line of travel have been put on sale. Those making this once marvellous journey cannot now, with discretion, lay claim to any special distinction. They are jostled in the street with hardly a passing glance. The ends of the earth have circled around further and further, east and west, until they have at last met on the other side of the globe. This point of meeting is, by the common consent of navigators, fixed at the 180th meridian of longitude from Greenwich ; that is, just half way around the world from what is, to the Englishman, "the centre of the earth."

The world's progress which has thus (seemingly by chance, at least not through any international agreement) brought into such prominence this 180th meridian is likely, in the near future, to bring it into still greater prominence in connection with some interesting horological problems. It is noteworthy at present as being the point where voyagers gain or add a day going westward, and drop back a day going eastward. The world's past progress has developed this necessity of adding or dropping a day; but if there be reason to believe that the world's past progress is mere stagnation compared with the era near at hand, surely it is not anticipating too much even now to draw attention to this meridian as related to this progress.

Let us inquire what is a day. A day, so far as individual experience locally is concerned, is a period of twenty-four hours, a portion of which, when the sun is below the horizon, is called night. Day considered irrespective of individual experience or local relation, but as simultaneously related to all places on the world, is quite a different thing.

Suppose a thread to be passing on to a revolving reel from a ball held at a convenient distance; let the sun be represented by the ball, the earth by the reel, and day by the wrapping of the thread on the reel as it revolves. The line of thread reaching from the ball to the reel may represent the stream of light which, passing from the sun to the earth, makes day. Day, therefore, in its relation to the earth in the widest sense, has had but one beginning, and can have but one end; even as this thread has but one beginning and one end, though it may be passed around the reel regularly with each revolution. If, however, the thread be imagined severed at any point on the reel, there will then be as many short threads as the reel makes revolutions. This dividing of the long thread represents the dividing of the world's long day (for the world at large has had but one long day since creation) into a number of short days known locally as twenty-four hours.

But why should the thread on the reel be divided at one point rather than at another? There is no reason. Is there any reason why a particular line on the earth's surface should be used to divide the long day of the earth into shorter periods of twenty-four hours? It is a fact that such a line is used. The steps which have led to this usage are to be traced back to a very remote age of the world's history. It really had its origin in the old notion that the world was flat, and that each day had a clearly marked beginning on the eastern side of the world and an ending on the west. Auxiliary to this is the fact that for ages the habitations of civilized man were confined to limited portions of the world's surface; and, so far as his experience was concerned, a day actually did begin in the east and end in the

west. When the march of civilization began gradually to open up all portions of the earth's surface, "the ends of the earth" lengthened out further eastward and westward, and the distance over which a day reached widened proportionally. When, however, it was settled that the world was spherical, the old notion that day had a beginning in the east and an ending in the west still prevailed; and the limits of this beginning and ending, as civilization advanced, gradually crept around towards the opposite side of the world, until finally it became necessary to recognize a point of meeting somewhere. This point has generally been regarded as the 180th meridian from Greenwich.

It might be considered proper next to inquire whether this meridian is the best which could be chosen. But rather let us first ask what propriety or demand there is for making any meridian serve as the line on which to begin or end a day. By making a day begin and end on a meridian, then, as all the hours thereof cannot begin at the same time, they must take their turn in a proper order of succession, and in this order follow each other around the world, making the circuit with the sun in twenty-four hours; therefore it is evident that the same hour cannot be at two places on the same parallel at the same time. Hence arises what is called *difference of time*. This gives to every hour a local value only; that is, the hour of twelve o'clock in Philadelphia is of no value for any other place on the same parallel, at the same time, because the particular point of time known there as twelve o'clock in other places east or west is called by some other name. The twelve o'clock of Philadelphia would be known as five o'clock in London. Before telegraphs and railroads annihilated space, hours which had local value only answered all the demands of civilized life. They fail however to answer the demands of the present times. It involves the paradoxical phenomenon of a newspaper in America publishing an item of news from Europe or Asia at an hour seemingly earlier than the event actually occurred, difference of time not being allowed for.

Again, wherever the dividing line may be, it involves the necessity of having time west of this line just twenty-four hours ahead of time on the east side. Could any meridian be chosen which would free such a division from embarrassing difficulties?

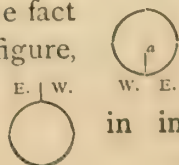
Let us take the one at present used, the 180th. This runs down through the islands of Central and South Pacific. These islands of late years have been attracting the interest of the great nations of the world who are pioneers in civilization. The French, the English, the Americans, and especially the Germans are making their influence felt in this quarter. Let us take the Feejee group, through which this meridian directly runs. Here the English have a footing. These islands, numbering about three hundred and twenty, were a few years ago the homes of cannibals. In 1869 the President of the

United States refused the offer of the natives to come under the protection of our government. The result was that in 1874 this magnificent group was annexed to England; and now pleasant English homes are rising along their beautiful coasts and lovely rivers. Herds of cattle are multiplying rapidly; sugar-cane grows wild, and the smoke of large sugar-mills frequently meets the eye; mountains in places rise peak above peak; the valleys are fit for any crop; coffee is extensively grown, and as for cotton and cocoa-nut, some of the smaller islands are but one vast plantation. Mango carried off the medal for cotton at Philadelphia and Paris. Rains are abundant, and the climate is healthful; towns are springing up rapidly; many newspapers are already established, and the prospect is that this group will, at an early date, prove to be one of the rarest gems in England's crown.

Let us imagine this meridian running north and south through the United States, dividing counties, towns, and farms, as now is about to occur in Feejee. The western portion of a county, town, or farm will always be a day ahead of the eastern portion. All who live near this line may be able to double their Sundays and all other important days; or they may manage so as to have none of them. When Sunday begins on the west side of the meridian it is Saturday on the east side. Hence, all on the west side who are disinclined to keep the Sabbath can cross to the east side. When, twenty-four hours later, the Sabbath gets around to the east side, they can then cross back to the west side. A farmer whose land is divided by the meridian would have only to cross and recross at the proper time to avoid the Sabbath, and thus have seven legal work-days in the week. Thus also any other day might be avoided. On the other hand, by a reverse process, those religiously inclined could spend two Sabbaths regularly out of the seven days. Birth-days, wedding-days, and all other important days could be enjoyed for two days in succession.

As an illustration of the difficulties attending such a division, it may be mentioned that some of these groups of islands west of the 180th meridian have their time just twenty-four hours too slow. Missionaries who came to them from the east when they crossed the meridian neglected to add on a day; hence their Sabbath is one day too slow. This is but the beginning of the confusion of dates which in correspondence and legal documents would lead to inextricable difficulties.

Another confusing circumstance is the fact east and the west meet, as at (*a*) in the figure, east of the east, and the east is west as may be seen by inverting the figure world revolving on its axis.



that where the west is of the west,— in imitation of the

What therefore is the remedy for this defective method of reckoning time? There is but one; namely, to have a day begin simultaneously at all places on the earth's surface, so that the value of hours will not be local or relative, but absolute. Time is omnipresent. The same particular portion which is passing in China is likewise passing in America, and it should therefore be designated accordingly. There really cannot be and should not be such a thing as "difference of time." When it is noon at Greenwich, let it be noon also at New York, San Francisco, and Peking. The objection to this is, that though a day is made to begin simultaneously at all points on the globe, it becomes impossible to begin it at any definite portion of daylight or darkness.

Let it be remembered that according to the flat-world system much difficulty has been experienced in determining just what point of day or night should mark the beginning of a new date. Sunrise has been tried by the ancient Babylonians, Persians, Syrians, and Greeks. The ensuing night until the next sunrise was comprehended under the same date. On the contrary, sunset has been tried by the Jews, Turks, Austrians, Italians, and Germans; noon, by the Arabians; while the Chinese, the ancient Egyptians, and nearly all the western nations have selected midnight, so as to throw all the hours of daylight under one date. The portion of time included between sunrise and sunset the Jews divided into twelve parts; hence their hours would be of an expansible nature, and would depend for their length upon the length of the day.

Let us suppose that it is twelve o'clock midnight at Greenwich, and a new day begins not only there but simultaneously all over the world. Instead of having two series of hours, each containing twelve, distinguished as A.M. and P.M., we will suppose that the twenty-four are numbered in order, — first hour, second hour, etc., just as the Jews numbered the twelve hours of daylight.

Let us now make a circuit around the globe, and note at what portion of daylight or darkness hour number one of the new day sets in. We will begin at the 180th meridian, where according to the present system a new day is allowed to have a local point of beginning. This is in direct opposition to the fact, that, though *a* day (not day in general) may have a beginning in point of *time*, it cannot have a beginning in any particular *place*. Instead, therefore, of making a dividing line on the earth in order to separate one day from another, the separation is accomplished by dividing *time*. As time is omnipresent, this division will be effected simultaneously for all points on the earth. When, therefore, the separation of one day from another occurs at midnight at Greenwich, thus assigning the two portions of the night to two different days or dates, at the 180th meridian, where it is mid-

day, the two portions of daylight are assigned to two different days or dates.

In making our circuit of the globe we will move westward, and note points about every fifteenth degree, which is equal to one hour's difference of time. When, therefore, a new day begins (we will suppose it to be Monday) at the 180th meridian where it is midday, in the west Pacific the beginning would be at eleven, Sidney at ten, Central Australia and Central Japanese Sea at nine, Nanking and Foochow at eight, Central Siam at seven, Calcutta at six, — that is, about sun rising, — Lahore at five, line of the Ural Mountains at four, line of Aden and Bagdad at three, St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and Alexandria at two, Prague and Naples at one, Greenwich at twelve midnight, line of western coast of Africa at eleven of the preceding night, — that is, Sunday, — middle Atlantic at ten, Rio Janeiro at nine, Newfoundland at eight, Philadelphia at seven, St. Louis at six, — or about sunset, — Denver at five, San Francisco at four, east Pacific at three, near Sandwich Islands at two, 165th meridian in middle Pacific at one, 180th meridian at twelve Sabbath, — that is, on the east side; but on the west side, twelve Monday. It will thus be observed that though we have allowed the day to have everywhere a uniform beginning in point of time, this beginning according to locality has been marked by a different portion of daylight or darkness. The circle in the diagrams below is the earth; the heavy portion represents night, the rest day. A point on the dark portion denotes that there a day would begin in the night. Likewise as to places on the light portion (*a*) represents St. Louis, (*b*) Calcutta, (*c*) Greenwich, (*d*) Sidney; that is, the first hour of the twenty-four of a new day would begin at what is now called six o'clock, P.M., at St. Louis, twelve at Greenwich, six A.M. at Calcutta, and ten A.M. at Sidney.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

The portion of daylight or darkness occupied by any other hour of the twenty-four for any place may be represented as in fig. 5. Suppose the time to be the fifteenth hour, or three P.M. (Greenwich), and the place Philadelphia. Three P.M., allowing for difference of time, would be ten A.M. at Philadelphia; that is, just fifteen hours from seven o'clock, the time the day began there the previous evening.



Fig. 5.

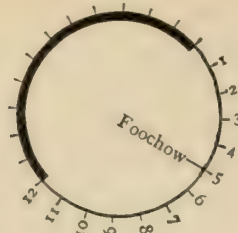


Fig. 6.

The arrow indicates the direction in which daylight and darkness follow each other around the globe. The reckoning is on the basis of twelve hours, the average duration of daylight. The fifteenth hour of a day would be the fourth hour of daylight. The fourth hour, reckoning from six o'clock, would be ten o'clock.

Such a diagram would make a despatch from any point on the globe intelligible at a glance. Thus, one from Foochow dated third hour of any day would, if referred to fig. 6, be seen to be the fifth hour of daylight there, or eleven o'clock.

Thus might the confusion caused by "difference of time" be avoided. Suppose the following despatch to be received in America: "*Constantinople, Aug. 4, 9 p.m.*—The Sultan has just committed suicide!" The three o'clock editions of the afternoon papers throughout the country would contain the despatch, and by four o'clock the public would be reading it,—"five hours before the event happened," as some would say.

A late writer in the "*North American Review*" advocates the expediency of the general establishment of certain time-centres, from which might radiate the control of a uniformity of time for adjacent territory. He remarks that any attempt to go beyond this would be chimerical for the next hundred years. This may be true. But the growing demand for a uniform system of time over territory of a limited extent shows the progressive tendency of the age. The uniformity of time which one section of country now demands will ultimately grow into a demand for uniformity for the whole world.

W. F. MAPPIN.

WHY IRELAND HAS BEEN MISGOVERNED.

HOW is it that in the present day England and Ireland, after a connection of more than seven centuries, are as much apart socially and politically as they have been at almost any period of their history? Among the numberless reasons given, one class of writers insists that the estrangement has arisen from the remembrance of the

Penal Laws, and the injustice and oppression of which they were the source and instrument. But the English and Scotch Roman Catholics also long suffered from the penalties and disabilities of those laws, and they do not angrily keep aloof from their fellow-subjects of another creed, now that the evil has been removed. We are also told by the same and other writers that the Irish Catholics will never be reconciled to the British government because it is Protestant. Even if this were true, it does not explain why the Irish were as discontented with the rule of the Plantagenets, when both countries were of one faith, as with that of the Guelfs, when such is not the case. We know, too, that in the United States and Canada this difficulty does not prevail, or not to a dangerous extent. With nations, as well as with individuals, the precept is, or ought to be, *cessante causa cessat ira*; but with Ireland it is supposed not to be so; with her, to hate once is to hate forever. I doubt this. I doubt if old injuries or differences of religion are at the bottom of the dislike to England, which, whatever may be the cause of its existence, does exist in the Irish heart. Irishmen are too frank and generous to cherish hatred for wrongs from which they no longer suffer, and are not so unjust as to hold Englishmen of the present generation responsible for acts of past generations, which are now repudiated and condemned. When Irishmen say so, they only attempt thus to explain what otherwise appears to be inexplicable, deceiving at once themselves and their hearers. Wales was conquered by England, and was treated as cruelly as Ireland has been; but Welshmen do not now seek revenge for the subjugation of their ancestors and the slaughter of their princes and bards by Edward I. and some of his successors. No country endured more at the hands of its neighbors than Scotland did at the hands of England. For several hundred years preceding the union of the two crowns English armies, not always without provocation, periodically invaded those districts of Scotland which lie between the Tweed and the Highland line, destroying everything in their course, — men, cattle, crops, and houses, — turning the land into a wilderness, and forcing the surviving inhabitants to seek refuge in the mountains and among bogs and moors. There was besides the unjust but politic usurpation of the Scottish crown by Edward I., against the passionate opposition of the people, with the exception of some of the Anglo-Norman nobles. As a consequence, during the period in question the Scotch were probably the poorest and least advanced among the peoples of Western Europe. They would not sow when there was little chance that they could reap; and they would not erect dwellings which were destined to be consigned to the flames. From the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, in fact, Scotland, as the weaker of the two nations, was kept by England in a state of barbarism and poverty from inces-

sant invasions, which have no parallel in European history, unless it be in the wars of the Spaniards against the Moors of Cordova and Grenada. Under the Stuarts, from Charles I. to James II., the religious persecutions perpetrated in Scotland, to compel uniformity with the Church of England, were as tyrannical and savage as the dragonnades of Louis XIV., which latterly they seemed to rival and imitate. Yet who are now better friends than the people of England and Scotland? It is true that the element of antagonism between Roman Catholics and Protestants was absent in the instances of Wales and Scotland; but so also it was in the case of Ireland in the long period which intervened between the reigns of Henry II. and Henry VIII. It is evident, therefore, that none of the reasons usually assigned can sufficiently account for the estrangement between England and Ireland, or for its continuance when the causes from which it is supposed to arise have disappeared. To imagine that the Irish differ in this respect from the rest of mankind is not in accordance with experience or common-sense. Why, then, it will be asked, are they so adverse to England, to English brotherhood and English rule, when their geographical position makes a union between the countries not only desirable but a necessity? My answer is at least simple, if it can claim no other merit. The reason is that the Irish are Celts. This may sound somewhat like a woman's reason, as malicious persons call it: "It is because it is." But let the facts about to be stated decide that point.

That the Celtic race, settled in several parts of Europe, exhibit many admirable and brilliant qualities few will be inclined to deny. Physically, intellectually, and morally they stand high among the peoples of Christendom. But while this is acknowledged, it is no less certain that neither in history nor from trustworthy tradition do we find any nation, state, or community, purely Celtic, possessing a good and permanent system of government. In ancient times we know, from their incursions into Asia, Greece, and Italy, that the Celts were a numerous and formidable people; and their military organizations must have been of no common order when they encountered and defeated so many Roman armies, even when Rome, after the Carthaginian wars, was at the summit of her military renown. Such organization must include considerable acquaintance with some of the mechanical arts; but the facts which have come down to us afford little evidence that the Celts had successfully cultivated the arts connected with peaceful and social life. Although for a time, beyond glimpses of them as the invaders of countries more advanced than their own, we have but a scanty knowledge of the Celtic race, yet from the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar, in the middle of the century immediately preceding the Christian era, we know them better

than any people of the ancient world, except the Greeks and Romans. Cæsar, in his celebrated "Commentaries," describes them in these words, — which, though familiar to readers, I quote because of their important bearing on the question at issue : —

"Among the Gauls, the multitude are in a state of servile dependence upon the equestrian and sacerdotal orders. Most of them, indeed, for the sake of exemption from taxes or deliverance from debts or protection against danger, have enslaved themselves to the nobility whose power over them is as absolute as that of a master over his slaves. The Druids have a care over education : they alone cultivate knowledge ; they conceal from the vulgar the secret doctrines in which their pupils only are instructed. Their sacred duties absolve them from taxes and from military service ; they determine the greatest part of litigated questions ; it is their business to allot rewards and punishments. The party who refuses to abide by their decisions is punished by interdiction, which disables him from public office, brands him as infamous and criminal, and cuts off his whole intercourse with his fellow-creatures. All the political authority which the priesthood suffer to exist is exercised by turbulent and factious chiefs whose constant occupation is to recruit and exercise their devoted adherents."

He also adds that their domestic life corresponded to their ecclesiastical and civil polity. In reference to the knowledge taught by the Druids, it must be remembered that they had no alphabet nor any kind of written characters, and that their religious rites were accompanied by an indiscriminate destruction of human life by fire. In Britain, which was then still more Celtic than Gaul, Tacitus and other writers of the two succeeding centuries inform us that the inhabitants were divided into numerous tribes, of which the names of more than forty have reached us ; and they were continually engaged in war with each other. But what strikes one forcibly in Cæsar's account of the Gauls is the antithetical character of that people. Distracted as they were by civil dissensions between different tribes, cities, and factions, yet their leaders displayed qualities which drew praise even from their enemies. Rome herself in the palmy days of the Republic might have been proud to claim as her sons many of the Gallic chiefs delineated by the Roman general and statesman. Nevertheless, it is evident that both in Gaul and Britain the great body of the people had not materially emerged from the condition in which they had hitherto been. Nor was this from want of opportunity. Phœnician and Greek colonies were established on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul and its vicinity at an early date, as at a later date by the Romans. After the sack of Rome by Brennus, the Gauls had headed an Italian confederacy, and encountered Roman armies with success ; they had conquered Cisalpine Gaul ; in the first Punic war they had undertaken the defence of the Carthaginian cities in Sicily ; and in the second Punic war they constituted the main force of Hannibal's army, and accompanied him to Africa in the attempt to save

Carthage from the victorious legions of Scipio. But a hundred years later, when Marius drove back the great Cimbrian invasion, their habits were as barbarous as ever. That Gaul was civilized and prosperous under the earlier empire is unquestionable as regards a portion of its people; but the civilization and prosperity were not Celtic, but Roman.

Such was the Celtic race as we find it described in ancient history. How is it with the Celts of later ages? Making allowance for change of times and circumstances, they appear still to exhibit the same natural traits which characterized them formerly. Above all, they seem wanting in the attributes which enable communities to acquire the arts of self-government,—and there can be no efficient government without the assent and aid of the people. How a people so highly endowed as the Irish, for instance, should fail in gaining a national status which other peoples not superior—some perhaps inferior to them—have attained may create surprise; but I believe that the solution of the enigma is not a difficult task. M. Amédée Thierry, in his history of the Gauls, speaking of the Celtic race says that “it is characterized by the instinct of intelligence and mobility, and the preponderant action of individuals;” while he contrasts these qualities with those of the Teutonic race, which he declares to be “characterized by the instinct of discipline and order, and by the preponderant action of bodies of men.” It is a pity that M. Thierry did not carry his speculations deeper into the subject; but what he has written throws an important light upon it, or at all events is highly suggestive. I may mention that I had not met with his definition until I had myself arrived at the same conclusion from the facts of Celtic history.

That the general law enunciated by M. Thierry has always governed the Celtic race will scarcely be doubted by persons conversant with their past career and present condition. The individual Celt achieves success everywhere; but Celtic communities have nowhere been able to utilize “the preponderant action of bodies of men.” In Spain, in France, in Austria, and all over the world, hosts of such men as the O'Reillys, the O'Donnells, the Lallys, the MacMahons, with many more, have given proofs of the talents and energy of the Irish Celts. But in no country do we discover a Celtic State, or one in which the Celtic element predominates, enjoying a form of government calculated to last and work beneficially. Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, Wales, and Brittany,—I shall presently refer to the rest of France,—are regarded as regions peculiarly Celtic, and each and all of them lag behind in the march of progress and civilization. Though manly, brave, and naturally intelligent, the mass of the people are uneducated and unprogressive, clinging to antiquated customs, habits, superstitions, and prejudices from which their neighbors have gradu-

ally emancipated themselves. This may not be a flattering picture of no unimportant section of the European family of peoples, but it is one which the writer of these lines, himself a Celt, believes to be true, and which must necessarily be exempt from the prepossessions arising from race or nationality.

But it may be urged that the French people are Celtic, and that France for centuries held a foremost place among the nations of Europe; that if her government was despotic it was strong, and in many respects superior to those of adjoining states, — those of Austria, Spain, and Italy, for example. This must be admitted; but under the old *régime* the government of France was not in Celtic hands. We must not forget that from the fifth century to the great Revolution the ruling class there was not Celtic but Teutonic. The French kings and the French noblesse, in whom the administrative power resided under shelter of the feudal system, were descendants of the Franks, Burgundians, Goths, and Norsemen, who invaded and conquered the country, and who were as distinct from the plebeian or *roturier* class, mainly Celts, as a Brahmin is from a member of the lowest Hindu caste, or a Southern planter was from a man with African blood in his veins. Until 1789 this condition of things remained. But if we exclude the episode of the first empire, the government from that period assumed a Celtic character, which it still retains. The Teutonic element in the body politic ceased to dominate, and, after numberless changes and attempts at change, France now reposes under the shelter of half a million of bayonets. If asked why, for nearly a hundred years, the French have been unable to establish any system of continuous government, the answer must be the same as in the case of Ireland, — that is, because the French are Celts. For much as one must admire French individuality, the people lack the “instinct,” as M. Thierry calls it, which would lead them to combine in attaining objects common to all and beneficial to all.

Were I to adduce manifestations of Celto-Irish character as shown in the mother country, it might be objected that these manifestations were abnormal and exceptional, springing from the harsh treatment of the Irish people by the British Government. But this cannot be said of the United States. Yet there, also, Celtic nature has exhibited itself in its varieties of strength and weakness. We are all aware of the many distinguished individuals of Irish birth or descent who have acquired station, honor, and wealth in the military and public service of the United States, and in private life; but that phase of the subject has already received some consideration. There are, however, incidents in this connection which prominently mark the distinction between the Teuton and the Celt. The Irish were lately in the

ascendant in the city of New York, and the result was Boss Tweed and his associates. On the other hand, the Teutonic mind bears testimony of its presence in various quarters. Take, for example, a newly opened territory in the far West. The scenes at first witnessed there are often deplorable ; for a new border settlement or city is the resort of the rascality and wild spirits of the country. But decade after decade the land is brought under cultivation, and the city becomes peaceful and flourishing, with a great future before it. In this case the Teuton or Anglo-Saxon directs and wields "the preponderant action of bodies of men." In New York the Celt has been directed and wielded by the "preponderant action of individuals," arraying the strength which lies in numbers for selfish and mischievous ends.

It must not be imagined that in thus contrasting the qualities of the Teutonic and Celtic races a general superiority, whether intellectual or moral, is claimed for the one over the other. Each has its special gifts, and if weighed in the balance it would perhaps be difficult to say on which side the scale would turn. But a dissertation on that head would entangle us in the mazes of a long train of ethnical and psychological speculations for which the early materials are wanting, scanty or doubtful. Yet a few words on the idiosyncrasies of race will not be inappropriate to the topic in discussion. The tenacity with which nations adhere to the prominent characteristics which distinguished them centuries ago has frequently been remarked. What Cæsar described as being the conditions of the Gallic cities or fortified camps in his time, we find to resemble that of Paris in the days of the Catholic League, of the Fronde, of the Revolution of 1789, and more recently of the Commune, — periods at which the popular will held sway. The Germans of the age of Arminius, the Spaniards of the age of Sertorius, bore national traits which were reproduced in the early part of the present century, in their conflicts with the first Napoleon. But in no race is this adhesion to the past so conspicuous as in the Celtic peoples, be they French, Irish, Scotch, or Welsh, so long, at least, as they do not mingle with a more numerous nationality.

It requires much persuasion to convince us Celts that we have not the capabilities for self-government ; for the admission might be thought to infer an inferiority which we are unwilling to confess, and which in reality does not exist. *Non omnia possumus omnes.* The elephant does not possess the speed of the deer, nor the lion the wing of the eagle ; but there is no inferiority in either case. The French nation stood at the head of European progress for six hundred years ; yet that people, so abounding in talent, knowledge, and culture, cannot now create a system of government which can satisfy themselves, or which is calculated to stand the test of time, and to

repel the attacks which it is certain to encounter. Or probably it would be more correct to say, that they cannot conduct rather than that they cannot create any such system. But from either point of view the results are the same. It does not follow, however, that the French are therefore inferior to their neighbors in other respects.

However much we may commiserate individuals, sects, and communities suffering from injustice, I confess, for my own part, that I have little sympathy for ill-used nations. If the evils of which they complain be carefully analyzed, it will in most cases be found that the fault, in a great measure, lies with themselves. The records of martyrology include many pseudo-martyrs. There are exceptions, indeed, to this rule. Poland and the Danubian principalities of Turkey had to contend with adverse circumstances of a peculiar nature; though Poland was mainly the author of her own misfortunes, by the tyranny of the aristocratic class, their intrigues, and above all by their long refusal to extend to their fellow-countrymen the rights of which they were so jealous and tenacious in their own persons. Italy did not become free until she was fit for freedom, nor will Spain until she has shown herself worthy of the boon. Austria, Germany, and the Scandinavian kingdoms have made much progress in the path of constitutional government; and it is not impossible that France and Ireland may by and by be the only countries in Western Europe which shall be destitute of that blessing. They may still continue to struggle for the unattainable only to attain anarchy.

Sir James Stephens, in his lectures as professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge, thus speaks of the people of Gaul, during the early period of the Middle Ages:—

“In the Merovingian, as in every other age, the Gauls were animated by a courage which (when unchilled by oppression and slavery) was of almost incomparable ardor. Keenly susceptible of every kind of impulse, impelled into speech and action by a restless constitutional vivacity, fickle of purpose, impatient of the tranquil rule of law, and involved in perpetual dissensions with each other, this ingenious, volatile, and enthusiastic race might seem to have been moulded by the hand of Nature as a living antithesis to their Teutonic conquerors.” And again he says: “The Gaul yielded himself recklessly to every gust of emotion; the German lived under the control of passions as measured in their outward manifestations as they were fervent and enduring in reality. The Gaul displayed what in the more abstruse idiom of the modern French tongue would be called a strong development of the sense of individuality,—or, in our humbler English, was egregiously vain; the German neither rendered nor coveted any idolatrous homage, but, meditating the interest of his nation or tribe, merged his own fame in theirs, and cheerfully abandoned his separate purposes to promote the designs of his associates in policy or arms.”

Though we may doubt if Sir James Stephens's description is quite correct, as applied to Teutonic and Celtic Gaul in the turbulent era of

Clovis and his immediate successors, the picture of the two races is sufficiently accurate on the whole, and in relation to other periods of time. It may therefore aid in explaining the problem which this paper is attempting to solve.

But does it follow from all this that no Celtic people are fit to govern themselves, and to establish a practicable and permanent system of government? I do not say that; I can only repeat that they have not hitherto succeeded in doing so at any period in the world's history with which we are acquainted, and which rests on authority higher than that on which is founded the legends of the saints or the story of King Arthur. The admirers of the "Napoleonic ideas" insist that parliamentary rule, originating with the Teutonic race and developed in England and the United States, is incompatible with the French temperament and with French habits; and there may be some truth in this, if it be not wholly true. Nevertheless, the first Napoleon, as well as his imperial successor, was content to adopt the parliamentary system, though emasculated by checks and disabilities which rendered it little available for good or for evil. It was an elaborate sham, such as Carlyle loved to anathematize, in which despotism disguised itself, while deceiving the people by substituting the shadow for the substance. But that the penetrating vision of the elder Napoleon truly read the Celtic characteristics of the French masses cannot be called in question. The misfortune was that he directed them for his own ends, and above all for the deification of his own individuality. His appreciation of their fitness for free institutions was, no doubt, embodied in his well-known saying: "*Le Français aime l'égalité, il ne se soucie pas de la liberté*;" and his views of their capacity for working any parliamentary system of government are certainly borne out by the fate which has attended every scheme attempted to be established in the country since 1789. First, there was constitutional monarchy; then a democratic republic; then the directory; then the consulate; then the empire; then the elder Bourbons and the charter; then Louis Philippe and parliamentary government; then a democratic republic again; then the second empire; then the commune; then Thier's conservative republic; then the septennate; then the present republic; and next,—who knows what? It is to be feared that the kind of government which will satisfy France, like the alchemist's elixir of life, has yet to be discovered.

But whatever may be the inaptitude of the purely Celtic race for self-government, we have strong evidence of what they may be when intermingled with the Teutonic race, or perhaps other races, whether by the admixture of blood or acting in accord with each other. The Scandinavian invaders of France in the tenth century were, from peculiar circumstances, more largely intermingled with the Celtic in-

habitants than the rest of the Germanic tribes who subdued different parts of Gaul. The result was the production of a people such as Europe had not reared since the fall of the Roman Republic. It has been said that wherever the Norman planted his iron foot, there he became master. They conquered Neustria, Naples, Sicily, England, and Ireland, besides other parts of Europe and much of the East. Nor were the Normans mere vulgar conquerors who prevailed by brute force or military superiority alone; they became statesmen, legislators, scholars and the patrons of scholars, poets, architects, and leaders in mediæval progress. Yet they were at no time a numerous people; and having, by the adoption of the feudal system and of the institution of chivalry, separated themselves from the great body of the populations under their rule, the Normans as a distinctive race have died out. It is true that the Saxon-English and the Celtic-Irish have been wont to record the faults more than the virtues of this magnificent race of men; but it is seldom that the vanquished praise those whose yoke they have to bear. There has been in Scotland, too, a somewhat similar product of the Teutonic and Celtic races, though on a smaller scale, and less noticed by the world. The Scandinavian Vikings had at an early date subdued, and to a considerable extent peopled, the Scottish Hebrides and northwest coast, where they have left behind them many traces in the names of places and in the physical type of a portion of the population. These Scottish islanders have been the modern Normans of Britain; the career of many of them has been replete with much of the romance of history. Some young man among them, no way distinguished from his fellows, would leave his native land, and would by and by be heard of in the far East, leading armies and governing states as extensive as European kingdoms. I have seen it stated, but know not with what exactitude of truth, that during the Anglo-French wars of the Republic and the Empire one hundred and twenty natives of the Hebrides attained the rank of General in the English and East India Company's service, while numbers besides rose to high positions in the civil service of the Company, one of them having filled the office of Governor-General. — and this without the official and aristocratic patronage to which others so often owed their good fortune. Of these men numerous instances might be mentioned, but it will suffice to name Lord Macaulay¹ and Lord Clyde as recent representatives of the class. In other and various paths of life we have evidence of the beneficial effects of the admixture of the Teutonic and Celtic peoples. In Glasgow, Scotland, we find many persons bearing Celtic patronymics, Irish and Scotch, among the wealthy capitalists, manufacturers, and merchants

¹ Carlyle in one of his publications alludes to "the fine Scandinavian head" of Macaulay's uncle, with whom he was acquainted.

of that thriving city, as is the case in other cities in England and Scotland. Scottish Highlanders have been sent by their landlords to Canada, and it has been noticed that those who settle among the mixed population of the country are more progressive and prosperous than those who form exclusive settlements of their own. It is so everywhere. In scriptural phrase, the Celt was not made to live alone. If we need further proof of this, we have only to look at the Irish quarters or colonies in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, New York, and other cities on both sides of the Atlantic.

But probably the most striking example of the benefits derived from the conjunction of the two races is to be drawn from the mediæval history of the Netherlands. That small section of Europe, which now comprises the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland, was in the Middle Ages the wealthiest and most flourishing country in Christendom, not excepting Venice, Genoa, and Florence in the days when their merchants were princes. We are informed by a writer of the period that their manufactures were in universal demand, even the Turks themselves using them extensively. Flanders, we are told, was the mart for the trade of all the world; merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their settled domiciles at Bruges, besides strangers from almost unknown countries who repaired thither, while their ports were crowded with shipping. This is Mr. Motley's description of the people of the Netherlands:—

“The population of the two countries was partly Celtic and partly German. Of these two elements, dissimilar in their tendencies and always difficult to blend, the Netherland people has ever been comprehended. A certain fatality of history has perpetually helped to separate still more widely these constituents, instead of detecting and stimulating the elective affinities which existed. Religion, too, upon all great historical occasions, acted as the most powerful of stimulants. Otherwise, had so many valuable and contrasted characteristics been early fused into a whole, it would be difficult to show a race more richly endowed by nature for dominion and progress than the Belgo-Germanic people.”

How much more truly might this be said of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with its vast possessions all over the globe, if harmony could be maintained between its several members!

In 1606 Lord Bacon presented to the King of England a memorial “touching the Plantation of Ireland,” a paper displaying great ability and research, in which he says:—

“I assure myself that England, Scotland, and Ireland, well united, is such a trefoil as no prince except yourself weareth in his crown.” And again: “That desolate and neglected country is blessed with all the dowries of Nature,—with rivers, havens, woods, good soil, temperate climate, and a race and generation of men valiant, hardy, and active, as it is not easy to find such confluence of commodities, if the hand of man join with the hand of Nature. But they are severed; the harp of Ireland is not strung or attuned to concord.”

I shall remark, in conclusion, that I have refrained from entering on the current Irish questions which of late have so much commanded the attention of the British Parliament and the people of Great Britain and Ireland, and in which the English-speaking people of America take so deep an interest. To effect a cure, the first duty of the physician is to ascertain the seat of the patient's disease; and this I have endeavored to point out, with what success the reader may judge. In dealing with the subject, I have confined myself to the facts of history and the deductions to be drawn from them as bearing on the Celtic race. With regard to the Irish people especially, they ought to consider that neither gods nor rulers can help those who do not (wisely) help themselves. The incapacity for self-government, arise from what or whom it may, leads to misrule; misrule leads to poverty; and poverty leads to discontent and its consequences. That Irishmen love Ireland no one presumes to deny. Their affection for her is true, ardent, and constant; but it too often resembles those fair plants which destroy or injure the object to which they cling.

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NATURALIZATION.

THERE is undoubtedly a disposition in the United States — a survival, perhaps, from the days of the nation's infancy and weakness — to be very sensitive to any questioning of the citizenship of its members. Without stopping to inquire whether the claim to citizenship is really well founded, — without reflecting that in international matters, as well as in social and business concerns, there may also be impostors, swindlers, and adventurers, — the mere fact that a claim to be an American citizen has been called in question is sufficient to arouse the public sympathy and fire the national heart. The millions of our fellow-citizens who are quietly attending to their business and paying their taxes at home; the thousands who are in every quarter of the globe pursuing pleasure, health, or gain, secure under the protecting favor of the stars and stripes, — are quite overlooked, while the public interest centres upon the very one whose claim to it, as from the fact of his right being questioned might have been suspected, generally turns out to be of the very weakest. The claimant almost always proves to be one who, though he may be much "attached to the principles of the Constitution" in the abstract, and well appreciates the practical value of an American "citizen paper," prefers to enjoy these blessings under other skies. His name will not be likely to be found on any roll of those who have paid either city or county taxes, or have in any way contributed to the support of the Government to whose protection he appeals. He will probably be seen to have been at best but a summer friend. When it has been a question of encountering perils or helping to bear burdens in periods of national adversity and gloom, he will not appear to have then insisted upon his right to be counted in as an American.

It is the part of a good citizen to feel and to resent an injury to his fellow-citizen. The obligation is even stronger in behalf of one who has become so, not by the compulsion of destiny, but who has by his own election cast in his lot with us for better or for worse. But we are bound to be careful in selecting the objects of our sympathy. There is no reason to engage our own solicitude, or to seek to enlist that of our Government, in behalf of one who changes his national colors, as the chameleon is said to that of his skin, in order only the more easily to satisfy his own appetite,—one who shows himself to be but a buccaneer, ready to hoist any flag which will bring booty within his grasp, and who clamors for the protection of that government which he finds it for his interest at the moment to sail under. It befits us, having all these possibilities in view, to enter with equanimity and discrimination upon the consideration of any case of contested citizenship which may present itself.

A case of disputed nationality is now exciting much interest in official, diplomatic, and legal circles in Washington. Pedro Buzzi has a claim before an International Commission of five hundred thousand dollars for losses sustained by him, as an American citizen, during the insurrection in Cuba, at the hands of the Spanish Government. The decision turns upon whether he was at the time a citizen of the United States. It is admitted on all sides that *primâ facie* he is such; that is, that he is the undoubted holder of an American certificate of naturalization. But Spain contends that the naturalization was obtained without compliance with an important requirement of our own law,—namely, five years prior residence in the United States; and further contends that she entered into agreement with the United States for the settlement of these claims by this Commission, with the understanding that the fulfilment of this condition might be inquired into and insisted upon by her as essential to the proof of the American citizenship of the claimant. The American arbitrator and counsel maintain on the contrary that a certificate of naturalization is of itself final and conclusive evidence of citizenship, and cannot be questioned or gone behind. The arbitrators being unable to agree upon this point, it was referred to the umpire of the Commission, who is the Swedish minister. He has decided "that the claimant has no right to appear as an American citizen before this Commission."

The Secretary of State has directed protest to be made, it is stated, against this decision, and invited its reconsideration. The obligation he believes himself to be under to do so must be strong, if it overrides that imposed upon him by one of the terms of the agreement with Spain, which provides that "the two Governments will accept the awards made in the several cases submitted to the said arbitration

as final and conclusive, and will give full effect to the same in good faith and as soon as possible." The public will await with interest the issue.

Meanwhile, the incident furnishes an appropriate occasion to turn to the system of American naturalization, and observe how far it merits the character of infallibility and inviolability which is claimed for it. It is wholesome, sometimes, while insisting upon all our rights, and being careful to uphold the national dignity and honor, to assure ourselves of the solidity of the ground we stand upon, that we may with fuller confidence and a clearer conscience advance to its defence.

The subject is one which peculiarly concerns this above all other nations. By the tables of the census of 1870, confirmed so far as they have gone by those of 1880, it appears that over one fourth part of the population of the United States have "foreign fathers." In other words, the nationality of some thirteen millions of the inhabitants of the United States, — a number equal to the combined population of the four powers, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, — is derived from naturalization.

Naturalization is an artificial process. It is, as its name indicates, the attempt to establish by human contrivance, between a man and a new country he has adopted, that relation which exists by nature between every human being and the country of his birth. It is man's work. But it is called upon to be the substitute for God's work. It is designed to take the place of the natural bond which, by divine ordinance, connects each human being, by the fact of birth, with his native soil. It is therefore well worth while for man to endeavor to impart to a tie, formed upon so high a model, the utmost degree of perfection of which mere human handiwork is susceptible. Some theorists may perhaps imagine that it is the ultimate destiny of the races of men to be resolved all into one great family; that the lines which now separate the different peoples are eventually to disappear. However this may be in the far future, at present certainly it is not to be denied that the inhabitants of the world are divided into nations. Each of these nations, except they be roving savage tribes, has in some form or another a government. So long as these nations, with their governments, continue to have a separate existence, it is plainly important, both to the individual and to the general welfare, that each civilized human being should be ranged distinctly under one of them. It is not in the interest of any government, or of the community of governments, or of their people, to foster the growth and promote the increase of a class of international tramps, — persons who, while evading all obligations to

any country, seek to appropriate to themselves the advantages of all.

A government and its constituents are mutually essential to each other. Even if it be supposable that a people could dispense with government, it is certain that a government cannot do without people. The government is bound to each one of its constituents by the mutual obligation, on the one hand, of protection, — on the other, of support. And this is equally true, whatever may be the form of government. It is clearly important then that every man should know to what government he belongs, and that every government should know who are its people. In the earlier periods of history this has been comparatively simple and easy. The nations have been much kept apart by the natural barriers of mountain, river, ocean, and by intervals of mere distance, which hemmed in their several people. But the wonderful advance in the means and in the rapidity of locomotion, and in the facilities of intercourse, have almost eliminated these obstacles ; while the immense development of commerce and the overgrowing populousness of the older countries are more and more inciting men to restless movement in search of new homes or of quicker gain. This state of things renders the difficulty of fixing the nationality of each individual far greater, while the importance of doing so is on the contrary by no means diminished.

Of all the countries of the earth the United States is the one that has the most to do with this change of nationality. Our great extent of unoccupied lands, the fertility of our soil, the liberality of our institutions, have tempted and are still tempting the subjects of other countries in unprecedented numbers to quit the overcrowded precincts of their birth and flock to our inviting shores.

If I have succeeded in demonstrating that it is important, both for the individual, the governments most directly concerned, and the world at large, that everybody should have a nationality, and that it should be readily and distinctly ascertainable, then it behooves us especially of all the nations to see to it that our system of effecting the artificial nationality, which with so large a proportion of our citizens takes the place of natural or born nationality, shall be rendered as perfect as it can be by human legislation. Called as we are by the novel circumstances of our position to be in this as in so many other respects the pioneers in new and untried paths of civilization, the duty devolves upon us, not only of conferring upon our citizens by adoption a nationality which in its certainty, its precision, and its capability of ascertainment and proof shall as nearly as possible replace their natural nationality, but of offering in this respect to the world a model which shall command universal recognition, respect, and approval. And this leads us to consider how far our present

system of naturalization fulfils these requirements, and whether it has been framed in view of our just obligation as well to our own citizens as to our fellow nations.

A very cursory examination of our naturalization laws will suffice to satisfy the reader that they have been framed with reference only to their operation at home. The thought in the mind of the legislators has evidently been, on the one hand, to provide for taking up into our body politic, and admitting to a full and equal participation in its privileges, all such foreigners as should wish to cast in their lot with us ; and, on the other hand, to establish such requirements, and especially interpose such a term of trial, as would insure seriousness and maturity of purpose in those thus admitted. The main thing thought of was how soon they should vote. The effect that these laws might have in the countries which those thus naturalized had quitted, especially in case of the return of the naturalized either temporarily or permanently to their former homes, was not evidently taken into consideration.

Nor is it to be wondered at that such should be the case ; because, in the first place, the effect of these laws upon our own institutions at home was of course the primary consideration ; and, in the second place, in the then state of international intercourse the contingency of those who had come so far to found new homes on this side of the Atlantic returning again in any numbers to their old ones did not present itself as likely. But very soon such cases did occur, and conflict arose therefrom ; and ever since then this subject has been the one most fruitful of irritation between foreign governments and our own. We stoutly defended our laws ; we were willing to go to war for them. But it did not seem to occur to our legislators whether these laws could not be so improved as to mitigate, if not to remove, their objectionable and dispute-breeding features. They have never seemed to look at the question from the other side, — from the point of view of the government abandoned. How could it tell that its former subjects were not still such ? What evidence did we afford it of the change they had undergone ? Sheep when they change owners are marked in characters understood by those concerned, so that they may be identified. If in the past there have been periods of barbarism, when human beings have been subjected to such process, modern civilization, while revolting at such degradation, has happily supplied higher and worthier methods of keeping account of and identifying intelligent beings. And such we are bound to our best ability to employ.

Original nationality is stamped in almost unmistakable signs by the hand of the Creator upon the members of each race. They are distinguished by differences of speech, of physiognomy, of complex-

ion, of color and growth of the hair and beard, of stature often, etc. These distinguishing marks not only furnish a ready means of recognizing the nationality of those who bear them, so long as it is still their original one, but they form so many obstacles, and furnish so much the more liability for misconceptions to be overcome, when the original nationality has been changed, and when it is sought to supply as far as possible equally unmistakable proofs of the new nationality. Deprived of the assistance of these natural indications, and having often their testimony, so far as it goes, to contend with, what measures have we taken to replace and counteract these outward marks of original nationality by proofs of the new nationality which has been assumed? While very impatient of any failure on the part of a foreign government to recognize its late subjects as now our citizens, have we been careful on our part to give to so serious a transaction such formality, and to provide such proofs of its occurrence, as might with both reason and justice be expected? As to any special provisions of our naturalization laws looking to their operation abroad they are, as we have stated, wholly wanting. The reader will search these laws in vain for any indication of consciousness that possible conflict might arise under them. The first and only allusion to foreign governments in these laws is to be found in the act of July 27, 1868, which is entitled, "An act concerning the rights of American citizens in foreign States." That the reader may observe for himself what steps have been taken by the law-making branch of our government to render our naturalization laws — which have created one fourth part of our citizens, and which so nearly touch the friendly nations from which these citizens have been drawn — intelligible, and as far as possible acceptable, this, the only act on the subject, is here cited in full: —

"Whereas, the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and whereas, in the recognition of this principle this Government has freely received emigrants from all nations, and invested them with the rights of citizenship; and whereas, it is claimed that such American citizens, with their descendants, are subjects of foreign States, owing allegiance to the Governments thereof; and whereas, it is necessary to the maintenance of public peace that this claim of foreign allegiance should be promptly and finally disavowed: Therefore,

"Sect. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officers of this Government which denies, restricts, impairs, or questions the right of expatriation is hereby declared inconsistent with the fundamental principles of this Government.

"Sect. 2. And be it further enacted, That all naturalized citizens of the United States, while in foreign States, shall be entitled to, and shall receive from, this Government the same protection of persons and property that is accorded to native-born citizens in like situations and circumstances.

"Sect. 3. And be it further enacted, That whenever it shall be made known to the President that any citizen of the United States has been unjustly deprived of his liberty by or under the authority of any foreign Government, it shall be the duty of the President forthwith to demand of that Government the reasons for such imprisonment; and if it appears to be wrongful and in violation of the rights of American citizenship, the President shall forthwith demand the release of such citizen; and if the release so demanded is unreasonably delayed or refused, it shall be the duty of the President to use such means, not amounting to acts of war, as he may think necessary and proper to obtain or effectuate such release; and all the facts and proceedings relative thereto shall as soon as practicable be communicated by the President to Congress."

This law, it will be observed, is declaratory only. It asserts loudly an abstract right; but it recognizes no possibility of conflicting rights, and makes no practical provisions either for avoiding dispute or for determining it. An act couched in such language and addressed to "foreign States" presupposes at least, and could only be justified by, the highest degree of perfection, if not infallibility, in the system of laws for the universal supremacy of which it contends. When it recites that "this Government has freely received emigrants from all nations, and invested them with the rights of citizenship," and that "it is necessary to the maintenance of public peace that this claim of foreign allegiance should be promptly and finally disavowed," such a declaration by one civilized Government to its fellows carries with it the assumption that the methods of procedure for effecting the change of nationality are so unexceptionable, and founded upon such principles of equity, as to be entitled to the respect demanded for them; and this assumption must be shown to be well grounded. How far is this the case?

In estimating the excellence of the naturalization laws of the United States and their fitness to accomplish their purpose, two points are especially to be considered: (1) The conditions under which foreigners may become citizens; and (2) The proof of the fact that they have become such. The laws on this subject still in force cover a period of seventy years, from 1802 to 1872. They consist of about a dozen acts and parts of acts, amendments or additions to acts, and acts repealing acts scattered through several volumes of statutes. In general it may be stated, as the result of the collation of all these several acts, that the conditions which the law at present imposes are mainly the following: That the applicant shall, two years at least before his admission, declare on oath or affirmation his intention to become a citizen, and to renounce allegiance to his former government; that he shall be of good moral character; that he shall be attached to the principles of the Constitution, and swear to support the same; that he shall renounce any hereditary title or order of nobility he may have borne; and lastly, that he shall for the continued

term of five years next preceding his admission have resided within the United States.

Of these provisions, that which at once offers the surest safeguard to our own institutions, and also the best assurance to foreign nations of the reality and sincerity of the transaction, is undoubtedly that which requires a prior residence of five years. The wisdom of our legislators in adopting this number of years as a term of trial is shown by the fact that it has remained until this day unrepealed upon the statute book, and has thus borne well the test of experience. A still stronger confirmation of the judicious selection of this period is to be found in its having been adopted, almost without exception, by the foreign nations which, after the lapse of more than half a century, have entered into treaties of naturalization with the United States, as one of the essential conditions of perfected naturalization.

Unfortunately for the symmetry and simplicity of our naturalization law, this wise provision has been deviated from. By an act approved July 16, 1862 (Sect. 21), it was in effect provided that one year's service in the army shall, for the purposes of naturalization, be equivalent to five years' residence. As a war measure this provision was at the time doubtless justifiable. It was evidently intended to serve a temporary purpose only ; but it has never been repealed, and still remains, sixteen years after the close of the war, a blemish upon the statute book. So long as it is retained it not only tends to awaken distrust abroad, and disturbs the uniformity of our system, but, since the period of enlistment in the army is for five years, it operates at home to weaken instead of strengthening the military service by setting a premium upon desertion at the end of one year.

By section 29 of an act approved June 7, 1872, a further exception was made to the general requirement of five years' residence before naturalization. By this provision a seaman who is a foreigner, and who shall declare his intention to become a citizen, and shall serve on board a merchant ship of the United States three years, may thereupon be admitted to be a citizen. Nor is this all. For the act proceeds to declare that "such seaman shall, for all purposes of protection as an American citizen, be deemed such after the filing of his declaration of intention to become such citizen." The intent of this enactment was doubtless unexceptionable, — to encourage shipment of sailors for the merchant marine service, and to afford them as such adequate protection. Yet it cannot but be regretted that this purpose could not have been accomplished without marring what is not less important, — the integrity and uniformity of our naturalization system.

So long as these two acts remain in force we are precluded from saying that the requirement of a period of five years' residence —

which as we have seen has proved to have been so wisely imposed, and has commended itself to the good sense, the approval, and the adoption of foreign nations — is a condition of our naturalization. If some may be admitted after one year's residence, and some after three, a doubt is thrown over the length of residence of all, since no distinction is made in the certificate of naturalization issued to them ; but once admitted to be citizens, all are on the same footing. It was this very uncertainty, which clouds every certificate of naturalization issued, as to how long the holder may have been a resident of the United States, that compelled the Governments which have concluded treaties with us upon naturalization to insert in them residence of five years as a distinct condition, in addition to that of naturalization. Could they have been assured that our naturalization carried with it the certainty of a five years' residence, the express mention of this condition would have been superfluous.

But direct admission of persons of full age, who comply with the requirements above set forth, is not the only method of acquiring citizenship in the United States. A very large proportion of the naturalization under our laws is not direct, but derivative ; that is, it is acquired indirectly — through the father. A great number of those who come to this country and are naturalized are already married, and bring with them children who, like their father, already have a nationality. By section 4 of the act of April 14, 1802, it is provided : "That the children of persons who have been duly naturalized under any law of the United States, or who, previous to the passing of any law on that subject by the Government of the United States, may have become citizens of any one of the States under the laws thereof, being under the age of twenty-one years at the time of the naturalization of their parents, shall, if dwelling in the United States, be considered as citizens thereof." Several questions arise as to the true construction of this clause. Are the words "if dwelling in the United States" to be taken to mean that they are to "be considered" as citizens of the United States only while dwelling therein ? Such is apparently not the intention, but the words admit of this construction. Or if not, when must they be dwelling in the United States to entitle them to the benefits of this act ? Must it be at the time of the father's naturalization, or may it be later, — and how long must the dwelling continue to perfect their right ? These are not abstract or useless problems, but questions daily presenting themselves for practical determination, and to which the words of this act afford the only solution, although the class of persons whose citizenship depends upon its provisions counts by millions. But besides the vagueness and uncertainty attending the fact of the citizenship of this large class (that is, the children of naturalized citizens), they suffer

still more, as will presently be shown, from the total absence of any proof of citizenship provided in their case by law.

And this brings us to consider the second point of view under which our naturalization laws are to be examined, — namely, the sufficiency of the proofs which they provide that those entitled to be admitted as citizens have really become such. And here is to be made at the outset a statement, which cannot fail to surprise those not conversant with the subject, that the laws of the United States prescribe no form of proof of this solemn and important transaction ; and they not only prescribe no form, but they fail wholly to state even what shall be in substance the tenor of the document upon which, directly and indirectly, the nationality of one fourth part of its citizens depends. The proceeding of admission itself may be “before a circuit or district court of the United States, or a district or supreme court of the Territories, or a court of record of any of the States having common-law jurisdiction, and a seal and clerk ;” and the declaration of intention may be before the clerk of either of said courts.

As there are thirty-eight States, having two thousand two hundred and seventy-six counties, and nine Territories, and the United States courts embrace besides nine circuits and fifty-three districts, a very moderate computation of the number of courts of record within the United States would place it, allowing one for each county in the States, at two thousand three hundred and fifty-six courts in all. A certificate issued by any one of these courts, or in fact by its clerk, is all that the naturalized citizen receives as proof of his citizenship. Of course, as no form is prescribed, or data specified for it, those issued by the several courts may be as widely divergent in these respects as the places of issue are remote in latitude and longitude from each other. They have but one uniformity, — their unvarying defectiveness. The certificate is in most cases wholly destitute of those internal evidences of its own credibility, and of the identity of the possessor, which it might easily carry with it. It fails to give his personal description, to state his age, the exact place of his birth, his occupation, his condition, whether married or single, etc. Although the citizenship of his children, if he bring any with him, depends upon it, it omits to mention them. As it is left to the intelligence or the caprice of each clerk to supply, as far as he sees fit, the deficiencies of the law, some of the above data are exceptionally furnished, but never all of them. The name is often illegibly scrawled, and frequently misspelled.

The defects we have pointed out are such as equally impair the validity of this important document for its uses at home as well as abroad. But it remains to mention another defect which is peculiar

to its foreign use. It is clearly impossible that the signature or seal of each of these two thousand three hundred and fifty-six courts, scattered through all our States and Territories, should be known to foreign governments or their officials. Without due verification they would not be accepted by any private individual of another country in any of the ordinary transactions of personal or commercial intercourse. Every business man is familiar with the necessity, in order to give to any legal paper whatsoever validity in a foreign country, of passing it through a series of successive authentications until its genuineness is finally brought home to the cognizance of those by whom it is to be received as proof. But these certificates are carried by thousands to Europe, in the pockets of their possessors, destitute of all verification; and yet we expect that their validity shall be there instantly recognized. So much for the imperfection of the proof furnished to those directly naturalized.

To those indirectly naturalized, as children through the father, no proof whatsoever is furnished. They are not mentioned in their father's certificate; and they receive no form of proof of citizenship, either during their infancy or upon coming of age. Neither do native citizens, it may be said, receive any certificates. But there is this essential difference between the two: as to the native citizen, even though he have no evidence of his nativity, there is at least no counter evidence. It is otherwise with the foreign born. In most foreign countries exact registers are kept of birth, parentage, etc. Every child that is brought to our shores comes, generally, already entered in the books of the country of its birth. Should it become the interest of any one, from personal or political motives, to question in later years the nationality of such a child, there is positive proof at hand on one side of the foreign birth, which it may be difficult to refute in the absence of any positive proof on the other. It would be superfluous to dwell upon the importance to every individual of being able to prove his nationality. Rights, the dearest to man, may depend upon it. The capacity of inheritance and transmittal of property, the legality of marriage, the status of children, the right to vote, and eligibility to office may be determined by it. Nor have instances been wanting in our history of important public interests which have hung upon the question of naturalization and its proofs. The seat of Albert Gallatin in the Senate of the United States was lost, and his supporters much embarrassed, by the tardy discovery that his length of residence had not yet made him eligible. In two recent national elections a question has been raised as to the citizenship of a Presidential elector. In a contest as close as that of 1876 the result might have turned upon proof of citizenship of an elector. It has been recently stated in the newspapers that opponents of the delegate

from Utah had discovered that his tenure of that office was invalid because he was not a United States citizen, and that he was unable to produce the proof of his citizenship. However groundless this report, as well as those questioning the citizenship of more prominent officials, may be, they are alluded to as showing how important it may become to the individual, as well as to the State, to be able to prove beyond question the fact of citizenship one way or the other.

But the best laws regulating naturalization, and having the most ample provision for supplying its proofs, will be of little avail unless effort is also made to secure their correct administration. It is notorious in Europe that a certificate of American naturalization has its price. Not only have they been issued fraudulently in large quantities at home, but it is well understood abroad that a voyage to America to obtain one is quite a superfluous trouble. A Turk sitting on his divan will exhibit his American citizen-paper and smile at the suggestion that he has ever been in the United States. That the Government had become conscious of the great extent of these frauds, and of the importance of checking them, is evinced by the passage of the act of July 14, 1870, for the punishment of the offenders. How far this act has fulfilled its purpose it would be difficult to state; but it is manifestly a national duty to neglect no means for accomplishing the suppression of these crimes.

Nearly akin to the subject of naturalization, — or acquisition of citizenship, — an outgrowth of it, and indissolubly connected with it, is the question of the forfeiture of citizenship, the regulation by law of the circumstances under which citizenship shall be lost, and the tie between government and citizen be dissolved. It has become but too clear that our naturalization is resorted to not only in good faith by those who come to remain, but that it is made use of as a cloak merely, while really living in the old country, to evade all obligations there. To escape complicity in this deception, as well as in its own interest, the Government will find itself forced to provide for the withdrawal, in such cases, of a protection for which it receives no reciprocal advantage.

We have thus seen that naturalization is a mainstay of our political fabric; that it is a creature of law; and as such cannot be left to shift for itself, but must be carefully looked after, improved upon, added to, and adapted to new requirements, its methods of proof perfected, its administration guarded and purified. When this has been done, our naturalization system will command of itself respect and confidence, both at home and abroad. If Congress, instead of expending whatever energy it is willing to exert upon the subject in reading to "foreign States" lectures upon abstract right, — impotent

beyond our own borders unless each returning emigrant were to be escorted by a fleet and an army, — would set itself to the duty, which lies within its legitimate sphere, of remedying at home the defects of our own laws, such a course would better comport with the dignity of the nation, and would yield practically far more valuable fruit.

That the subject is beset with great difficulties in a country like ours, at once of so wide extent and such distributed powers, with restricted authority in the central government, is unquestionable. But the same determination and skill which have secured to other institutions of the Republic the universal respect of the nations, — which have brought our national credit out of depreciation and embarrassment to a point which no nation has ever surpassed, and have imparted to our evidences of debt a security scarcely less than that of the precious metals, — will know how, if they will but set about it, to give to our naturalization system that precision, uniformity, and certainty which it so much requires ; to secure for its administration such equity and purity as will of themselves win for it the confidence which, as we are so sensitively conscious, is now withheld, and make the letters of citizenship we issue honored at sight throughout the world.

ALEXANDER BLISS.

SPAIN OF TO-DAY.

A SUCCESSION of notable occurrences is attracting the attention of the world once more towards that Nazareth of nations, — Spain. An abrupt political crisis overthrew in the month of February the reactionary administration of affairs which has lasted in that peninsula since the restoration of the Bourbon, six years ago. During the last week of May and the first of June the streets and palaces of Madrid were aglow with gorgeous festivities in honor of the memory of the greatest Spanish poet, the "Iberian Shakspeare," Don Pedro Calderon. And now again in September that capital is to become the scene of an event which will have, for Americans at least, an extraordinary interest, — the assembling of a Congress of savans, whose purpose will be to collect all available facts and to take into account all learning relating to the Western continents anterior to their discovery by Columbus.

While this Congress of the *Americanistas* proceeds with its labors, Señor Sagasta, the new prime minister appointed by the young king, will superintend during this same month the first Spanish elections

which have promised measurable liberty to the land of the Southern Bourbons since the downfall of the Republic.

Barring a few similarly important events, and her spasmodic political episodes in recent years, Spain has been for two centuries the best forgotten country in Europe. Very few Americans know anything of Spanish affairs ; and the distinguished English publicist and parliamentarian, Grant Duff, has lately commented upon the "scantiness of information" among the best informed men in England concerning this once the most powerful and glittering of the Continental nationalities. During a little more than ten years past violent tumults have been occasionally heard, followed by gurgling political noises, half interpreted from time to time by the telegrams of the Associated Press to the journals ; but nothing has been very clearly apprehended of the modern march of events in the land of the Alhambra and Escorial. For five years, at least, there has been with reference to Spain, also, a phenomenal dearth of information in the magazines and reviews, whether English, French, or American.

The series of recent and passing occurrences, already alluded to, is a sufficient warrant for inviting the attention of American readers to the nation which a little more than two centuries ago absorbed all that was most splendid and imposing in the civilization of Christendom. It is ever to be remembered that the glory of the discovery and early settlement of this Western world by its present civilized races is the glory of Spain. The pathos of Spanish history, moreover, associated as it is with the grandeur and transitoriness of human power, lends to the study of Spanish destiny an interest without parallel in the career of modern States. Spain ! At the sound of the name, what intelligent reader does not recall the dazzling vision of that proud nation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, — the home of Lope de Vega and Cervantes ; the Spain of the golden age of Ferdinand and Isabella, that expelled the Moor from Europe, and gave a hand to genius in the search of a new hemisphere ; the Spain of Charles V. and his son Philip II., that stood like a giantess with one foot on the Mediterranean and one on the Rhine at the North Sea, that girdled the equator with her extended arms, and gathered into her galleons the golden wealth of the Indies of the East and of the West ; the Spain of the Armada, that shook the throne of Elizabeth and awed the counsels of Europe ! Then nothing more is recalled. The light of Spain went out two hundred years ago like a vanishing star. She disappeared from the council board of Europe : her record, save to the curious student, a blank ; her place a "geographical expression" on the map of the continent. Seventy years ago the whirlwind of the Napoleonic wars threw up from under the invading feet of Celt and Saxon, led by Duroc and Wellington, a little cloud of

mummy dust from her soil. Then she slumbered again. The Spanish race, it was asserted, was dead ; until one September day, nearly thirteen years ago, a battle was fought between two armies of Spaniards not far from the walls of their capital, a dissolute Bourbon queen went flying from her throne at Madrid over the crest of the Pyrenees, and the star of Spain feebly emerged from its long eclipse.

The hegira of the Bourbon Isabella in 1868 is called, in Spain, the Revolution. Outside of Spain it appeared as a resurrection. It can at least be affirmed that Spain since 1868 is a new nation. The incidents of Spanish history in the intervening thirteen years, as has been intimated, though far from being so familiar as the political movements of most European countries, have in themselves a fascinating interest, — that of a powerful and romantic people rising as it were from the tomb of the past, groping for light and liberty, and aspiring once more for the embrace of living nations. Certain of these incidents having the illusion of romance or of personal fame have not gone unnoted on this side of the world. Four years ago generous Americans of both sexes, who had leisure, shed tears and wrote sonnets over the sorrows of the young Spanish king in the loss of his bride, the tender Mercedes. Two years later we caught once more the glow of the marriage torches in the sky over Madrid, as he brought home a new queen from the banks of the Danube. The eloquence of the superb Castelar has again sounded in our ears over the roar of the Atlantic.

In order to apprehend the most recent condition of affairs in Spain (that introduced by the late revolution in the ministry at Madrid) it may be necessary to glance hastily at the succession of political changes in that country since 1868, when, as has been said, the nation can be considered to have entered upon its career as a modern commonwealth.

When the fat queen, Isabella, took in that year her ungainly flight over the Pyrenees, she left behind her a wake of thirty-four years of political corruption as miserable as ever disgraced the rule of a monarch. Her reign did credit in infamy, indeed, to the whole dynasty of the Spanish Bourbons who had preceded her, including the first of them, Philip V., the grandson of Louis XIV., — and that is saying the worst possible of it. The condition of Spain had become simply intolerable to every class of her people. The Revolution having been accomplished, seemingly in a day, seventeen millions of Spaniards felt suddenly lifted from their breasts the nightmare of centuries, and their respiration became free. The rejoicing in Madrid amounted to bewildering enthusiasm. General Prim and Marshal Serrano, — the hitherto hostile chiefs of the Revolution, — riding in triumphal procession, embraced each other publicly in the streets of the capital.

In their kiss of reconciliation Spaniards affected to see the future of their country, as the French heard that of the Republic in the notes of the Marseillaise sung by Rachel.

The Revolution had been brought about by the conspiracy of the combined Liberal forces of the nation, among which was represented every political opinion, from that of the free monarchists to that of the violent republicans. The Republican party, educated by leaders like Castelar and Figueras, was at the moment one of the most powerful in Spain. In the scheme for upsetting the throne of Isabella the great revolutionary chiefs, such as Prim and Olozaga, had coquetted with this party and encouraged their hopes for the establishment of a republic. But in the Provisional Government set up on the flight of the queen the Republicans quickly saw that they had no interest. Not a single one of their representatives was admitted into its cabinet. Republican demonstrations took place in consequence in Madrid, and were swiftly followed by insurrections at Cadiz, Malaga, and other cities. The military, however, were under the control of the new government. Troops were liberally sent out on "pacifying" missions, and the hopes of Republicanism were drowned in the blood of its defenders shed in half of the provinces of eastern and southern Spain.

After a fierce debate in the Cortes in the beginning of 1869, it was resolved that the future government of Spain should be that of a constitutional monarchy. A regency was established, with Serrano at the head, until a new sovereign could be procured for the empty throne. Then began a scene the most damaging to the prestige and credit of royalty which has occurred in Europe since the auction of the imperial toga before the armies of the Cæsars. The spectacle was indeed something more than damaging; it was totally ridiculous. Spain had tried in a thousand years every sort and specimen of kings, and had become disgusted with them. She had risen against them and spewed them out. Yet in less than a twelvemonth she was again demanding a king. The continent was full of the virile scions of royalty without regal employment, and yet Spain could not be accommodated: her throne went begging for an occupant. The crown of Charles V. in the eyes of Europe was not worth its tinsel counterpart paraded in the theatres. It has been graphically but accurately described as having been dragged about across the plains of Castile to Portugal, over the Pyrenees to France, over the Alps to Italy, over the Channel to England, and as having been finally offered to a prince whose name no Spaniard in the flesh or in the spirit could either pronounce or spell, — Prince Leopold Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, the very sound of whose title (and no wonder) ignited the fiercest conflagration seen by modern Europe, — the Franco-German war. It was laid in

turn at the feet of seven royal dynasties, and was refused in turn by each of them. Then at last, through what seemed a lucky shuffle of diplomatic cards, it was accepted by young Amadeus, Duke of Aosta, second son of Victor Emanuel of Italy.

"I do not understand the conduct of that man, — show me his woman," is said to express a quandary frequently occurring in the experience of a detective. It has been hinted that behind the extraordinary act of acceptance of the crown of Spain by Amadeus was the ambition of his wife, Maria Victoria. As a child in the convent of the Sacred Heart her dreams had been of a crown ; and the nuns had encouraged her with the story of Mademoiselle Montijo, who had become empress of the French as a reward of her devout worship of the Virgin. The aspiration had grown with her years, and was not likely to be lost in a coincidence of circumstances like this as an influence in determining the action of her husband. Poor Amadeus ! From whatsoever reasons — diplomatic or connubial — he had accepted the crown, he was speedily to find it one of thorns. He took his way to Madrid with the best of intentions of becoming an honest, liberal, constitutional king. But the Spaniards who had invited him as a king did not want him as a person. They received him into their capital with an official but not with a popular or cordial welcome. From the first the haughty Castilians designated him as the *Savoyard*, and *el rey intruso*, and held aloof from his court ; while popular wit and irreverence found vent in bestowing upon the young Italian the nickname, Maccaroni I.

The son of Victor Emanuel had before him his royal father as a model of a constitutional monarch. Victor Emanuel had said, "I desire nothing for my sons except that they shall become good citizens." Amadeus, in his earnest desire to serve Spain as a citizen king, determined to conquer the difficulties of his position, and make himself ultimately acceptable to the Spanish nation. With such art as he possessed he made the endeavor. He was a good horseman, and amid a population of cavaliers paraded himself daily on horseback ; he made exhibition journeys through the country, lavishly expending his private money ; he drove himself and the queen regularly on the Prado ; he gave weekly balls and banquets at the palace ; he took a box at the Madrid opera and occupied it ; he even condescended to attend the bull-fights, and to distort his countenance into a sickly grin at their grewsome entertainment. In addition to all this he attempted to conciliate parties, and to administer the affairs of Spain impartially, like a loyal and manly sovereign.

His efforts were without avail. He could not achieve popularity. The Spaniards of the provinces only feebly cheered the royal parades ; the palace banquets went unattended save by the bankers and poli-

ticians ; the king was ignored in the street and at the opera. What happened to the queen was even worse. The ladies of the Spanish nobility, not content with neglecting her, invented pretty feminine stratagems for her humiliation. One day the Parisian bonnets and cloaks, the mode of Europe, disappeared from the heads of the Spanish ladies on the *esplanade* of fashion, the Prado, to be suddenly replaced by the big tortoise-shell comb and the national mantilla of the blue-blooded ancient Castilians. The queen intimated her wish that the wife of Marshal Serrano should hold a royal infant at the baptismal font, and was politely refused.

In less than a year Amadeus became sick of the situation, but resolved bravely, while there was a hope for legitimate sovereignty in Spain, to maintain his position. But the wrecked finances of the nation were against his government, — or, indeed, against any government. The Court party, who had been his first supporters, became enraged with him for treating with the Liberals. The Republicans were disaffected from the first, regarding the monarchy as a fraud upon their rightful inheritance. Castelar, their representative orator, had made a most memorable speech against the “boy-king” before his advent, and their ranks had been thickening ever since. The young Italian stood as long as he could ; then, in final despair of becoming a possible savior to Spain, gave notice on the 11th of February, 1873, that he laid down his crown. He had reigned just two years and as many months. Three days later, in the gray of a Madrid morning, conducting his spouse, Maria Victoria, like an ordinary gentleman, to the railway station, he took a train from the Spanish capital towards his Italian possessions in the valley of the Aosta. The aspirations of Maria Victoria for wearing a crown were thoroughly quenched.

Then at last came the opportunity of the Republic. Spain dropped like a ripe pomegranate into the hands of its partisans. Their numbers were powerful, and their enemies were demoralized and disgusted. Castelar had warned the courtiers against their monarchy : they had tried it, and made a failure. Strange enough to say, the revolution in Spain was bloodless. There had been a thousand years of monarchy in this peninsula of the Visigoths, but the transition from King to President was as tranquil as a day in Cadiz. First came four months of provisional presidency, under Figueras ; to be succeeded by Señor Pi, of Margall, under the proclaimed Federal Republic of June, 1873. Last followed Castelar, prophet and priest of Spanish democracy, made chief executive of the Republic in September of the same year.

Of this man, Señor Emilio Castelar, it has been the fortune to become more clearly visible beyond the limits of his native country

than any contemporary Spaniard. He has thoroughly achieved greatness. A gift of eloquence, such as has been the endowment of few orators ancient or modern, has carried his name and aspiring thought into every civilized tongue. To him more than to any other of his countrymen — more, perhaps, than to all others — is Spain indebted for such education as she has received in the principles of political liberty. Castelar comes of the purest blood of Spain. He was born of an Andalusian family in the city of Cadiz in 1832. He was trained by his parents for a literary career; and after several years of preparation in the academy of Alicante, the home of his family, was sent at the age of twenty to the University of Madrid. His prodigious progress in learning procured him on his graduation, four years later, the professor's chair of Critical and Philosophical History in that University. He found time, however, to be much more than a professor. He had left behind him in the academy and streets of Alicante, in his teens, the fame of an orator; and appearing during a scene of political excitement in the midst of a Madrid mass-meeting, in 1854, won instantaneously in that capital a similar reputation through a speech of impassioned eloquence. His professor's chair he converted into a tribune, from which he disseminated throughout Spain, in articles for the journals and reviews, the most advanced sentiments with respect to every question of modern economy. He delivered in the Athenæum of Madrid a series of brilliant lectures on the History of Civilization, and prepared about the same time a voluminous pamphlet entitled the "Formula of Progress," which made a profound impression in Spain, and was translated and read throughout Europe. With his classes in the university he did not confine his teachings, as might have been expected of a college professor in the reign of the Bourbon Isabella, to the dry details of history, but advocated with all the fervor of a modern democrat the emancipation of slaves in Cuba, the abolition of the tie between Church and State, universal suffrage, and free education. In 1864 he added to his other functions the editorship of a Madrid journal, "La Democracia," as he had been already the temporary editor of "El Tribune;" and from that moment he became a dreaded personal force against the stability of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain. Two years later he was condemned to death by a royal council of war for having taken a prominent part in revolutionary proceedings in the streets of Madrid. Through the aid of friends he escaped from Spain and spent two years abroad, mainly in France and Italy, — an interval he improved in composing some of the most brilliant of the books and essays by which he is known as a writer to the English speaking public.

At the first sound of the September revolution in 1868, which expelled the debauched queen, Castelar hastened back to Spain to be

received with enthusiasm by the myriads of his Republican friends. He was restored to his professor's chair in the university, and elected immediately afterwards member of the Cortes from Saragossa. During the revolutionary eras of the provisional government, the regency, and the reign of Amadeus he became, as has been indicated, the chief exponent of republican principles and the recognized leader of his party in Spain. Again and again, during that formative epoch of Spanish opinion, on questions arising in the Cortes involving the elemental issues of free government, — the liberty of the press, separation of Church and State, freedom of worship, and the form of the State, — his eloquence rose like that of an apostle above the dissonant voices of parties, carrying for the moment everything before it, and bearing on its almost sublime heights what seemed to the world the inspiration of Spain itself.

When Amadeus failed and retired, Castelar had in his brain ready made the scheme of a republic for Spain. It was like that of the United States. In his ardor he believed that it would be a remedy for all the ills of his country, and that he could suddenly engraft on the ancient trunk of Spanish nationality, gnarled and deadened by centuries of priestly superstition and kingly tyranny, the quick buds of liberty. The Republic was established; and when in a few months he rose to its head he was to make his test. The experiment was a disaster. There arose jealousies among his own party, the Republicans themselves. There were crises in the ministry. The priests and all the reactionary factions were against him. The Republic was beset with Carlism in the North, with Communism in the South, with a loosened tempest of inherited anarchy everywhere. Nearly all Europe was inimical to the new Democracy tied to her skirts. Among nations, only America and Switzerland responded to its first appeal for recognition. The difficulties were overwhelming. The new government, while offering to Spain for the first time in her history the opportunity for freedom, liberated by its very novelty all the lawless elements of the nation. Moreover, the Spaniards were as yet almost ludicrously unschooled in the methods of popular government. The Republic and universal suffrage, when spoken of in some parts of the country, were believed to designate certain decorations to be distributed by the government and worn at the bull-fights.

In spite of a morass of obstructions, however, Castelar and his companions struggled heroically to maintain the new fabric of State, — the great tribune upholding for a time the hopes of the Republic with the sheer inspiration of his matchless eloquence. In the midst of insurrection and disorder rapidly growing intolerable, the Cortes, in order to preserve the very integrity of the nation, sus-

pended at last the constitutional guarantees, and clothed the executive with unlimited power to employ the armies, not only against the Carlists, but for the suppression of insurgence in every part of the peninsula. But the situation had become already hopeless, and ended in that not infrequent fatality of modern Spanish despair, — a *coup d'état*. Jan. 2, 1874, General Pavia, captain-general of Madrid, entering the Cortes Cromwell-like with an armed force, dispersed the assembly at the musket's mouth, and the Republic vanished out of Spain like a mist. It had lasted less than a year, and a year less than the short-lived monarchy which had preceded it. Then for another year the nation staggered on in its shadow under an extemporized government with Serrano once more at the head. Castelar was invited to take part in its administration, but answered, with characteristic grandeur, "My conscience will not allow me to associate with demagogues; and my conscience and my honor keep me aloof from a state of things created by bayonets." The situation at the end of the year had once more become impossible, and ended once more in the familiar *coup d'état*. The armies of the north and centre of Spain, employed under General Martinez Campos in putting down the Carlists, declared in the beginning of 1875 for the son of the exiled queen. "Don Alfonso must have a mustache before he can come to Spain," Figueras had sententiously said. But at the downy age of sixteen the Bourbon prince, by the sanction of the Spanish Cortes, was already seated on the throne of his ancestors.

We have now reached the period in Spanish affairs which forms the immediate background of the political events of to-day. After breaking from her traditions in 1868 in the expulsion of her hereditary king, and having tossed for seven years on a tempestuous sea of governmental experiment, Spain reverted by the law of instinct to the past. Her centuries, not less than her soldiers, recalled the son of Isabella. And, as might have been expected, the Bourbon restoration was accompanied by reaction. Alfonso's first act on mounting the throne was to make terms with the Pope, — a thing which the governments of Amadeus and Castelar had been unable to do, involving as it did fatal concessions to religious intolerance. The Revolution of 1868 had been consummated by the establishment of a constitution panoplied with the complete guarantees of modern liberty, — the liberty of worship, of the press, of education, and of suffrage. The return of the Bourbon in 1875 was the signal for the recalling of the monks, the abasement of Protestant worship, the restriction of the ballot, and the establishment of a court to try offences of the press. In less than two months after the accession of the young king a royal decree revoked the educational laws of 1868, curtailed the independence of teachers and professors, and

prescribed to the schools throughout Spain the use of the text-books of the time of Isabella.

It is almost needless to say that these ultramontane acts and decrees of the new *régime* were resisted from the first by the representatives of the Spanish Liberals with all their accustomed vigor and eloquence. In consequence of the educational restrictions Castelar resigned his professor's chair in the University of Madrid. Students and professors alike in various of the other Spanish universities rose in demonstrative protests against the action of the Government. The Government responded with arrests of students and the banishment of the ablest literary and scientific intellects of Spain. It was acting at the behest of the Pope and the priests.

The fiercest contention, however, arose over the question of religion, as it related to the framing of a new constitution. The atmosphere of Spain is singularly trying to political constitutions, every change in government demanding a fresh one, and not less than five having broken down in a little more than half a century. Article XI. of the projected Alfonso constitution established religious toleration for non-Catholic beliefs in the *interior* of places of worship, but interdicted all public manifestations, and declared the Roman Catholic to be the religion of the State. The proposed principle of toleration was too extended for the friends of the Pope, and far short of the absolute freedom demanded by the Liberals. After prolonged and violent agitation in the Cortes the question was settled, as might have been anticipated in a time of reaction, in favor of the priests, by embodying the repressive measure in the adopted constitution. Since that period, five years ago, through the rigidest interpretation and application on the part of the Government of this famous and obnoxious twelfth article, the acme of reactionary religious intolerance in Spain has been reached. Meanwhile, the great leaders of the dead Republic, such as Castelar and Figueras, thrown into almost microscopic minority in the Cortes, have, contrary to expectation, not taken up the part of a revolutionary opposition. They have conceived a grander duty towards Spain than clamoring for the instantaneous realization of any theory as to the mere form of government. While they have steadfastly persisted in the advocacy of liberal principles, and have resolutely forsworn any participation in the present administration of the government, they have, on the other hand, declined with equal firmness to ally themselves with schemes of change which look towards violence for their accomplishment. After the stormy vicissitudes through which Spain has passed during the last twelve years, they believe that any administration of affairs supported with tolerable unanimity by the Spanish people, and which offers national integrity with the possibility of national growth,

is preferable to revolution and possible anarchy attempted in the interest of any particular scheme of government, however desirable. Bending, therefore, before the wave of reaction, they have performed their duty to their convictions within legal limits, and confidently awaited the inevitable return tide of liberal sentiment which should lift Spain once more into the plain of progressive nations. And their confidence has been justified. True, Spain in these recent years has presented to the world the apparent anomaly of a revolution going backward; but the retrogression has been external and temporary rather than actual: the ferment of the Republic has never ceased. Under forms of reaction, and behind the spectacle of liberty suddenly arrested in its formal development, the nation has steadily progressed towards its goal. In this guise Spain, during these six years of her obscurity so to speak, has offered to the political student a study, with the exception of Russia, the most interesting in Europe. She has absorbed, indeed, much of that curiosity which Italy held for the world during that fascinating period of her growth between 1859 and 1870.

In her young king Spain exhibits the figure of a monarch of generous and liberal impulses, but tied by traditions both of his family and the nation, — the traditions of the Bourbons and of the Roman Catholic religion. But Alfonso is a Bourbon who can both forget and learn. As the event proves, he has been quick to perceive the disintegration which, through the gradual education of the national sentiment, has at length undermined the reaction introduced by his reign six years ago. During last year, especially, it was obvious to discerning eyes that there was going on in Spain a change analogous to that in common metals, — a crumbling of the internal particles under the preserved outward form. The reactionary wave had reached its highest point, and was rapidly retiring. The administration of the nation in the interests of the Pope and mediævalism had drawn to a close. In the month of January of the present year popular discontent became so marked as to threaten turbulence. On the sixth of February the Government had to prohibit banquets being held on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic. At midnight the king despatched a messenger to Sagasta, chief of the dynastic Liberals, or Liberal Monarchists, summoning him to the palace, where he laid upon him the task of forming a new ministry. By this sagacious and intrepid act of royalty the tool of the priests, Don Antonio Canovas, who has led high-handed for six years the obstructionists of Spanish liberty, fell.

From that hour Sagasta, whose record for twenty years has been that of a consistent monarchist attached to the rights of the people, has labored unceasingly for the establishment of the new adminis-

tration. Sagasta's reputation is that of one of the acutest statesmen and most effective orators in the peninsula. A graphic, brief description of him, as he appears in the Spanish Cortes, has reached us since his advent to power : —

"It is curious to observe Sagasta. When he addresses the chamber he creates general uneasiness. Few escape his lash. His tongue tears the flesh like a Russian knout. Sprung from the people, he apparently serves the kings : really, he serves only the people."

To-day Sagasta is still struggling with the hostile Cortes elected to support his predecessors. The act by which, with the aid of the young monarch, he seized, in the very teeth of an overwhelming party opposition, the reins of power is one of the boldest in the history of parliamentary government. But Sagasta works indefatigably ; and every hour brings him nearer the accomplishment of the overthrow of the nefarious scheme of municipal organization throughout Spain, by which the priestly party have been enabled to retard long beyond its legitimate period the national demand for a more liberal administration. The elections about to be held for a new Cortes will unquestionably give him an ample majority to sustain his new position. Nor is it difficult to believe that a statesman of such strenuous convictions and incisive parliamentary talents will be speedy in repealing the repressive measures of the last six years, and in bringing the legislation of his country into harmony with an enlightened age. Among Sagasta's earliest acts has been the recall of the political and literary exiles banished by the clerical administration. Of the intransigent Zorilla, who has passed an exile of several years in France, he has said : "I cannot afford to allow Señor Zorilla and his schemes the honor and advantage of keeping him longer beyond the Pyrenees."

Castelar, orator of democracy and champion of republics, is self-pledged to accept office under nothing less than an absolutely popular government. But he has already promised to the new ministry his powerful support ; and his expression of sentiment touching the most recent phase of affairs in Spain is as follows : —

"We, the Possibilistas, or modern Democrats, of Spain, shall continue to seek the realization of our ideals by pacific, steady, legal efforts of propaganda. But I think that Señor Sagasta will remain in power long enough to make it perilous and impossible for even monarchy to attempt henceforth any reaction favorable to Canovas and his clerical allies. The fall of that man implies that reactionary and ultramontane attempts to carry on a despotic policy under the garb of parliamentary government have closed forever."

"The monarchy at best," says Castelar's stately friend, Figueras, "is only the adjournment of the Republic." Nothing at least ap-

pears at present more certain, than that the seed of the Republic sown by these twin statesmen in the soil of their country has not perished; and that in whatever form Liberty shall descend upon Spain, this ancient land of romance, "beloved by the Gods" and caressed by the sun and the seas, has finally entered upon a career of political regeneration as glorious as the memories of her past.

WILLIAM J. ARMSTRONG.

MORMONISM.

THE saying that there are two sides to a question is sometimes true only in part. There are frequently three sides. The third may be the inside,—a medium between the other two. The subject of Mormonism has lately been discussed in the "North American Review," first by one who has had little experience and small opportunity for observation, writing from an editorial chair in which he has been recently placed for the express purpose of a daily attack upon the Mormons and their institutions; a gentleman withal of culture and private worth, learned, and an elegant writer, but encircled by the ring of prejudices in which his lot is cast. The reply comes from one who is also polished in his manners and style, while he writes from a standpoint as opposite as the antipodes. He is a bigoted enthusiast, an apostle and first counsellor of the Mormon Church. Both are sincere. Each intends to be honest. Neither of them is just. The first begins his article thus:—

"To make the position of the Mormons in Utah clear to the general reader, to deal with the subject without prejudice and yet to state the truth, is a difficult undertaking. [He then goes on to prove his proposition in the sentence immediately following.] Towards the United States the Mormon power observes the forms of republican polity, while, in fact, it is a despotism as absolute in its control over its own people as ever existed on earth."

He thus, at his starting-point, places the power of the Mormon priesthood and the rule of the King of Dahomey upon a par. He can find no one good thing that has come out of this Nazareth, not one redeeming trait in the character of Brigham Young, even blaming eternal justice for allowing him to die peacefully in his bed. "No mortal," he says, "can estimate the dreadful influence which his rule of thirty-six years had upon his people," whom he proceeds to describe as absolute slaves and perjurers under the whip of men who are robbers and murderers; closing with an appeal to Congress for still more stringent

legislation, not only with a view to the abolition of polygamy, but of the rule of the Mormon Church.

On the other hand, the respondent's pages are of a beautiful *couleur de rose*. Utah is no Nazareth. It is a Utopia from which nothing but good can proceed. The priesthood exercise no control over the people. They have always been persecuted for righteousness' sake. Writing for the reading of a nation of monogamists as if he was preaching from the pulpit of the Tabernacle, he deliberately proposes to convert fifty millions of people to the doctrine and practice of polygamy, in which he assumes that one hundred and twenty thousand already believe; asserts that animalism has nothing whatever to do with this part of the creed, and, a delegate to Congress himself, is defiantly recusant to the law which Congress has enacted.

Let us see whence came this Mormon religion, what it is to-day, and what influence for good or evil it has had and may yet exert. In 1875 I received this letter:—

71 COLUMBIA HEIGHTS, BROOKLYN, N. Y., March, 1875.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret that I have not been successful in obtaining for you a copy of "Mormonism Unveiled,"—a book written and published by Mr. Home, of Painesville, Ohio, some forty years ago, and written when the headquarters of Mormonism were at Kirtland, Ohio. In the winter of 1833-34, a self-constituted committee of citizens of Willoughby, Mentor, and Painesville met a number of times at the house of the late Mr. Warren Corning, of Mentor, to investigate the Mormon humbug. At one of the meetings we had before us the original manuscript of the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, who came to Ashtabula County, Ohio, from Monson, Mass. It was entitled, "The —————; or, The Manuscript Found." It was obtained from Mr. Patterson, or Peterson, a publisher of Pittsburg, Pa., with whom negotiations had once been made towards its publication. From this work of the Rev. Mr. Spaulding the Mormon Bible was constructed. I do not think there can be any doubt of this. It was the opinion of the committee after comparing the Mormon Bible with the manuscript. The style of composition, the names, etc., were the same.

In 1833 Joseph Smith was prosecuted by a man of the name of Hurlbut, I think, for assault and battery. I was a law student at the time in Willoughby, and was for the prosecution. The case was before a Justice of the Peace in Painesville, Ohio. The matter attracted a great deal of curiosity. The Court was held in the old Methodist Church in Painesville, and the Justice who issued the warrant against the Mormon Prophet invited another Justice of the Peace to sit with him. Judge Bissell was the attorney for the Prophet. The trial lasted three days, and the church was filled to overflowing. During the examination of Smith, he gave the history of the finding of the golden plates of the Mormon Bible, how he was kicked by the Devil when he uncovered the plates and stooped down to get them. It was an interesting story; and, although it had nothing to do with the case under investigation, the Court, his own attorney, and the people all desired to hear the narration, and it came out under oath. Smith, Hyde, Pratt, and all the leaders of the faithful were there, except the ablest and most eloquent man among them all,—the Rev. Sidney Rigdon. He had been a Baptist minister, and was a man of great natural eloquence. He is yet living, and, I think, could tell something about how the Mormon Bible was manufactured, if he would.

I guess, in my speech to the Court in the case, I must have been rather hard on the Prophet and his testimony and Mormonism, as I was told that one of his brethren said, "If it was not for his religion, he would whip that young Briggs." I sent word to him "he could for the once lay down his religion, and try it." I was not whipped. Smith was bound over; and Mormonism, persecuted, mobbed, turned out, has flourished.

Yours truly,

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

Mr. Briggs is still alive; and was until lately Tax Assessor of the State of New York, a man of well known and unblemished reputation. There is abundance of other testimony proving the origin of the "Book of Mormon." It is a fraud; and yet I would not try to convince the Mormons that it is. It is sacred for them; and as there is no harm in it, let it remain so. Fabulous as we know it to be, it does not contain a single immoral sentiment. It would add to the value of our canonical Scriptures if an abridgment of it could be made to take the place of Solomon's Song. So far from inculcating polygamy, it directly opposes it. "Hearken to the word of the Lord! for there shall not any man among you have, save it be, but one wife" (Book of Jacob, c. ii. v. 27). Nor, until several years after its adoption as conjointly with the Bible a rule of faith, was polygamy even tolerated. Therefore it cannot be justly said that the religion emanated from animalism any more than it can be maintained that the practice of polygamy at the present day does not come from that source.

The book is an absolutely harmless, although a somewhat tedious, romance, purporting mainly to be a history of an Israelite family, supposed by its author to have drifted over to America in a ship starting from the Red Sea, and after a variety of adventures, in which the trade winds were not taken into account, landing on the west coast. The Jewish Jehovah was also their God, helping them to fight their battles as he had interfered in times past for their ancestors. They had an unusual stock of miracles, and of audible and visible communications with God and Christ, — the teachings of the latter being generally conveyed in the identical words and phrases in which they are recorded in our translation of the New Testament.

Smith's story about the "Book of Mormon" is that ages ago, when the priesthood on this continent lapsed, the last of them was inspired to write a history upon golden plates, and to bury them on a hill of the town of Palmyra in the State of New York; that an angel showed them to him in 1823, and four years later went with him again to the place and directed him to dig them up. The angel then told him how to translate them. Smith and the angel appear to have entertained the same idea that was uppermost in the minds of the revisers of the New Testament, — that there was a peculiar sacredness in the English of three or four centuries ago; or, as Dr. Wheeler

has it: "There is little doubt that the immutability of form in the sacred codes of nations is one of the most important among the causes which have given their religions such a rooted, tenacious hold upon the minds and hearts of those who profess them." Smith was accordingly divinely instructed to adopt the style of the "Book of Mormon," which he found it easy to do, as he had the manuscript of Spaulding as a guide. It would be equally unjust to Spaulding and to Smith to say that the pages of the former were copied exactly. No man of a reflecting mind would have written thus of a newly discovered country where only the vestiges of ancient habitation were found: "We did find upon the Land of Promise, as we journeyed in the wilderness, that there were beasts in the forest of every kind, both the cow and the ox, and the ass and the horse, and the goat and the wild goat, and all manner of wild animals which were for the use of men." The incongruities are apparent. Nor would anybody who did not accept as literal truth the story of an unaccountably rapid population of the world by the antediluvians have established in his imagination the wars of two powerful nations, originating from the families of two brothers who had occupied the land only forty years. Such passages as these, and many of an equally impossible character, may be conceded to Smith's "inspiration."

The narrative, proceeding more in the style of a novel which deals in possibilities, goes on to relate the final overthrow of the Nephites by the Lamanites, who are supposed to have been the ancestors of the North American Indians. It culminated in a grand pitched battle, somewhere upon the line of the present New York Central Railroad. Mormon, the last prophet and general of the Nephite army, anticipating a defeat, relates, in the beginning of his account of the final struggle, the precautions which he took to save the national records:

"And it came to pass that when we had gathered in all our people in one to the land of Cumorah, behold I, Mormon, began to be old; and knowing it to be the last struggle of my people, and having been commanded of the Lord that I should not suffer that the records which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred, to fall into the hands of the Lamanites (for the Lamanites would destroy them), — therefore I made this record out of the plates of Nephi and hid up in the hill Cumorah all the records which had been entrusted to me by the hand of the Lord, save it were these few plates which I gave unto my son Maroni. And it came to pass that my people, with their wives and their children, did now behold the armies of the Lamanites marching towards them; and with that awful fear of death which fills the breast of all the wicked did they await to receive them."

Soon after the catastrophe foreshadowed above Mormon died of old age, hastened by grief, leaving the plates on which the history was engraved to his son Maroni, the last of the Nephites, who having buried the precious treasure committed to his charge on the hill Cumorah, and become reconciled to the Lamanites, died, and was

buried by them on nearly the same spot where centuries afterward, according to an equally veracious and much more entertaining history, the last of the Mohicans found his grave.

Aside from any amusement this sketch of the romance may afford, it is interesting, because it accounts for the extraordinary zeal of the Mormons in their attempts to convert and civilize the Indian "Lamanites," which have certainly been very successful, and ought to be still further encouraged. While we are discussing the "Mormon problem," the Mormon missionaries are settling the "Indian problem," so far as their influence extends, peacefully accomplishing what we have failed to carry out by rifles and Indian agencies.

The literary venture of Mr. Spaulding was declined by the publishers, but it was surreptitiously copied by one of Smith's clever associates, and was made the basis of the new sect. Smith had the stupidity in issuing the first edition to take out a copyright as its "author and proprietor," but, soon recognizing his mistake, he afterwards professed to be merely the translator. This, then, is the "Book of Mormon," not the "Mormon Bible," as it has been erroneously called. It will probably surprise many intelligent persons, who have read the Mormons out of the pale of the Christian Church, to learn that they, of all people in Christendom, believe implicitly and literally in the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, and seek most earnestly to be guided by their teaching. The most illiterate among them know the sacred volume almost by heart, and are at all times ready to use its texts, —

"With apostolic blows and knocks,
To prove their doctrine orthodox."

This, their creed, is formulated from it: —

"1. We believe in God, the Eternal Father, his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

"2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

"3. We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

"4. We believe that these ordinances are: First, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, repentance; third, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

"5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by 'prophecy and by laying on of hands' by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

"6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church; namely, apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.

"7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretations of tongues, etc.

"8. We believe the Bible to be the Word of God, as far as it is translated correctly. We also believe the 'Book of Mormon' to be the Word of God.

"9. We believe that God has revealed, and that He does now reveal; and we

believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

"10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and of the restoration of the ten tribes; that Zion will be built upon this continent: that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its Paradisaic glory.

"11. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

"12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates; in obeying, knowing, and sustaining the law.

"13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, 'We believe all things, hope all things' We have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things."

The rules of one of their orders command a spirit of reverence, paternal affection, and pure morality: —

"1. We will not take the name of the Deity in vain, nor speak lightly of His character or of sacred things.

"2. We will pray with our families morning and evening, and also attend to secret prayer.

"3. We will observe and keep the word of wisdom according to the meaning and spirit thereof.

"4. We will treat our families with due kindness and affection, and set before them an example worthy of imitation in our families and intercourse with all persons We will refrain from being contentious or quarrelsome; we will cease to speak evil of each other, and will cultivate a spirit of charity toward all. We consider it our duty to seek the interest of each other and the salvation of all mankind.

"5. We will observe personal cleanliness, and preserve ourselves in all chastity. We will also discountenance and refrain from all vulgar and obscene language and conduct.

"6. We will observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy, in accordance with the revelations."

Such was the Mormon religion as at first established. It is now the same among a large sect of the "Latter Day Saints," who are called Josephites because they insist that Joseph Smith never promulgated the revelation of polygamy; and, with the addition of that "revelation," it is still the prevailing religion of Utah. It matters little for our present purpose whether Smith did inculcate this practice or not. There is very strong proof that he did, and that the occasion for it was the gratification of his own sensual appetite, which he endeavored to excuse by pretending that he was obeying a new command from heaven. At any rate there stands the religion of Utah to-day, with its excellences, which must be acknowledged by every candid mind, its fanciful ideas about the corporeal substance of the Deity, the location of the future state, baptism for the dead, the

continued increase of families in heaven, and many other queer notions too abundant for enumeration here, but all of them of no importance to us or of sufficient interest to be considered at length, and its one festering excrescence, which we all desire to extirpate. It is enough to say that a people who profess a religion with a foundation like this, and who practise most of its precepts, cannot in the nature of things be guilty of all the abominable crimes of which they stand accused.

The Mormon Church has always courted persecution; it has thrived upon it from its inception. Long before the revelation of polygamy it was sufficiently aggressive in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois to bring upon it the hatred of its neighbors without any really legal cause. Envy of the prosperity of the Mormons and a desire to drive them out in order to gain possession of their cultivated lands, added to a dislike of the new religion, were undoubtedly prevailing motives, though it cannot be denied that Joseph Smith was a troublesome and uncompromising fellow. All this finally culminated in his assassination,—a cruel death for him, but a joyful new birth for the church. Then, in the estimation of his followers, the mission of their Prophet became indeed second only to that of the great Redeemer; and thus it is venerated to this day.

Brigham Young was his successor. Taking advantage of their newly aroused zeal and fanaticism he represented himself as another Moses, who would lead them out of a land of bondage to a new land of promise beyond the Rocky Mountains, which God had shown him in a vision. The story has been often told of this exodus; of the long, toilsome journey over the unexplored plains and mountains, when men and women dragged their infants and their small worldly possessions in handcarts on alkaline deserts and through winter snows, fainting, dying by the way, but never flinching, not one of them turning back; marching on with a faith that overcame every privation and torture of life, that triumphed over death itself in an assured hope of immortality.

These were not "the ignorant masses from Europe." They were mostly men and women of New England blood. The seed from which they sprung was planted on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, grown to maturity in a hardihood of religious obstinacy which made the accomplishment of such a stupendous undertaking possible. The journey of Moses and the Israelites pales into insignificance compared with this. Accepting Jewish revelation, while we ridicule that of the Mormons, we see Jehovah on the side of the Israelites, leading them on with fiery and cloudy pillars, tormenting their persecutors with plague, pestilence, and famine; opening the sea for them, making water to gush from the rock, raining down food, fighting their battles while they continually repined and apostatized. At last, ungrateful as they were, they came to a land of plenty, prepared by

the hands of strangers for their occupation. Not so with the "Latter Day Saints." As they emerged from Emigration Cañon on the 24th day of July, 1847, their leader pointed out their promised land,—a desert where only the sage-bush could grow. They marched a few miles before he cried halt. Then every one fell on his knees. A fervent prayer of thanksgiving was offered, and there was a universal loud "Amen!" It echoed back in the Rocky Mountains, as it now echoes Sunday after Sunday from ten thousand voices in the Tabernacle which they have built.

Are we to believe that the man who could inspire such a lofty faith in the souls of his followers ; who could redeem the word that he had pledged to them, by leading the mountain streams through these alkaline wastes until they were so permeated that this valley became, long before his death, one of the most fertile in the world ; who built up this lovely little city of incomparable beauty, full of fruit gardens, with wide shaded streets, by the sides of which the running streams play their ceaseless music ; who taught his people how to cultivate the soil, built mills and factories, and in short, by his far-seeing knowledge and indomitable will, conferred blessings upon them and their co-religionists who have since been brought here from their homes of poverty abroad,—are we to believe that he was "one of the very worst and meanest of men ;" that he "robbed his people for thirty years,—robbed them by wholesale and retail ;" and that he did every other conceivable thing that was bad, more than there is space now to quote ? Although I knew him well, I never knew whether he was sincere in his own faith or not ; but he fully believed that this faith was good for the people,—and so it was. He had a kind heart. It was a most atrocious libel to accuse him of the guilt of the Mountain Meadows massacre. His natural instincts, as well as his policy, would have revolted against such a crime ; for the prosperity of Utah depended in a great degree on exchanges with emigrants, who always, excepting in this instance, had received mutual benefit from trade. Whoever incited that tragedy, on whatever side the original blame may lie, certainly nothing of it can be imputed to Brigham Young.

But his faults were prominent, and most deplorable. He may have been a hypocrite : God only knew. If we adopt the charitable conclusions of Sir Walter Scott in analyzing the character of Cromwell, whom in many respects Young resembled, we may believe that he did not know himself :—

"His religion must always be a subject of much doubt, and probably of doubt which he himself could hardly have cleared up. Unquestionably there was a time in his life when he was sincerely enthusiastic, and when his natural temper, slightly subject to hypochondria, was strongly agitated by the same fanaticism which influenced so many persons of the time. On the other hand, there were periods during his political career when we certainly do him no injustice in charging him with a

hypocritical affectation. We shall probably judge him and others of the same age most truly, if we suppose that their religious professions were partly influential in their own breasts, partly assumed in compliance with their own interest; and so ingenious is the human heart in deceiving itself as well as others, that it is probable neither Cromwell himself, nor those making similar pretensions to distinguished piety, could exactly have fixed the point at which their enthusiasm terminated and their hypocrisy commenced: or rather, it was a point not fixed in itself, but fluctuating with the state of health, of good or bad fortune, of high or low spirits, affecting the individual at the period."

Brigham Young was a gross sensualist, and when passion subsided it was replaced by the most grasping avarice. It grew upon him continually, until death came, — none too soon to relieve his reputation of former years from the balance which was rapidly counting up against it. At his funeral the people mourned for the days of his departed glory, and were resigned because no further shadow could creep over their light.

The final settlement of the Mormons in the Salt Lake Valley was determined upon by Brigham Young mainly because it was upon Mexican territory. He fondly hoped that the Rocky Mountains would form a perpetual barrier between his people and those of the United States, and that a civilization based upon an absolute theocracy would rival in success that of ancient Israel, under a similar special protection of God. The New England Puritans entertained the same idea when they escaped from the intolerance of the mother country. With them independence signified freedom from oppression and liberty to oppress. But as the Massachusetts of to-day is not the Massachusetts of the seventeenth century, so the present Utah is not the Utah of thirty years ago. More than a hundred years were needed to enlighten New England; but light travels faster now, and to-day no one is molested in Utah because of his religious belief. Persecution of witches, Quakers, and Baptists is buried with "blood atonement" in the grave of the past. The green sods must soon be piled upon polygamy; but Calvinism and Mormonism, shorn of their atrocities, will survive as Christian sects, alike entitled to the influence which they can legitimately exert.

While the assertion of Mr. Goodwin that the Mormon Church is an absolute despotism is so broad as to carry its refutation with it, Mr. Cannon errs equally in the opposite direction by giving one the impression that the church does not dictate the votes of the people. When, at Conference time, the names of fifty or more appointees or missionaries have been announced from the pulpit, and ten or twelve thousand hands have gone up in their favor, has any one ever seen a single sign of opposition on the negative being called? It would not be politic to propose secular officers in the same way. This is done in the church newspaper organ, and the vote for them is likewise

unanimous. Nor has any one the right to complain. There is the same unanimity on the other side for Gentile candidates.

While Mr. Goodwin is wrong in his remark that "almost all the leaders are of foreign birth," he would have been right in saying that almost all the additions to the church are imported from abroad, and that, generally speaking, they are too ignorant on arrival to care for themselves. Therefore it is a wise and kindly organization which parcels them out in different districts, and appoints the most intelligent men in the settlements to preside over them as "bishops," — an office they hold, not implying gown, bands, and missals, but, besides conducting religious meetings, it includes the direction of the laity "in temporal affairs," which forms Mr. Goodwin's chief cause of complaint. If he had travelled through the valleys of Utah, he would have seen the excellent results of this system in the industry, sobriety, frugality, and general good behavior of these immigrants, which so soon replace the slavery and poverty in which many of them had heretofore lived. He would have seen how forcible is the complaint of the thirty or forty lawyers of Salt Lake, whose whole business is now derived from the quarrels of Gentiles in the mining camps, that they can make nothing out of the Mormons. He might have been present at a Mormon Court, where the President of the "Stake" presides over twelve counsellors chosen by agreement, six facing the other six, the plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses sitting between them; he would have heard the court opened with prayer, a ceremony which he derides, and then he would have listened to the story as told by the parties at issue, the statement of their witnesses, the decision of the president (subject to an objection from any one of the council), a verdict arrived at by a vote, followed by a shaking of hands by the contestants, another prayer for their future peace, and an adjournment after all had broken bread in fraternal love, the cost of the suit being nothing to either party. It is only in towns of a large and mixed population like that of Salt Lake City that police courts are required. The complaints of the Gentiles that they are oppressed by the local jurisdiction of the Mormon Church is absurd. If the Mormons are oppressed by it they are willing to bear the burden. The continual cry of the Mormons that they are persecuted by the Federal Court has likewise for the most part no foundation. If they persist in the crime of polygamy, they must expect to be punished when convicted. I am aware of only two instances of unjust, although perhaps of not technically illegal, interference with them in other matters. On one occasion the city undertook in a summary way to put an end to rum-selling, and on another to abolish prostitution. Liquors were started into the gutters, and the inmates of houses of ill fame and their furniture were turned into the streets. For these offences against individuals the Federal authorities obliged

the corporation to pay so roundly that the Gentile morals have not since been interfered with. In no territory of the Union can there be found an equal proportion of settlers who, upon the whole, are happier and more contented with their lot. If they are ignorant when they arrive, the young soon acquire the learning which the common schools afford. Moreover, in the remote settlements as well as in the larger towns, knowledge is derived from sources not generally accessible to men on the frontier. Mormon missionaries who are scattered over the world are constantly returning when their terms of service have expired, bringing with them stores of information from abroad, which they distribute in conversation and lectures at home. "Preach the gospel," said President Taylor to a crowd of these men who were appointed at the last Conference, "but keep your eyes and ears open. Learn all you can about everything, and bring it back for the instruction of your friends."

There is a university in Salt Lake City where the languages, classics, and sciences are taught by competent professors. The "world's books" are freely used and circulated in families as well as in schools. Clergymen of all denominations are welcome to preach in their meeting-houses and in the Tabernacle, either on topics in which all Christians can agree, or to discuss Mormonism if they choose, upon the sole condition that they will acknowledge the inspiration of the whole Bible. This conceded, the Mormons conceive that they stand upon their own ground, any one of them, like Elijah, fully competent to contend against four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, even without the aid of fire from heaven.

Nor is it fair, because they are as a rule disobedient in opinion to one law of the land, to make the sweeping accusation that they are disloyal. When on their march across the plains, the Mormon legion of five hundred young men, who least of all could be spared at that critical period, went to the war to fight for a cause which was the means of making their new home American, although probably they did not anticipate such a result. All their disloyalty now consists in the refusal to believe that one single law is just, — not to the supposed extent in the violation of it.

The census of Utah has been thus returned: Total, 143,907. Males, 74,471; females, 69,436. Native born, 99,974; foreign born, 43,933. There are 5,035 more males than females in this community, where every man is supposed to own a harem! Of the whole population, 20,000 in round numbers are Gentiles, leaving 124,000 Mormons. Of these it has been carefully computed that about 3,000 of the males and 7,000 of the females, the majority of them old people, are living in a state of polygamy. Young men and women have seen its evil effects in the families of their parents, and need not be urged to

avoid it. Indeed, the most powerful preaching fails to induce its continuance, now that the introduction of the fashions has enhanced the cost of living so that the support of more than one wife, in the large towns, is an expense which a husband does not willingly incur. There are women who have been made the victims of lust by the argument that they would thus secure a heavenly inheritance to compensate for their earthly self-sacrifice. If they desire to be released from bondage, generosity can be manifested in no better way than by supporting them independently. Most of the "plural wives" of the present time come from those Scandinavian lands where chastity is scarcely considered a virtue, but is readily yielded for earthly profit, to say nothing of celestial glory. There is a market for them in the small settlements and on ranches, where they prefer to be members of the family, even of the second or third grade, rather than to accept the position of servants. On such women sympathy is wasted. They are criminals equally with the men. On their arrival at Castle Garden they should be instructed upon the consequences of their violation of the statute; and then, if Government considers the abolition of polygamy a matter of as much importance as the police of our cities regard the suppression of houses of ill fame, let it make similar periodical raids on the farm-houses of Utah. What more, in addition to carrying out the present laws, can be done to hasten the work which railroads, newspapers, and fashions are fast accomplishing?

The various religious sects, so abundant in Salt Lake City, exert an influence with their schools, while they scarcely ever convert the adults to their creeds. Many of them become apostates; and these apostates become spiritualists, or infidels. Gentile example is destroying polygamy and introducing many refinements; but the harm it is doing in other directions has not been calculated. It has advanced education, but it is robbing this simple people of their faith and of their sobriety. Far better would it be to reform Mormonism, rather than to attempt its suppression. Encourage the "Josephites," the anti-polygamists, in their missionary work, so that Mormonism may become as pure and undefiled as any other Christian sect. What will it matter if men choose to believe that Joseph Smith was a saint and a martyr? The Catholic Church has hundreds of saints and a noble army of martyrs. No one cares about its reverence of old dogmas and old bones.

The complaints of ostracism in society on the part of Gentiles and Mormons are alike well founded. It is the fault of both. The former, equally "under the control of their bosses" with the latter, cannot or dare not associate with people who are supposed to be wallowing in the sink of iniquity. The least approach to a kindly feeling toward them excludes them from their own society, bringing upon them the

reproach of "Jack Mormonism," — a condition which may be likened to the position of Mahomet's coffin. On the other hand, the Mormons are jealous of the aggressive missionary spirit, fearing its influence on their children. Confident of a superior "exaltation" in the other world over their fellow Christians, they look upon them here with indifference, if not with contempt. Thus in the capital there is a lamentable state of society, which renders a residence in it far from being desirable. There are Gentile and Mormon receptions of Presidents and other public men; Gentile and Mormon newspapers, banks, stores, theatres, and celebrations of the Fourth of July. Segments of both parties who are inclined to liberality are restrained from its exercise by the influence of their majorities. This condition of neighborhood is common in a smaller degree to all limited and secluded communities, and cannot be overcome by argument or legislation.

After all, what is polygamy as a factor in the discussion of Mormonism? It is merely a weapon in the hands of the combatants on both sides. Neither party cares for the bone, except for the purpose of contention. Neither at heart wishes to have the practice abolished. The church keeps its hand upon it solely in order to court "persecution." By relinquishing it Utah could become a State, with a Mormon governor, a Mormon judiciary, and with every office under Mormon control. Yet, for all these advantages, the church will not resign its great capital, which has always paid it such a high rate of interest. On the other hand, the Gentiles are apprehensive of the treatment which they might receive from the Mormons, and of taxation upon their peculiar industries, if the power which their small minority now holds in the territory should fall into the hands of the great majority. With neither is polygamy the true issue. On the part of the Gentiles, Mr. Goodwin candidly, though somewhat too abundantly, confesses: —

"The control of the chiefs, as in Mahometan countries, is absolute; their organization superb; the discipline of the people perfect. From tithes \$1,000,000 annually is collected, with which to strengthen their position. They are a hardy race, indifferent to hardships and privations. Already they are such a power that demagogues in their own country, other demagogues in Congress, and great moneyed corporations with their subsidized newspapers pander to them; and it is plain that this institution, which was jeered at but a few years ago, has now become an absolute terror and menace to the United States. The organization is governed by a code which is said to be a close copy of that which prevailed in Peru under the rule of the Incas."

There is some truth, while there is a great deal of exaggeration and no little of downright absurdity, in all that. But this much is fact: The Mormons have a most effective organization. They have already settled nearly all the arable land of Utah. They are pushing their

emigration into the neighboring territories. One of their chief apostles is now in Mexico, and it is credibly reported that he is in treaty with the Government for the purchase of a large tract of land for colonization, with the guarantee of absolute religious freedom in doctrine and practice. Ere long there need be no further discussion of polygamy in our own borders. In view of the propagandism of the Mormon Church, when that is no longer practised, the question before the American people will be, Is it desirable to restrain it? And, if so, what authority does the Constitution of the United States confer upon the Government to interfere?

JOHN CODMAN.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF PRISON REFORM.

WHY do we not reform our prisons? Why are abuses, which every intelligent citizen admits and deplors, permitted to exist from year to year in our penal institutions, until we have come to regard them as almost inseparable from our prison system? Why is the separation of the hardened criminals, the adepts and experts in crime, from the younger and less vicious offenders neglected or ignored in most of our States? Why are our jails, with scarcely an exception, schools and nurseries of crime? Why is political service a better passport to official position in most of our prisons, than the most unquestioned fitness for the duty to be performed? Why is the idea of reforming the prisoner and restoring him to the citizenship he has forfeited almost eliminated from the theory and practice of our prison wardens? Why, in spite of all the severity and repulsiveness of prison life, do men return to it again and again? Why does the increase of the population of our prisons exceed in a threefold ratio that of the country at large?

These are a few of the questions which force themselves upon us, whenever we attempt to give more than a passing glance at crime and its treatment; and it is the purpose of this paper to answer them as succinctly yet as clearly as is possible with such powers and experience as the writer possesses.

To plan a tolerably perfect prison system is not a very difficult matter. We fail to meet the requirements of the case, not from any want of facts upon which to base our schemes, so much as from our lack of will or of power to contrive and apply them. The English have successfully demonstrated the advantages of the cellular system of confinement, both as a punishment and a preventive of crime.

The able and zealous director of the Reform School of Hardwick in Gloucestershire, England, after relating the wonderful story of the decrease of the criminal population of his county (from between five and six hundred in 1843 to one hundred and seventy-six in 1876), declares : —

“I do not doubt that this happy result has been in great part due to the fact, that since 1846 we have been able to confine persons accused of crime in separate cells. . . . It seems to me incontestable, that the mixture of criminals of all grades, the facility of communication that makes the most hardened, proficient criminals the instructors of the others, must have the worst consequences, and make rascals of citizens who might otherwise have been useful to themselves and to their country.”

No one doubts this who knows anything at all about the facts ; yet this mixture goes on in its deadliest and most hurtful form in nearly every jail, and in many of the prisons, of our country.

Sir Walter Crofton, in Ireland, long ago proved the possibility of making convicts their own guards and the superintendents of their own labor to a very great extent ; also the feasibility of substituting the element of hope for the power of fear as a stimulant to labor and good conduct, and thereby the possibility of reform of the most thorough character in criminals of a class generally considered hopeless. Colonel Montesinos, with far less assistance, and even greater difficulties to contend with, has done the same in Spain ; and Maconochie's brief but brilliant experiment at Norfolk Island has placed the impossible in the matter of reforming criminals at a point far more remote than the most enthusiastic philanthropist would have dared to put it before. In Sweden and Belgium, where the zealous efforts of the reformers have been ably and intelligently assisted by their respective governments, the results have been equally gratifying and instructive.

In this country, the Pillsburys in New Hampshire and New York, Vaux in the eastern and Cordier in the western penitentiaries of Pennsylvania, Brockway in the Elmira Reformatory, — one of the most hopeful and encouraging features of American prison history, — with many others almost as able, intelligent, and earnest, have gone over parts or the whole of the same ground with results nearly similar. There is scarcely a detail in the ideal system of prison management which has not been abundantly tested somewhere. We have records of failures from lack of support, or from want of fitness in the agents to whom the work has been committed ; but we have also reports of successes, every one of which is conclusive. For “what man has done, man may do.” If it is possible to embody the highest and best ideas of prison management in one place, and with one company of convicts, and to carry them out successfully for a long period of years,

it can be done in another. If prisoners can be made to build their own prison with a skill and a rapidity of execution unsurpassed by free workmen, at Wormwood Scrubs in England; if they can be intrusted with ordinary farm labors without danger of escape under the Crofton system; if they can be their own efficient watchmen and foremen under Montesinos; if they have the latent fire of self-respect, which is seldom hopelessly extinguished in any human being, rekindled by Brockway; if fallen, hopeless women (the class whom one of the most enlightened and zealous of French reformers has set down as irreclaimable) can be brought back to useful lives by Miss Smith, and others among ourselves,—the way is open before us to repeat and amplify all that has succeeded. Even the failures themselves are eloquent and able aids in teaching us what to avoid, where connecting links are necessary, and where our plans may be strengthened in one place or weakened in another. There is no question of the practicability of a prison system which, while it will punish crime with just sternness, will invite and assist the reform of the criminal; and do both these things without drawing upon the State treasury for support.

The scheme which comes short materially in either of these particulars is, so far, disastrous. This is the least that the community should demand from its prison service; and less than this it ought not to accept without the strongest protest. For the penal system which does not punish crime will never successfully repress it; the one which fails to cure the criminal instincts and tendencies of the prisoner, or to restrain him until they are cured, will graduate and turn loose upon society bodies of men, each of whom is an active centre of criminal influence,—a teacher and promoter of evil, degraded and brutalized by the very means which have failed to improve him; while the taxation of honest men for the subsistence of criminals who are able to support themselves by their own labor, is legalized robbery of the worst description. There is no real need of our failure in any of these respects.

Yet we do fail in all of them, with the partial exception of the first. We do manage to punish pretty generally, sometimes with absolute cruelty, but seldom with the wise and just discrimination which makes severity thoroughly effective in its highest object,—the reform of the offender. Why is this? First, because of the indifference of the mass of our people to all but isolated details of the subject. Few of them visit our prisons, even for the gratification of their curiosity; and not one in a hundred, even of those who are reasonably intelligent, knows any thing at all of the nature and workings of the institutions for whose support he is taxed either directly or indirectly. Now and then some act of barbarity on the part of the keeper or his

aids, some outrageous fraud perpetrated upon the community by a warden of thieves, whose morality is scarcely of a higher grade than that of the convicts he is set to control, stirs the community to a temporary burst of indignation, of which the effects are about as discriminating as are the exploits of a mob. A legislative inquiry, in which each party does its utmost to make the most, or lose the least, political capital by respectively aggravating or belittling the business; a mass of evidence, confused, intricate, contradictory, thrown into a volume of which the very magnitude is a terror to ordinary readers, and in which one searches in vain for definite reasons for an opinion; a moderate quantity of whitewash, and an amount of lying not at all moderate,—and things fall back into the old ruts. What does the citizen learn from such processes? What does he know of the condition of the jail of his own county, it may be, within a mile of his own door? His daily paper very likely informs him that “the inmates of the bastile for this week have fallen to twenty-five in number,” or “risen to fifty;” but he never stops to analyze the statement,—to ask himself how many of these prisoners are boys of tender years; how many are tramps, seeking warmth, food, and shelter for a few days; how many are abandoned women of the worst and most degraded habits; how many are only accused of crime, and possibly innocent; how many are witnesses, detained for the simple fault of having seen the commission of an offence against the laws; and how many more are convicts, condemned to imprisonment for greater or less crimes. He seldom pauses to consider that this reeking, seething mass of humanity is huddled generally into the common halls and yards of the institution for days together, without distinction of age, sex, guilt, or innocence; that the time must be worn away by them in idleness, and is passed in conversation too foul for repetition, in gaming, and in instruction in vice and immorality, often in crime. He forgets, too, just what he might, with the delicate arrangement of his pocket nerve, be most likely to remember,—that all this is immoderately extravagant and expensive; that it costs a great deal more to keep men in the idleness of the jail than in the State prison, where they would earn a part or the whole of the expense, and that a fair proportion of this cost is paid with his taxes. He ignores completely the fact that the jail is the most effective of feeders to the State prison; and that if the population of the latter is ever to be sensibly diminished, and its management thoroughly reformed, it will only be after the preparatory institution has gone through an entire and fundamental reconstruction. To attempt the former without the latter is to cleanse the stream without removing the impurity of the fountain. But the reform of the jails is only possible by the aid of the citizens; and if the citizen refuses to give it, what is to be done?

This indifference, the one thing against which the gods were said to war unequally, meets us at every step of our progress. It is the source of nearly all the evils in our prison system in the beginning, and the principal obstacle in the way of their removal. The people can do all things when they take the trouble to act, but they will not take the trouble. They do not care. "I thought," said one of the most earnest and unselfish citizens of New Jersey, who was appointed some years ago to examine the jails of the State, "that their abomination could not survive our report. But no one seems to have taken the trouble to read it."

The next hindrance is a part of the governmental system of our country. To attain the highest excellence of design and execution, the prison system of a nation should be a unit. With one penal code, and one central organization with a responsible head, many of the minor difficulties of administration would vanish. Take for an illustration of this the distribution and regulation of convict labor,—a matter which has constituted for several years past one of the persistent vexations of our State legislators, who are besieged every session by delegations from manufacturers' and trades' unions, demanding the abolition of certain systems of working convicts, or the prohibition or limitation of their employment in particular branches of industry, in which it is insisted that free workmen are injured by the competition of the prisons. On this subject labor and capital have agreed to forget their chronic differences; and with the political influence controlled by their organizations on the one hand, and the indifference of the great body of the people on the other, it seems likely that at no distant day all productive industries may be excluded from the prisons, and their support thrown entirely upon the community. But these agitators insist that they would be wholly satisfied with such a regulation of prison labor as would distribute it among the several trades in a ratio proportioned or approximate to the number of free workmen employed in the same branches. This might be done easily if the prisons were controlled by the General Government; but with thirty-eight distinct systems and establishments, each entirely independent of all the others, it is impossible. Each State must consider the interests of its own people, rather than those of its neighbors; and those interests vary widely. Particular industries group themselves obstinately in a few restricted localities, and refuse to take permanent root elsewhere. Thus the hat manufacturers of the United States may be found almost wholly within a hundred miles of New York City; the stove-makers cling to the Hudson River and the neighborhood of Philadelphia; and nearly all the shoe-makers are established in the neighborhoods of Boston and Philadelphia. The fifty thousand shoe-makers

of Massachusetts might succeed in excluding the manufacture of shoes from the prisons of their State ; but if the capital and machinery now employed in that business in those prisons were to be transported to those of another State — Iowa or Kansas for instance — in which the business has no foothold as yet, the people of those States, relieved, as might easily be the case, from the competition of their convicts in their own industries, would pay very little heed to the complaints of the Massachusetts shoe men, who would find the same quantity of prison-made goods poured into the general market, and their own prison industries languishing and crippled by the withdrawal from them of an easy and lucrative branch of trade. So, again, the stove men of New York might succeed in driving Perry & Co. from Sing Sing prison, where they now work nine hundred men. But if that enterprising firm should step over into New Jersey, in which scarcely a stove is now made, and take up the eight hundred or more convicts at Trenton, the only persons benefited by the operation would be the shoe men of Newark and Philadelphia, who now imagine themselves badly hurt by the Trenton prison. The stoves would go into New York and Philadelphia as easily from Trenton as from Sing Sing ; and the New York moulders would have injured their own State for the benefit of New Jersey, without helping themselves at all. State lines are arbitrary. Trade and commerce ignore them. Commercially we are one country. The great avenues of intercourse and transportation sweep across us in every direction, without the slightest notice of the divisions between us. Our agricultural States pour the fruits of their cheap and fertile lands into our seaboard and manufacturing centres ; the latter distribute their wares from one end of the Union to the other, without a thought of the sovereign rights of either. But the moment a question like the one before us arises, a thousand differences spring up, and an inter-State accommodation is impossible.

Suppose, on the other hand, a national prison system. Under it, if any branch of industry was found to suffer from convict competition, it could be stricken from the list of employments. The number of persons employed in any trade in all the prisons could be known and adjusted at the central bureau without difficulty, and the interests of particular localities could be consulted, so as to interfere as little as possible with free labor. The amount and effect of convict competition is unquestionably exaggerated immensely by the trades' unions and labor reformers. The absence of exact statistics of labor has favored, and will continue to favor, this exaggeration. But it matters very little whether the estimates of these people are true or false, so long as they persist in holding and acting upon them. They have the power to make them a serious disturbance in politics and in legis-

lation, and it is not to be supposed that they will cease to use it. By national action, if our General Government were possessed of the necessary powers, we could do away with this question, with all its vexations and its constant hindrances of prison reform growing out of the pertinacity with which its advocates hold all discussion to a side issue of the main question until the latter is lost sight of entirely. But the General Government has not the necessary powers ; and, with the strong and inherent jealousy of centralization which is a part of the American character, will probably never acquire such authority.

For a part of the price which a people must pay for the privilege of governing themselves, is, that they will not be governed with mathematical precision, and may be sometimes very much misgoverned. A Napoleon as chief of state, with the tremendous powers he wielded as the first consul of the French Republic, would solve many of our municipal difficulties very easily. Such as have been noted in the preceding pages would quickly disappear before a single strong arm, with twenty legions behind it. We could be governed far more simply and cheaply by an enlightened despot than we now govern, our large cities. But we have chosen, and wisely chosen, to do our ruling for ourselves ; to withdraw from our business or our pleasures a part of the time we might profitably devote to them, and give it to the management of our national and municipal affairs. Though our execution of them in particular cases (this of prison management is one of them) does not do us much credit, we have no reason to be ashamed of the results of our work, taken as a whole. General Butler might, and doubtless would, have cleaned the streets of New York in far less time, and without much more expense, than the Legislature of the State has expended in finding out how not to do it. But the people who, weary of the burdens of self-government, seek to relieve themselves by putting them upon an autocrat, may in the end meet the experience of the Italian principalities which invoked the Austrian to expel their own uneasy citizens.

As has been shown, national control of our prisons, desirable as it might be in many respects, is not probable in the near future. Each State then must act for herself, with such disadvantages as are inseparable from the situation. Each can frame and execute her laws so that they shall be, on the one hand, a terror to evil doers, and, on the other, aid in their reformation and restoration where help is possible. But the air-lines which inclose her will neither hold back the inhabitants of adjoining communities nor the influences they bring with them, as they ebb and flow across her boundaries ; and the advantages she should gain from the excellence of her own system

may be weakened and neutralized in proportion as those of her neighbors are faulty and inefficient.

The next difficulty to be noticed is political influence. Perhaps, in strict justice, this should have been placed at the head of the list, as it is the first one to meet, and the last to leave, us in every effort at prison reform.

Without joining in the clamor against political interference in our civil service, much of which is misdirected, it is easy to see that there are certain branches of administration into which partisan politics should never enter. Our prisons are among the very first of them, for obvious reasons. A prison system is a work of slow growth. Its details must be wrought out by study and experience ; and the ablest and most experienced of prison managers, if he is competent for his duties, will gain new light upon them every day. He cannot know his business too well at the best. He ought to make his work a profession, and devote his whole life to it. How is he to do this if he is to be the victim of every political revolution ? How is he to be just to the State and the prisoners if his official existence trembles in the balance at every election ; if not only he, but every one of his assistants to the lowest subordinate on the pay-roll, holds his position at the pleasure of the member of Assembly or the senator from his district ; if he must discharge officers he knows to be faithful and capable, and replace them with others of whom he knows nothing, or nothing good, for a political necessity ? It is simply absurd to expect men of the requisite qualifications to accept office upon such terms. Yet these are the terms upon which most of the prison officers of the United States hold their appointments. It was stated in 1879 that the wardenship of Sing Sing prison, with the management of its sixteen hundred convicts, had changed hands, on an average, once in about eighteen months for several years past. In that time the warden could scarcely have become accustomed to the routine of the prison, or little more ; yet no sooner had he begun to "feel his feet," than the ground was taken from under him. To expect any thorough reform in prison administration under such circumstances is preposterous. But what can we do ? The warden is the creature, let us say, of the governor. The governor, to accomplish his election or to secure his re-election, must make the offices in his gift the rewards of political service ; and the wardenship of the State prison is a tolerably lucrative post to an officer whose conscience does not annoy him. The man who is fitted for it will not seek it by the devious paths through which it is alone attainable ; and it goes, as a matter of course, to a political hack. Perhaps nothing has illustrated the blindness of certain reformers more than their ignoring this. They have concentrated their attacks upon details of prison management, the

methods of working convicts, their treatment in prison, and other matters,—all important and worthy of attention,—forgetting that systems and details were of little consequence so long as their execution was committed to those who were unfit or incompetent to manage them; and that to concede the control of a prison to the necessities of partisan politics was to insure such management and no other. Here is where the second step in reform must begin if it is to be worthy of the name. Let it be understood that our prisons shall be as entirely separated from partisan influences as our hospitals and our lunatic asylums; that prison officers shall be removed for cause only,—and most of the rest of our necessary improvements will follow as a matter of course. Till we can do this we may mend and patch, but we shall not reform.

The next difficulty to be noticed is *the want of trained officers*. This has been already touched incidentally, but needs further elucidation. We may build model prisons, furnish them with the best appliances, form for them perfect codes of rules, put them out of the reach of politics and keep them so, and yet we shall be far from success unless we can place at their head men thoroughly qualified for their duties; and these men are very rare indeed. We have thus far done little to encourage their development. If Nature endowed one with the rare gift of understanding and managing criminals, and threw him in our way, we are more likely to send him to make his way in other business than to accept him at his true value, and give him the opportunity to do us most essential service. The system we have adopted requires, as the first qualification of a State officer, influence at the polls. The man who would serve the American people in most places of trust or honor must either work for the privilege or pay for it, generally in "legal tenders." The warden of a State prison who cannot make his administration an efficient factor in the success of his party may be a most excellent man for the place, but we will have none of him. "I told our governor," said a very earnest and intelligent member of that governor's own political organization, "that the appointment of Mr. Blank to the post of _____ of _____ would not only honor the appointee, but insure to the State the service of an officer of rare experience and fitness; and that this, in my judgment, should outweigh partisan considerations. He listened to me very politely, but gave me to understand that he considered my ideas several years in advance of the times."

Now there is not entire unwisdom in very many of the removals from and appointments to office, in which political complexion is a decisive element. The majority once lawfully obtained has a right to rule; and with that has also the responsibility of ruling. How is it to be responsible for men whom it does not choose, and who may very

likely use their official position to undermine and destroy it? But the State prisons at least should be neutral ground, where partisans may sink their differences. The difficulty of managing them to the best advantage is so great, the number of men who can do it successfully is so small, the importance of allowing a good officer to devote himself without reserve to them, in full assurance that he may build from year to year undisturbed so long as he builds wisely, is so great, that partisanship of the political sort with regard to them is treason to the State.

But this is digression. There is no special school for training men for this special service, — a service as distinct as that of the army or the navy. A good chief can select and gather round him the men who will best carry out his plans and be fittest to take up his work when he leaves it. When the Prison Labor Commissions of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey held their joint conference at the St. Nicholas Hotel in New York, in 1879, this matter was a prominent feature in their discussions. The Elmira Reformatory had been mentioned by one of the gentlemen present in terms of commendation, warm and hearty, but not one whit more so than it deserved. "But," said another, "that institution, noble and successful as it is, depends upon a single man. Let Mr. Brockway be removed from it, and it is a watch without a main-spring." Dr. Elisha Harris replies : —

"No! I must say that I know that it is a part of Mr. Brockway's plan and duty so to organize his affairs that were he to die to-night the machinery would run on. Any great workman like him will not let anything depend upon his own individuality. Mr. Brockway was brought here for the purpose of impressing his great experience and individuality in all respects upon this prison, because he is a specially peculiar man, as General Pillsbury and his father in New Hampshire were. If you are acquainted with General Meigs, the Quartermaster-General of the United States, you would say that it is not strange that, after all, the war was a success, though at times the pontoon bridges did not get into place; and if General Meigs were to die to-day, the methods of his office, the construction of the public service under his hands, have received such an impress that his life is not necessary to the continuance of his work. It is just so with Mr. Brockway; and there need be no anxiety for what may occur in the appointments of Providence in that respect. *We have got to have such men.* There is the first point, — to have such men, and to consider the duty of training and maintaining a considerable number of men as prison masters."

Dr. Harris puts the whole matter in a nut-shell. Men who can not only manage prisons in the best manner themselves, but who will attract to their side and hold about them assistants who can take up the good work and carry it forward when they are gone, are necessities in prison reform. We have a few such men; a few women, also, equally effective in the even more difficult duty of managing

female convicts. But we need ten or twenty for every one we now have; and this need, until we can supply it, is and must be one of the great difficulties in the way of reforming our prisons.

Another matter, less important but of more than sufficient magnitude, is the lack of any system of penitentiary statistics in this country. We know almost nothing of the previous history of our criminals. We cannot identify with anything like certainty those who have been previously committed to our prisons. Each State is supposed to keep and use records of the convictions which take place in its courts; each might with little difficulty interchange with the others. Napoleon desired that his Minister of Justice should have always at hand the biography of all criminals, — since the best of all elements of judgment as to the moral curability of an offender is a knowledge of his past. The French have since that time realized the idea of the Emperor in their *casiers judiciaires*, in which the antecedents of any person in France who has been in the hands of justice are set down with unerring certainty, and may be referred to at any time. The tremendous efficiency of such a system in detecting and tracing crime should be enough to secure its adoption. We need it as a preventive; but we need it equally as a remedy. Part of Mr. Brockway's system consists in obtaining this history of each of his charges. The facts which he collects are among his principal aids in making his institution indeed a reformatory. But we should be able to go further still. Dr. Wines, in an admirable paper prepared for the Prison Reform Conference at Newport in 1877, and adopted by it with slight modifications, says on this subject: —

“Indeed, it may be said to be almost essential to broad and solid progress in this department of social science and of the public service. The laws of social phenomena can be ascertained only through the accumulation of facts. Returns of such facts, carefully gathered from a wide field of observation and skilfully tabulated, are indispensable to enable us to judge of the effect of any law or system of laws which may have been put in operation. We want to know the facts; but a knowledge of the facts relating to so complex a subject as that of crime and criminal administration implies a mass of figures collected from all quarters, and arranged with reference to some well-defined end. The local and special are to little purpose; it is the general only that has value, — returns so numerous, so manifold, and drawn from so wide a field, and amid such diversified circumstances, as to give real significance to the results. We want an average; but to get it we must have scope and variety enough, both in the range and character of the returns, to be enabled to eliminate from them the local and accidental, and retain only the general and permanent. Only on this condition will our inferences be sound and safe, and we be able to feel that our conclusions rest, not upon mere incidents, which may be partial and immaterial, but upon the phenomena themselves, apart from variations which are temporary or adventitious.”

Well, in the acquisition of these “bottom facts” we have not yet made a beginning. We treat crime as a quack treats the cases brought

to him for cure, — from the observation of a single phase of it, developed generally under exceptional circumstances, and affording very little insight into its real nature. Our justice resembles her ancient prototype in one respect at least, — she is fearfully blind. We are apt to imagine that courts and juries have some heaven-born faculty for discovering the truth, when, alas ! their decisions are too often turned to one side or the other by trifles light as air. How is prison reform possible without intelligent administration of justice ? How is the convict to be made better by a sentence which he knows to be unjust ? How is the judge or the warden to decide justly, either as to the guilt or the treatment of the criminal, without some certain knowledge of the antecedents of his crime ?

Finally, one of the great hindrances to prison reform is the sort of sentimentalism with which many very excellent people have come to regard both crime and criminals. The analogies between crime and disease are so convenient and apt as to be easily overestimated. Crime is undoubtedly a disease, or the effect of a diseased moral organization ; but it is a disease the treatment of which must be of necessity somewhat heroic, — a disease in which the knife must sometimes be applied, if the patient is to be thoroughly cured. We are in danger sometimes of forgetting, in our horror of over-severity, that the greatest possible kindness to a criminal is a severity which is inflexibly just. The rules of a prison should not be lightly made ; but once adopted they should be enforced to the letter. Then the convict, if he is to be reformed at all, — if his evil thoughts and inclinations are to be driven out of him, his bad habits broken, — must work, and work to his full daily capacity. If he cannot do one kind of work, another should be found for him ; if he can be taught to take a pride in the quantity or quality of his work, so much the better : but at all events let him work, and work hard. The habit of steady, regular employment is in itself an immense moral lever. With such a habit men do not easily fall into crime. With such a habit on leaving prison, the time when the reformation of the convict is certain to be tested most severely, there is a chance for him. The man who can and will labor steadily and well may be saved ; the one who cannot or will not is not worth saving.

Such are the difficulties of prison reform. They are serious enough to dismay the feeble and faint-hearted ; but they are not insuperable. Their removal will require long, patient, and earnest labor ; the hope that will not be discouraged ; the love that endureth all things ; the faith to which all things are possible. But it can be accomplished.

A. S. MEYRICK.

PAYMENT OF PUBLIC DEBTS.

THE question of debt-payment is, at present, claiming a large share of public attention. Opinions respecting debt-management are quite freely expressed, the occasion for this discussion being the attempted refunding of maturing obligations by the last Congress and the necessity for that question again to arise at the next session. If one regard the opinions expressed in this discussion, he will not observe such harmony as to indicate perfect unanimity of sentiment. The policy of curtailing the expenses of the government through the refunding of existing obligations at lower rates of interest is accepted by all as sound financiering; but whether the sum thus saved shall be applied to the service of the sinking fund or to the reduction of taxes; whether sound policy point to the adoption of long-time bonds with interest the lowest possible, or to bonds of shorter time, in which case the rate of interest would be somewhat higher; how the Government should place its bonds; whether any coercive measures should be adopted that this placing may prove successful,—these and many other questions which are involved in the refunding agitation have been the occasion of divergent opinions. It is not my purpose in the present article to enter upon any of the lines of study here suggested, except such as grow out of the general question of debt-payment; and it is believed to be not inappropriate at the present time that this question should receive careful attention, and be submitted to as strict an analysis as the study of the best financiers and the practice of nations render possible.

With regard to debt-payment, the policy which this country has adopted fails to find support in the general policies of nations. Since 1848 many States have begun to incur public debts, while there are but few which have begun to discharge them. Of the great States, Prussia alone has kept herself clear of the evils attendant upon this dangerous method of financiering. England, Holland, and the United States are the only nations which are making honorable and effective endeavors to free themselves from their obligations. With these exceptions, the permanent debt-policy appears to have been almost universally adopted. The Latin peoples, whether in Europe or South America, as well as the peoples of eastern and western Asiatic civilization which have come in contact with and adopted European methods, do not attach much importance to the necessity of reducing the principal of their public debts. It is possible to observe, respect-

ing this point, one of the strongly marked peculiarities of the Latin as distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon races. What the cause of this may be is a query for others to answer; the fact is introduced here merely as a fact, for the purpose of showing that the American debt-policy is not the only one which rational people defend; and that, in consequence, a serious discussion of the question whether or not debts ought to be paid is a practical one, since, whichever side one espouse, he may find support both in the practice of many States and in the writings of many financiers.

The opinions held in common by those who differ respecting the necessity of wiping out public obligations may be expressed as follows: Both agree (and in this both differ from the opinion held during the early years of this century) that a debt can only be paid by means of surplus revenue; and wherever the greater part of the revenue arise from taxes, it follows that extra taxes become a necessary part of a debt-paying policy. Both agree, in the second place, that the burden imposed upon industries through taxes should be as light as the circumstances in which the State finds itself will allow. Starting from this common ground, it must be recognized that they who urge debt-payment and they who advocate the maintenance of the principle of a debt by annual payment of interest differ not as regards the end sought, but only as to the most practicable means of securing this end. This may perhaps be more readily discerned when we notice what constitutes the burden of a debt and the different methods which suggest themselves to the public financier for lessening that burden.

The factors which enter into the burden of a debt are the principal of the debt, or the amount to be paid; the annuity occasioned by the debt, or the annual interest paid; and the industrial condition of the country, or the underpinning of the debt. It is essential that this last factor be recognized, for the true conception of any burden is not attached merely to the weight carried, but compares that weight with the strength of the carrier. The point of divergence in theory between the two methods of financiering under consideration is found in the choice of the element which goes to make up the public burden, considered by the conflicting schools of finance as worthy the more attention. They who advocate debt-payment direct their attention chiefly to the principal of the debt, while they who would maintain the principal and pay only the annual interest address themselves wholly to the development of national industries or to the increase of the debt-bearing strength of the people. Each method, it will be observed, has a decided tendency to lessen the *burden* of the debt; the former by decreasing continually the necessity to pay taxes, the latter by increasing the power to bear taxes. The ques-

tion of debt-payment or debt-maintenance appears thus to be a question of method and not of principle.

There are two classic arguments put forward by those who defend what is termed the perpetual debt-policy, an analysis of which is required by any further study of this question. The first of these is found in the fact that the money standard in which debts are to be paid is, on account of the addition to the amount of money material and the continued extension of credit exchanges, gradually depreciating, and in consequence the weight of the debt is continually becoming lighter. This argument does not call for extended consideration. The fact which it states, as a general fact embracing the observed variations in the purchasing power of the precious metals from century to century, must be recognized ; although there is some reason to believe, if the data furnished by a writer in a recent number of the "London Statistical Journal" be accepted as valid, that this tendency has at the present time received a temporary check. However this may be, the working of this factor is too tardy to be of much practical importance. Before depreciation in the value of the paying unit could visibly affect a burden like that for example which the United States is at present bearing, an addition of a tenth of one per cent to the yearly interest would have wiped out the principal. Moreover, the argument assumes perpetual peace, which no nation has any just right to expect.

It is to the second argument for perpetual indebtedness that especial attention must be directed. The fact upon which this argument is based is, that the capacity of nations to produce wealth is steadily increasing, and that capital is growing ; hence the paying power of the nation is continually becoming stronger, and the burden of the debt, which is but the annual payment of interest, becomes lighter year by year without any direct attention from the Government. Why, it is urged, should high taxation be maintained to reduce the principal of the debt, when by the very fact that the nation lives and grows all the practical effect of debt-reduction is realized ? Take for example the case of England. In 1815 the pressure of her debt was nine per cent computed upon her income ; in 1880 it is less than three per cent. This reduction of burden has been effected by the growth of the nation, since the principal of her debt has been but slightly reduced. The actual result, so far as debt-burden is concerned, is the same as though two thirds of the principal had been paid and her wealth remained stationary. In France, also, one may discover the working of the same principle ; though here, instead of a reduction in the pressure of the debt while the principal remains constant, the pressure of the debt remains constant or is increased very slightly, while the capital sum is augmented. Thus the capital

sum of the French debt in 1840 was eight hundred and fifty million dollars, and in 1870 it was two thousand seven hundred and fifty million dollars; in 1880 the principal of the debt amounted to two thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight million dollars. The pressure of the charge on account of this debt upon the national income for the respective periods is found to be .022, .023, and .034. That is to say, the national income of France has increased at as rapid a rate as her debt; so that the burden of nearly four thousand millions of debt in 1880 is but one per cent greater than that of but eight and one half hundred millions in 1840. It is intended to give due weight to the truths embraced in these considerations, since the chief purpose of this article is to show that the argument based upon them in favor of a perpetual debt-policy is fallacious.

An analysis of this argument shows that its error does not lie in the facts upon which it is based, but in the major premise which must be assumed in order to employ those facts as a reason why public debts should not be paid. Thus one must maintain as the first premise that debt-payment retards the growth of a nation,—a position which, it is believed, an analysis of industrial society and a recognition of the effect of debt-payment upon the forces at work in it will show to be false. As opposed to this idea is placed the following proposition, which if substantiated will show not only that there is no necessary connection between debt-payment and slow national development, but also that rapid industrial development is obstructed by the maintenance of a public debt. This proposition is: The payment of the principal of a debt does not necessarily have any tendency to impoverish a nation or to obstruct its material development; but, on the other hand, the maintenance of the principal and the annual payment of interest tends to cripple the producing capacity of any State.

The two parts of this proposition should receive separate attention. And, first, does the payment of a debt injuriously affect the industries of a nation? If not, at what time in the process does a nation sustain loss on account of a loan? This latter inquiry must be answered before the statement embodied in the above proposition can be accepted; for it is universally recognized that somewhere in the process of loan management,—either at the time of debt-contraction, or during the period that the debt is sustained, or at the date of payment,—the nation sustains a burden on account of the adoption of the loan policy. If one reason from the analogy of private debts, he must come to the conclusion that this burden is found in the process of debt-payment. Reasoning of this kind is, however, entirely fallacious; for the State is not an individual. The State has no life separate from the united life of its citizens; it recognizes no interest

but the collective interest of those whom it represents. In the case of private debts, the point of view is that of a single individual. The debtor is a separate person from his creditor ; by payment of what he owes he loses control over a certain amount of capital, and his weight as an industrial factor is to that extent diminished : his business is curtailed on account of the payment. It is not so with a State. A State as a debtor is the corporate representative of all its citizens, — both they who hold obligations against it, and they from whose profit a percentage must be taken to satisfy those obligations. For the State, as an industrial organism, it is not of the slightest importance who holds and controls capital, provided it be well applied. The industrial condition of a State after the repayment of a debt is in no way inferior to its condition before repayment, measured by the amount of capital at hand with which to organize and perpetuate industries.

The point to be held in mind is that it is capital which a State borrows. The State wants and appropriates to its own use that which, had it not been thus appropriated, might have been applied to some productive industry under private control. The obligations which the State creates against itself are written in the language of money because that is the only language known for the expression of indebtedness. The State receives money only to effect the transfer to itself of control over existing capital.

Suppose the State to have borrowed a billion dollars : industrial society is not thereby *necessarily* rendered any the poorer. Its producing capacity so far as capital is concerned is as great as before. Before the loan the nation was possessed of a certain amount of capital, distributed in a thousand funds under the control of a thousand names. After the loan the nation as a whole holds the same amount of capital as before, the only difference being that the control over it has passed to the State. Now whether this operation be industrially detrimental or not depends upon the use to which the State puts the capital. If it be consumed in war, the State is thereby impoverished to the extent of the unproductive consumption, since capital, in the form of bacon, flour, clothes, implements, mules, and the like, has been destroyed. One may come then to this perception, — that the injury sustained by a nation on account of a war loan (loans for internal improvements are not here considered) is sustained at the time the loan is contracted, and is due to the fact that the State has caused a certain amount of capital to disappear finally. A consideration of the amount of capital destroyed is that from which one must determine the injury sustained by a nation on account of borrowing.

Turn now to a consideration of debt-payment. The obligation which the State has created against itself is to pay a certain amount of

money. This money is obtained by means of taxes ; is held for a moment, then transferred to the public creditors, and the State thus becomes absolved from its indebtedness. Of course it would be wrong to say that this transfer of money from one set of citizens to another does not in the least disturb capital. Money may, speaking loosely, be said to represent or to be the evidence of ownership in capital. By causing a transfer of money from one set of individuals to another, the evidence of ownership in and hence control over capital is transferred. Before the transfer, one set of individuals controlled the capital of the country ; after the transfer, ownership rests with another set of individuals. Before the transfer, the Government was under the obligation to pay an annual sum of money ; after the transfer of capital from one set of individuals to another, the Government is free from its yearly obligations, and, measured by the amount of capital in the country, the nation is in no wise impoverished. There is the same amount of food for the subsistence of laborers, the same amount of raw stuffs upon which to set those laborers at work. If the new masters of the capital be as enterprising as the old, the nation is in a position equally as advantageous for the continuance of its industries. This is the explanation, and in the explanation lies the defence, of the proposition that the payment of a debt does not necessarily impoverish a nation. The destruction of capital at the time the loan was contracted is that which works injury to an industrial society ; the subsequent struggle to recover the capital lost is the burden of the debt which the nation as a whole feels : the repayment of the principal of a debt, when held at home, is at most but a readjustment of ownership. It is a fallacy to consider and to argue that debt-payment destroys capital.

The second part of the above proposition upon which is based a defence of the debt-paying policy is that the payment of interest upon the principal, while it is maintained, tends to cripple the producing capacity of any State. The explanation of this is quite simple. Those who hold bonds, so far as they live from the proceeds of their bonds, form a non-producing class in the community ; that is, they are not interested in the actual industrial life of the present. At some time in the past they rendered a service to society by granting the Government control over capital, and thus saved society the inconvenience of excessive instantaneous taxation to meet some extraordinary expenditure. In return for this service they received from the Government a promise of an annuity until the original principal should be returned. This class, therefore, is insured its living without further exertion. The satisfaction of all wants is certain without further labor ; there is no motive, then, submitted to members of this class to interest themselves in present industries, or in the present

life of the people, except it be an extra economic motive, or the economic motive transformed into a habit of accumulation. Their living, however, does come out of the industry of the present day ; for bond-holders refuse to place upon their table beef and potatoes coequal in age to the bonds, — their evidence of service rendered. There is thus brought about a state of affairs which any rational economy must deprecate. The past, or that which should be the past, prolongs itself into the present ; not interested in the present, but living off the present. Thus France, even into the present century, has borne the interest upon a debt contracted by Charles VI. The citizens of any debt-bearing nation are capable of division into two classes, — the bond-holding and the interest-paying class. Because these are not always distinct personages, it does not follow that the interests represented are not distinct. Income arises to the former out of the annuity paid them from taxes, while the latter look to profit upon active capital and actual labor for their income. Both are interested in what is produced at the present time, for both must live from it ; but the latter class is alone interested in producing, and alone quickens industries by energy, thought, and labor. Hence it is that by the maintenance of the principal of a debt in a country, and the yearly payment of interest upon it, the productive strength of a nation is crippled ; since by this means there is maintained in the country a class which is giving neither labor nor energy to present production. The only honorable method by which this class may be made to disappear is through payment of the bonds it holds. Those who were previously State creditors would then find themselves controllers of a large fund of free capital, but no longer proprietors in an annuity. If now they would have an income, they must apply their capital. Their interests, and in consequence their thought and labor, come to be centred upon the present. By the payment of its debt the nation has gained no new capital, it is true, though it has lost none ; but it has gained the attention and care of the previous bond-holders, and has bound their interest to the present.

From such considerations as these, is it possible to conclude that the argument in favor of the maintenance of a debt, resting upon the fact that the nation is a progressive one, has a fallacious basis ; since the payment of a debt, provided it be judiciously carried out, need not hinder the growth of the nation, while so far as it effects the disappearance of an interest-receiving class in the community, and converts the members into a profit-receiving class, the conditions for national growth are thereby rendered more propitious.

The above discussion by no means includes all the arguments which may be or have been presented either for or against the policy of debt-payment. It does, however, include those considerations

which spring from the nature of the debt itself. Further study may be more advantageously employed in searching for the proper rate at which a government should expunge its obligations, than in considering additional arguments for debt-payment. It is quite appropriate that this question should be introduced here, in order that no excessive, and out of their excessiveness erroneous, conclusions be drawn from the method adopted in setting forth the evils of a permanent debt. As an illustration of such an erroneous conclusion, one might suggest a proposition to pay off the debt of the United States within a year. So far as means are concerned it is perfectly possible, provided only that industries would be continued as intensely after the adoption of such a policy as before. The entire debt of this country does not amount to the national income for five months in the year. But one must not forget that the accumulation of a sum of money equal to the present debt can be effected only through the instrumentality of taxes; that it was to avoid injurious taxes that the debt was originally incurred, or at least only upon that ground is it possible to defend the contraction of a loan.

Thus, as in the first instance, the choice was between two evils, — the contraction of a loan and the assessment of taxes, — so now the same alternatives are presented. The question is now between the maintenance of the loan and a resort to taxes for its payment. With regard to the time at which the payment of public obligation should begin, it is only sound financiering which would say that the payment of any part of the principal of a debt should not be begun while taxes recognized as highly injurious remain unrepealed. The same principle of finance upon which this conclusion rests, applied to the question of rapidity of payment, would lead to the rule that debt-payment should never proceed so rapidly as to occasion the imposition or maintenance of injurious taxes. As is usually the case with practical questions, however, it is not in the perception of the correct principle, but in its application to any particular state of affairs, that the difficulty lies. It is a very delicate undertaking for one to determine just at what point the benefits arising from debt-payment cease to over-balance the inconvenience attendant upon the taxes which alone render payment possible. How may one attach a practical working interpretation to the expression "injurious taxes"? What is the criterion or evidence of the presence in society of excessive demands for public purposes?

But before proceeding further it may be proper to guard against the charge of inconsistency in thus maintaining that taxes for the service of the sinking fund may be excessive, and in holding the proposition that the payment of a public debt cannot injuriously affect industries. Harmony is restored when one recognizes that the origi-

nal statement had reference to the fact of debt-payment, while this subordinate statement has reference to the *method* of debt-payment. The argument in the former case proceeded as though capital were the sole factor in production, and as if the destruction of capital were the only danger which the financier had to guard against. For the purpose of the argument it was perfectly logical to exclude all other factors. In applying the truth deduced, however, the exclusion of any factor which plays a part in industrial life must lead to erroneous rules of action. Capital is neither the only element nor the most important element to be considered. It is a dead thing. The possession of capital by a country does not show the necessity of industries, but the possibility of industries only. The financier must not only guard against the destruction of capital, but he must also avoid destroying the motive for applying capital. The mainspring of all industrial life is the hope of profit. Without the possibility of personal gain no industries will be undertaken. If this cardinal truth be firmly grasped, the meaning of the expression "injurious taxes" will at once appear. That taxation is injurious which reduces profits to such a point that the spirit of private enterprise does not find sufficient inducement to undertake industries. For a State to endeavor to pay off its obligations so rapidly that on account of this payment the spirit of private enterprise is crushed, would be suicidal, since it would effect the disappearance of the fund out of which alone payment can be made. Although there is a tendency in progressive societies for profits to fall; although each succeeding generation is willing to save and apply capital for a lower percentage return than the one which preceded it, there is always in every community a point below which profits cannot fall and the industries of the community be maintained. The legislator must determine this limit, and the taxes imposed must not force profits below it. This, then, theoretically answers the question as to how rapidly a State should pay its debt. It should not proceed so rapidly that the taxes imposed reduce profits below the working minimum.

The practical question, however, still remains. What is the rate of profit in the United States which the financier must recognize, and which sets the limit to the rapidity with which a debt may be paid? To answer this question confidently from a prior consideration would be very difficult if not impossible; nor is this necessary, since the practical issue for the United States at the present time is not whether a certain policy shall be inaugurated, but shall an adopted policy be continued. A rapid review of the management of the public debt since its contraction will be of assistance in studying this question.

The interest-bearing obligations of the United States stood at

their maximum in August, 1865, amounting at that date to two thousand three hundred and eighty-one million dollars. According to the last statement from the Treasury Department, that form of indebtedness had been reduced to one thousand six hundred and sixty-three million dollars, — thus showing an annual rate of decrease of fifty-one million dollars. This does not, however, adequately represent the rapidity with which this portion of the debt was extinguished while it alone received the attention of Congress. Previous to July, 1876, the annual payments amounted to sixty-one million dollars. The years 1877 and 1878 were devoted to preparation for the resumption of specie payments, which was successfully accomplished in 1879. It would not be quite accurate to say that resumption had effected a practical payment of the non-interest bearing portion of the debt, although, maintained as it is by coin reserve, it has provided for this debt and taken it out of the domain of changing politics. The volume of United States notes outstanding has, since 1865, been reduced from four hundred and twenty-eight millions to three hundred and forty-six millions, the retirement of which is an actual payment of so much debt. In addition to this, twenty-six millions fractional currency have been withdrawn and metallic currency issued in its place. These operations represent the extent of the payment of public obligations since the close of the war; they do not, however, complete the statement of the beneficial changes in the character of the debt. By the refunding operations since 1870 an annual payment on account of interest of 19.9 million dollars has been effected.

Possibly these results reduced to a per capita basis may be more easily grasped than if stated only in the language of amounts. In 1865 the per capita debt of the United States — the total debt less cash in the treasury being here considered — was seventy-eight dollars and twenty-five cents; in 1880 it was thirty-seven dollars and seventy-four cents. In 1865 the per capita interest on account of the debt was four dollars and twenty-nine cents; in 1880 it was one dollar and fifty-six cents. To guard against error of judgment it is necessary to remember that increase of population has worked with decrease of debt-obligations to effect this somewhat marvellous reduction of debt-burden; and it must also be recognized that the annual interest paid, which reduces the per capita interest to such a low figure, does not include the annual payment to the sinking fund on account of bonds purchased.

Such a record as the above, viewed in the light of present material prosperity, offers a strong presumption, to say the least, that the rate of debt-payment has not rendered necessary excessive taxation or decreased general profits below the working minimum. The only criticism which might be offered would be in the line of an

inquiry as to whether the late depression in business might in any way be traced to the debt-policy of the Government; but it appears unscholarly to assign such a strong effect to so weak a cause, when there is at hand an adequate cause, or combination of causes, which may be held responsible. This adequate cause, so far as it is purely American, is found in the contraction of values which must inevitably follow every period of wide-spread inflation. At least it may be said that there appears now in the midst of prosperity no ground for the claim that the rate of debt-payment should be diminished.

Another method of approaching this question would be much more satisfactory if only sufficiently accurate data could be procured to serve as the basis of calculation; that is, to determine the average rate of profit and estimate that portion of taxes which go to the service of the debt upon it. To determine the rate of profit from a careful analysis of the returns from various businesses is at present impossible; an estimate, however, by another process, upon which some degree of reliance may be placed, is possible. Profit, stripped of any technical sense which economists may attach to the word, means simply the excess of that which is produced over the necessary cost of production. From the national standpoint, then, the profit upon a year's industry will be represented by the increased valuation of real and personal property. If this be accepted, it follows that the rate of profit may be found by computing the increment of value to the nation for any period of production upon the valuation of property at the beginning of the period. It may be objected that the only available valuations for the country at large are those taken for purposes of taxation, and that these are incorrect. While admitting that assessment estimates are far from satisfactory, the inappropriateness of this particular criticism will be recognized when one remembers that the validity of a statement in the language of ratios does not depend upon the exact accuracy of the statistics which form its basis. It is only necessary that whatever errors exist be in the same direction and on account of the same causes,—which is the case for the problem in hand. Wealth statistics in this country, for example, are not of the nature of the population statistics in China, where one enumeration is taken to serve as basis for a system of taxation, and another for the distribution of public benefits.

An application of the method of computation here suggested leads to the acceptance of a rate of profit for the United States varying from seven to eight and one half per cent. The decennial increase in valuation of real and personal property is shown to be not far from one hundred and twenty-five per cent. Between 1860 and 1870 it fell to ninety per cent; but this decrease was undoubtedly on account of disturbance of industries in the Southern States, occasioned by the

war, and the consequent reorganization of labor upon the free basis. For the last decade there is no reason to believe that this section of the country has fallen behind the rate of economic progress attained by any other.

The question as to whether the present rate of debt-payment has a tendency injuriously to affect industries or not, is now brought within a compass which may be easily grasped. The average rate of profit in the United States would be increased but seven tenths of a mill were the sinking-fund payment of the present year to be passed. The entire service of the national debt, including interest and sinking fund, entails a burden of but one and three-tenths mills on existing profits. A surplus payment the present year of fifty millions would decrease profits but eight tenths of a mill. It appears, therefore, that if one compare the rate of profit in this country with that of other countries to which labor and capital might emigrate, there remains a wide margin before profits shall be reduced below the working minimum; and the policy of rapid debt-payment, accepted so unanimously by the people of this country, is capable of complete defence.

The bearing of this conclusion in determining the proper form of bonds for the next process of refunding is clear. Those bonds should be so drawn as to give the Government full control over them, that there may be in every year a sufficient amount of redeemable debt to consume the surplus devoted to debt-payment; otherwise the Treasury will be obliged to cancel debt, if at all, through purchase upon the market, which for a country with good credit is always an expensive operation. It would of course be possible to refund at such low rates of interest as to sink the bonds below par; but such a plan is only defensible as part of a perpetual debt-policy. When it is the purpose of the Government quickly to reimburse the principal, the saving of interest while outstanding is more than counterbalanced by the advanced value which must be paid. At present, seven hundred and ten millions of debt are tied up until 1907, and one hundred and eighty-five millions until 1891, the remainder of the debt being now under control of Congress. Sound policy would dictate that this latter amount be so shaped that it, as well as the debt of 1891, may be entirely wiped out before 1907. An excessively low rate of interest is believed to be of less importance than the maintenance of strict control over the debt.

It will be observed that this article presents no new plan of debt-management, but considerations merely in support of the one already adopted. Its only purpose is to defend the policy of rapid debt-payment, and to encourage the people of this country in its maintenance.

HENRY CARTER ADAMS.

THE ENDOWMENT OF COLLEGES.

THE three hundred and fifty-eight colleges of the United States report the value of their "grounds, buildings, and apparatus" to be \$36,871,213; and the amount of their productive funds, \$37,071,958. The property of the wealthiest, together with their entire annual income, is thus estimated¹: —

	Buildings, Grounds, etc.	Productive Funds.	Annual Income.
University of California	\$805,000	\$750,000	\$105,000
Yale College		587,000	136,000
University of Iowa	400,000	218,000	32,000
Bowdoin College	400,000	221,000	26,000
Johns Hopkins University		3,000,000	180,000
Amherst College	400,000	410,000	51,000
Harvard College		3,615,000 ²	231,000
Tufts College	250,000	600,000	38,000
University of Michigan	450,000	. . .	about 50,000
University of Minnesota	200,000	425,000	42,000
Washington University (St. Louis)	300,000	500,000	80,000
Rutgers College	400,000	313,000	29,000
College of New Jersey	800,000	859,000	75,000
Hamilton College	320,000	260,000	24,000
Cornell University	912,000	1,263,000	100,000
Vassar College	689,000	281,000	63,000
Dartmouth College	100,000	450,000 ³	46,000 ³
Columbia College	853,000	4,763,000	315,000
Union College	430,000	300,000	29,000
Oberlin College	400,000	120,000	12,000
Lafayette College	675,000	. . .	23,000
Lehigh University	600,000	1,900,000	76,000
Brown University		600,000	66,000
Vanderbilt University	450,000	600,000	42,000
University of Wisconsin	350,000	483,000	32,000

In comparison with the University of Oxford and of Cambridge the wealthiest American colleges are poor. Previous to the last decade little was known of either the property or the income of these universities; but the report of the commissioners published in 1874 showed that in 1871 their entire income (including the colleges) was £754,000. Of the value of their property it was and is impossible to form an exact estimate; but a principal item was 319,718 acres of

¹ These estimates, as well as many that appear in other paragraphs, are based upon the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1878.

² Entire University.

³ All departments.

land. All Souls' College, Oxford, had in 1871 an income of £18,000; Merton, £17,500; New, £30,000; St. John's, Cambridge, £50,000; and Trinity about £60,000. Of the twenty German universities only three — Leipzig, Heidelberg, and Griefswald — are known to possess property, and this in an amount not sufficient to meet expenses. From the State treasury are drawn the funds necessary for the prosecution of the university's work. For their income the English universities depend mainly on their property; the German on State appropriations; and the American colleges on both property and tuition fees in about equal amounts.

The State universities, of which there are not less than seventeen in this country, are established and supported by the governments of the Commonwealths in which they are situated. They are an integral part of the educational system of each State. Their buildings are public property, and the main portion of their funds is drawn from the public chest. But the funds and properties of other colleges and universities are derived principally from the gift and bequest of individuals.

The history of the financial beginnings of the older colleges is very commonplace; the history of one is, in broad outlines, the history of all. It is a history of penury, of endeavors for an endowment, and of constant needs far outrunning the means of supply. That this was the condition of all the older American colleges, excepting William and Mary, which down to the Revolutionary War was the best endowed of all our institutions of learning, is well known; but it is not so generally recognized that the colleges founded in the present century have, with a few remarkable exceptions, passed through the same struggle for an ample endowment.

Williams College received as its original fund about fourteen thousand dollars, one quarter of which was derived from the proceeds of a lottery, and the principal part of the remainder from the estate of Colonel Ephraim Williams. Bowdoin's endowment consisted mainly of several townships of land lying in Maine, and of gifts of James Bowdoin in both land and money. Amherst at the time of its establishment rejoiced in the possession of fifty thousand dollars, raised by small contributions, and in the generosity of other friends who gave, to a large extent, the materials and the labor which erected its first building. The struggle of Wesleyan University for a foothold was long and hard. Contributions for its endowment were, as President Fisk said, "as meagre as the leakage of a miser's purse." Oberlin began in the purchase of a tract of land three miles square at a dollar and fifty cents an acre by its missionary founders, Shipherd and Stewart. Kenyon was, like Oberlin, hewn out of the wilderness by Bishop Chase, supported by five thousand guineas from England. The large

majority of the better colleges of the West, founded between 1840 and 1880, have been obliged to contend, year after year, against the most common and pressing wants. Their students have been few, and these few as poor in purse as the college. The salaries of their professors have too frequently been the merest pittance. Their funds have run so low that bankruptcy has constantly stared them in the face. They have been aided by donations from the churches of the religious denominations which they represent. Their presidents have besieged the liberal and wealthy men of the East for gifts or bequests. Many of them are now firmly established; but some others, not a few, cannot yet see the dawn of their financial prosperity.

Within the last score of years donations to the colleges have been most numerous and munificent. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that since 1860 they have received amounts fully equal to their entire valuation in that year. In 1847, when Abbott Lawrence gave fifty thousand dollars to Harvard, it was said to be "the largest amount ever given at one time during the lifetime of the donor to any public institution in this country." Several colleges and universities have within this period been founded with endowments sufficient from their very beginning to make them independent of the whim of legislatures or of the income of tuition fees. Cornell University received by a Congressional land-grant nearly a million acres, besides five hundred thousand dollars from Ezra Cornell, whose name it perpetuates. Vassar also began with a gift of more than four hundred thousand dollars from Matthew Vassar. Smith received before its doors were open about half a million from Sophia Smith. Wellesley was at the outset well endowed by Henry F. Durant. The Johns Hopkins University possessed before it had enrolled a single student not less than three millions of dollars. The older colleges have added vastly to their resources within these last two decades. Harvard's property has tripled in value; Yale's in the various departments has increased by not less than a million and a half; Princeton's by more than a million, and Dartmouth's by a large amount. During President Stearns's administration of twenty-two years Amherst received more than eight hundred thousand dollars.

If, as the Commissioner of Education has stated, over fifty millions of dollars have been given to the educational institutions of the United States, more than thirty millions were given to the colleges in the eighth decade of the present century. The amounts given in each of the first eight years, for which only are the statistics complete, are:—

1871	\$8,435,990 ¹
1872	6,282,461
1873	8,238,141
1874	1,845,354
1875	2,703,650
1876	2,743,248
1877	1,273,991
1878	1,389,633

These sums were contributed in amounts running from a few dollars to hundreds of thousands, and in a few instances to millions. Among the most munificent of the benefactors, in addition to several already named, are George Peabody, Mrs. Valeria G. Stone of Malden, Mass., Johns Hopkins of Baltimore, Ario Pardee of Hazelton, Pa., John C. Green of New York, Henry W. Sage of Brooklyn, Samuel Williston of Easthampton, Mass., Joseph E. Sheffield, Amasa Stone of Ohio, Nathan Matthews and Nathaniel Thayer of Boston, and Alexander Agassiz of Cambridge. The roll might be lengthened to indefinite limits, but these names represent the larger gifts. The gifts of the younger Agassiz in carrying on the Museum which his father founded already exceed three hundred thousand dollars. Nathan Matthews and Nathaniel Thayer have each given more than a quarter of a million to Harvard University. Amasa Stone gave five hundred thousand dollars to Western Reserve College, on condition of its removal from Hudson to Cleveland. Samuel Williston gave one hundred and fifty thousand to Amherst College, and richly endowed the seminary at Easthampton which bears his name. Joseph E. Sheffield gave to the Scientific School of Yale College nearly four hundred thousand dollars. The gifts of Henry W. Sage and Ezra Cornell to the university at Ithaca, N. Y., aggregate more than a million. To Princeton the late John C. Green gave seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars ; and to Lafayette Ario Pardee has since 1864 given at different intervals more than half a million. The largest single bequest ever made, at least in this country if not in any country, to an educational institution is the three millions which Johns Hopkins, a Baltimore merchant, gave to found the university which transmits his name. Mrs. Valeria G. Stone — the wife of a Boston merchant who retired from business in 1850, and who received some two millions from her husband, with the understanding that it should be chiefly distributed "to educational, charitable, or benevolent institutions, causes, or objects" — has thus far disbursed about twelve hundred thousand dollars. As Mr. Hopkins left a large share of his property to one institution, it is by contrast interesting to note the different collegiate institutions to which Mrs. Stone saw fit, under the advice of judicious trustees, to devote a considerable portion of her estate : —

¹ All educational purposes.

Amherst College, Stone Professorship of Biology	\$50,000
American Missionary Association, for institutions at Nashville, Atlanta, Talladega, Tougaloo, and New Orleans	150,000
Bowdoin College, Professorship of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and to finish Memorial Hall	75,000
Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.	10,000
Dartmouth College, Stone Professorship of Intellectual and Moral Philo- sophy	35,000
Drury College, Springfield, Mo.	75,750
Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., Professorship in Natural History . .	30,000
Iowa College	22,500
Oberlin College	50,000
Wellesley College, Stone Hall	110,000
Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.	20,000
Ripon College, Ripon, Wis.	20,000
Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.	20,000
Marietta College, Marietta, O.	10,000
Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.	20,000
Roberts College, Constantinople	20,000
Howard University, Washington, D. C.	25,000
Berea College, Berea, Ky.	10,000
New West Education Commission	12,500
Doane College, Crete, Neb.	5,000
Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.	5,000
Washburne College, Topeka, Kansas	5,000

George Peabody gave about eight millions to benevolent objects, of which about one quarter forms the "Southern Educational Fund." To Yale and Harvard he gave each one hundred and fifty thousand dollars; to Washington College, Virginia, sixty thousand; to Kenyon, Ohio, twenty-five thousand; and to various scientific Institutes about a million and a half, two thirds of which endowed the institution at Baltimore.

In respect to the geographical distribution of these benefactions it is evident that wherever the greatest wealth is combined with the highest degree of intelligence they are the largest. If the people of a State are wealthy, but are not of a high order of intelligence, they will not give generously to the endowment of colleges. If they are highly intelligent, but poor in purse, as the people of Maine for instance, they cannot give. If they are lacking in both intelligence and wealth, as they are in too many of the Southern States, they also cannot give. But wherever they are both wealthy and intelligent, as in New York and Massachusetts, the benevolences are the most liberal. From the Eastern States, in which the highest degrees of wealth and education are combined, a large proportion of the gifts which are received in the West and South are derived. These general statements are illustrated in the following table, which represents the gifts made to the collegiate institutions of the different States :—

States and Territories.	Gifts to Universities and Colleges.	
	1877.	1878.
Alabama . . . . .	. . .	. . .
Arkansas . . . . .	. . .	. . .
California	\$2,139	\$125,000
Colorado	2,000	5,000
Connecticut	27,301	189,590
Delaware . . . . .	. . .	. . .
Florida . . . . .	. . .	. . .
Georgia	20,000	50,000
Illinois	53,091	58,970
Indiana	4,200	21,500
Iowa	45,291	14,100
Kansas	8,400	1,600
Kentucky	11,450	23,750
Louisiana	60,000	. . .
Maine	1,500	10,500
Maryland . . . . .	. . .	22,400
Massachusetts	233,839	238,532
Michigan	17,264	27,700
Minnesota	2,140	756
Mississippi . . . . .	. . .	. . .
Missouri	117,440	19,180
Nebraska	5,550	12,000
New Hampshire	15,000	35,000
New Jersey . . . . .	. . .	. . .
New York	182,307	118,727
North Carolina . . . . .	. . .	17,900
Ohio	137,619	64,295
Oregon	1,000	2,000
Pennsylvania	144,100	161,880
Rhode Island . . . . .	. . .	9,774
South Carolina	15,000	9,172
Tennessee	7,360	36,981
Texas	25,000	16,000
Vermont . . . . .	. . .	10,000
Virginia	130,000	62,000
West Virginia . . . . .	. . .	. . .
Wisconsin	5,000	22,165
District of Columbia . . . . .	. . .	3,161
Utah . . . . .	. . .	. . .
Washington Territory . . . . .	. . .	. . .
Total	\$1,273,991	\$1,389,633

About one third of these amounts was given to the colleges in New England, and somewhat more than one half to the colleges of the seaboard States. In Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York the largest gifts fell.

Of the usefulness of gifts and bequests made to colleges there is no question. So long as the colleges are designed to promote learning, to ennoble character, and to foster righteousness, so long

will the endowment of them prove beneficent. Even if the State should establish, as has been done in several Commonwealths, a university for the training of its youth, and allow them to resort thither with the same freedom as to its other public schools, it is clear that in other Commonwealths the best colleges are, and for generations will be, those endowed by individual citizens. It is also clear that a college cannot meet its barest expenses from its natural source of income,—the tuition fees. Even Harvard, with a fee double or triple that of most colleges, spent in a recent year twenty thousand dollars more than it received from students; and this cost was exclusive of the expense of the library and of the general administration. Endowment is essential to the continued existence of a college.

The important question, in which part of the United States is the need of educational endowments most pressing, is not easily answered. President Magoun of Iowa College affirms, "that the next fifteen millions of dollars for higher institutions of learning should come West." In 1871, before assuming the presidency of Dartmouth College, Professor Bartlett asserted that there "was a far more vital need elsewhere" than on the Atlantic coast for the fifteen millions of dollars which up to that year had been given to the Atlantic colleges. But President Eliot constantly declares that, in relation to its financial demands, Harvard must be regarded as a poor, and not as she is usually considered a rich, college. At the beginning of the last decade the benefactions to Western colleges amounted to one eighth of those to Eastern. Up to the year 1871 the largest individual donation made to a Western college was fifty thousand dollars,—a sum which was given by Mr. Carleton, of Boston, to found the institution in Minnesota which honors his name. One method of determining the place wherein lies the greatest need of additional endowment consists in comparing the amount of the funds which the colleges of a State possess with the population of that State:—

Population : Census, 1880.	Entire Collegiate Endowment.	Proportion of Endowment to each Person.
Alabama 1,262,344	\$807,000	\$.63
Arkansas 802,564	61,000	.07
California 864,686	2,298,000	2.64
Colorado 194,649	130,000	.66
Connecticut 622,683	1,060,000	1.54
Delaware 146,654	158,000	1.07
Georgia 1,538,983	1,115,000	.72
Illinois 3,078,636	4,686,000	1.52
Indiana 1,978,358	1,900,000	.96
Iowa 1,624,463	1,829,000	1.11
Kansas 995,335	457,000	.45
Kentucky 1,648,599	1,126,000	.68
<i>Carried forward</i>	\$15,627,000	

Population : Census, 1880.	Entire Collegiate Endowment.	Proportion of Endow- ment to each Person.
<i>Brought forward</i>	\$15,627,000	
Louisiana 940,263	448,000	\$.47
Maine 648,945	1,451,000	2.23
Maryland 935,139	3,408,000	3.63
Massachusetts 1,783,086	6,175,000	3.40
Michigan 1,634,096	1,646,000	1.00
Minnesota 780,807	804,000	1.02
Mississippi 1,131,899	491,000	.43
Missouri 2,169,091	1,888,000	.87
Nebraska 452,432	241,000	.53
Nevada 62,265	. . .	. .
New Hampshire 347,784	550,000	1.58
New Jersey 1,130,892	2,393,000	2.11
New York 5,083,173	14,794,000	2.91
North Carolina 1,400,000	646,000	.45
Ohio 3,197,794	4,687,000	1.46
Oregon 174,767	463,000	2.59
Pennsylvania 4,282,738	933,000	1.88
Rhode Island 276,528	600,000	2.16
South Carolina 995,706	722,000	.72
Tennessee 1,542,463	2,422,000	1.57
Texas 1,597,509	444,000	.27
Vermont 332,286	686,000	2.06
Virginia 1,512,203	1,950,000	1.28
West Virginia 618,193	602,000	.97
Wisconsin 1,315,386	1,650,000	1.25
District of Columbia 177,638	1,010,000	5.68
Utah 143,907	. . .	. .
Washington 75,120	105,000	1.39
Total	\$74,943,000	\$1.49

These comparisons contain very interesting data. They show that the largest amount invested in colleges, in relation to the number of inhabitants, is found in the District of Columbia; that of any State the largest is in Maryland; and the next to the largest in Massachusetts. Having less than three dollars and more than two for each inhabitant are, in their order, New York, California, Oregon, Maine, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Vermont; less than two and more than one, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Tennessee, Connecticut, Illinois, Ohio, Washington, Virginia, Wisconsin, Iowa, Delaware, Minnesota, and Michigan; less than one, West Virginia, Indiana, Missouri, Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky, Colorado, Alabama, Nebraska, Louisiana, Kansas, North Carolina, Mississippi, Texas, and Arkansas. A large proportion of the Western States have less than two and more than one dollar an inhabitant; and a yet larger proportion of the Southern States have less than one.

By comparing the population of these States with the amounts held by their colleges, some remarkable contrasts are made evident. New

Jersey and Mississippi have the same population, yet the colleges of the former have fourfold the endowment of the Southern State. Virginia and Texas have nearly the same population, yet the State in which Jefferson founded a university has nearly five times the college property which Texas has. The population of New York exceeds that of North Carolina nearly four times, but its college endowments exceed those of North Carolina more than twenty times. Maryland, Louisiana, and Kansas have each a population between nine hundred thousand and a million, yet Maryland's college property is eight times in excess of that of either of the other two States. California has a population slightly larger than that of Arkansas, yet the endowments of its colleges are thirty-seven times larger. The ten New England and Middle States possess twenty-eight per cent of the entire population, and forty-seven per cent of the college property. The Western States have thirty-two per cent of the population, and twenty-eight per cent of the college property. The Southern States have thirty-six per cent of the population, and twenty-one per cent of the college property. Assuming, therefore, population as a basis, the greatest demand for additional endowments is in the South.

But the basis is evidently in certain respects imperfect, since a population however large and however lacking in well-endowed colleges may feel little need of possessing the facilities for bestowing a liberal education. There is another basis of comparison which in certain respects is more just. It consists in comparing the number of students in the colleges of a State with the income of the productive funds of those colleges. The following table exhibits these facts:—

	Number of Students, 1878.	Income from Productive Funds, 1878.	Proportion for each Student.
Alabama	414	\$24,000	\$57.94
Arkansas	102	1,900	18.62
California	894	116,055	129.81
Colorado	13	15,000	1,153.84
Connecticut	942	42,709	45.33
Delaware	50	4,980	854.18
Georgia	441	42,300	95.91
Illinois	2,241	128,766	57.45
Indiana	1,326	47,700	35.97
Iowa	1,263	53,700	42.54
Kansas	279	4,713	16.89
Kentucky	771	25,470	33.03
Louisiana	230	19,488	84.73
Maine	422	26,050	61.72
Maryland	1,132	181,734	161.01
Massachusetts	1,710	304,107	177.84
Michigan	1,016	79,958	78.69
Minnesota	234	49,081	209.74
Mississippi	326	3,960	12.14
<i>Carried forward</i>	13,806	1,171,671	

	Number of Students, 1878.	Income from Productive Funds, 1878.	Proportion for each Student.
<i>Brought forward</i>	13,806	\$1,171,671	
Missouri	1,266	155,125	\$122.53
Nebraska	123	. . .	. . .
Nevada . . . . .	. .	. . .	. . .
New Hampshire	315	25,000	79.33
New Jersey	663	81,003	122.17
New York	3,175	477,942	150.53
North Carolina	723	10,500	14.52
Ohio	2,761	177,101	64.14
Oregon	248	15,600	62.90
Pennsylvania	1,874	181,439	96.81
Rhode Island	243	38,077	156.69
South Carolina	334	31,116	93.16
Tennessee	1,400	75,890	54.20
Texas	930	1,900	2.04
Vermont	192	13,010	57.76
Virginia	1,004	21,858	21.77
West Virginia	260	9,800	39.69
Wisconsin	780	52,292	66.78
District of Columbia	144	8,500	59.02
Washington	127	500	3.93
Total	30,368	\$2,548,324	. . .

By this table it appears that the proportion of the income drawn from the productive funds of the colleges of each State varies from more than eleven hundred dollars, as in Colorado, to two dollars, as in Texas, for each student. In Delaware it is more than eight hundred, and in Minnesota, which shows the next highest rate, two hundred and nine. Having less than two hundred and more than one hundred are the following States, in order: Massachusetts, Maryland, Rhode Island, New York, California, Missouri, and New Jersey; having less than one hundred dollars and more than fifty dollars of income for each student, — Pennsylvania, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, New Hampshire, Michigan, Vermont, Wisconsin, Ohio, Oregon, Maine, District of Columbia, Illinois, Alabama, and Tennessee; and with less than fifty dollars, — Connecticut, Iowa, West Virginia, Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia, Arkansas, Kansas, North Carolina, Mississippi, Washington, and Texas. But in inferring from these facts in what States occur the greatest needs of further educational endowments it must be remembered that many of the students of the colleges of a State have their homes in other Commonwealths. About one half of the students in Massachusetts reside beyond the Massachusetts boundaries. In its colleges are students from Colorado and Delaware, whose proportional income for each student is largest. Still, the general truth holds that the State having the largest number of students, of whatever residence, should also have the largest

amount of funds for their training. This conclusion, therefore, like the former indicates that, with the exception of a few States, the greatest need of educational endowments is in the South and West.

But any answer to the question as to the place of the greatest need of further endowment is considerably determined by the answer to another and more comprehensive question : Should the endowments rather be centred in a few colleges than scattered in small amounts in the three or thirty colleges of each of the States ? Would it be better, to take a specific instance, to give to Harvard College the three millions of dollars, which its president now desires for the whole university, than to divide the amount among six or even three institutions in Texas, Arkansas, and Minnesota ? The consideration of this question would evidently carry us beyond the limits of this paper.

CHARLES F. THWING.

BARON BETTINO RICASOLI:

THE ITALIAN OLD-CATHOLIC STATESMAN.

IT is proposed to erect at Rome a great national monument to Victor Emanuel, first king of a united Italy. It is proposed to set before the future, in enduring bronze, that king of indomitable loyalty, surrounded by those whose daring intellect, unconquerable resolution, and patient, enduring faith wrought out, under his leadership, Italian independence and nationality. Among those whose figures shall hereafter stand around the king's upon that monument, not one — Balbo, D'Azeglio, Cavour, La Marmora, Farini, Rattazzi, Garibaldi — has been more revered or will be longer honored for moral greatness than the Baron Bettino Ricasoli.

The Ricasoli have had an unbroken family history for eight hundred years, from the time when they built their castle of Brolio, whose massive gray walls and battlemented towers still overhang and dominate the slopes of the Chianti hills, some sixteen miles from Siena. Indeed, it is claimed that the origin of the family can be dated back four centuries earlier than this. The Ricasoli have borne the baronial title since the fourteenth century ; and they have ever been a proud, stern race, strong of purpose and iron willed, from that fierce captain of the Guelphs, the first Bettino, who dictated the fortunes of Florence almost five hundred years ago.

The late baron, who was born March 9, 1809, found himself at eighteen the representative and head of this ancient family, and the heir of the old castle and of a dilapidated fortune. Marrying in 1830, he gave the next fifteen years of his life to domestic duties and to the

improvement of his patrimony. He lived retired on his ancestral domain, devoting himself to agricultural studies, to the reclamation of his neglected lands, to draining the marshes, to the improvement of the vine and olive, and especially to the manufacture of wine and the culture of the silk-worm. With no less earnestness he applied himself to improve the condition of his peasantry, and to the education of their children. He undertook the restoration of the old feudal castle, gradually but thoroughly replacing its crumbling stones and embellishing the interior at a cost, in all, of some four hundred thousand dollars; although he himself always lived with the utmost simplicity. In what he called his hours of relaxation, he gave his personal attention to the education of his daughter and only child, whom he taught to interest herself in all that concerned the welfare of those dependent on them. Holding that "the well ordered family was the necessary foundation of the well ordered State," he was accustomed to say that the patriot should begin his labors for his country at home. During this period, moreover, he meditated much and deeply on the social and political condition of Italy, and upon the lessons to be learned from the sufferings brought upon her not only by princely misrule, but also by the vain outbreaks and conspiracies of the Carbonari. In all these cares, whether in his domestic life, as a large landed proprietor, or as a patriot, he discovered the inflexible temper, the religious devotion to duty and the stern self-subjection in everything which he regarded duty, which were ever the characteristics of his whole career, at every stage.

When, upon the election of Pius IX. in 1846, all Italy was aroused to new hopes by the signal from the Vatican; and when, in consequence, the first experiments were tried whether her princes could give to her several provinces the new life which she demanded, Ricasoli first came forward to the public service of his country, as a moderate but no less earnest reformer. About this time he came up from Brolio to Florence, with his wife and daughter. With the purpose of encouraging and aiding the princes in their reforming course, he soon afterward united with two political friends in the publication of the liberal journal "*La Patria*;" and he also frankly addressed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany a memorial, in which he pointed out the more serious evils under which the State was suffering, as well as the needful remedies. The grand duke, having the fear of Austria before his eyes, only replied evasively; but he soon after sent Ricasoli as special envoy to Turin, where he had the opportunity of studying the character and intentions of Charles Albert at an epoch which soon resulted in the grant of constitutional government throughout Italy, and in war with Austria. Returning to Florence, Baron Ricasoli influenced the grand duke to grant a Constitution to Tuscany. When, in the wake of the French revolu-

tion of February, 1848, one European government after another fell, he was named *Gonfaloniere* of Florence, and accepted the office in the hope of supporting and encouraging the liberal policy of the sovereign as well as of restraining the impetuosity of the people; and in this position he was instrumental in persuading the grand duke to espouse, with the Sardinian King, the national cause. Upon the ascendancy of a democratic ministry, however, he resigned this post, and remained a spectator of events which he could neither prevent nor modify, — events which first culminated in the flight of the grand duke, and then, after the fatal defeat of Novara, in the Austrian restoration.

Ricasoli now returned once more to private life. He spent two years in foreign travel with his wife and daughter; and the marriage of the latter and the death of the baroness, in 1857, leaving him alone, he spent some months in Switzerland, and then went back to Brolio and gave himself up again for several years to agricultural studies and experiments, and to the gradual introduction of new methods and machinery into his oliveyards and vineyards, — yet never ceasing to watch closely the course of public affairs.

When at length, in 1859, Victor Emanuel resumed the war of Italian independence, and when the revolution of April 27 had escorted the grand duke out of Tuscany, Ricasoli returned to Florence, and accepted the charge of internal affairs in the Provisional Government, — a charge which, as events progressed, soon became a dictatorship. In 1848, the baron's policy had aimed only at the consolidation of a strong sub-alpine kingdom between Austria and Central Italy, under cover of which the other Italian kingdoms and principalities might be free to develop their several institutions in a constitutional sense. But now, after the failure of that experiment, he defined his policy boldly as nothing less than "submerging this narrow Tuscan patriotism in the ocean of Italian nationality," — *Il sommergere questa povera Toscanità nell'oceano dell'Italianità*. Accordingly he resisted with all his dictatorial power, backed by the force of his resolute character, the attempt of the French Emperor to form an Emilian kingdom of Central Italy under a Napoleonic prince; and threw all the weight of Tuscany against the scheme of a confederacy, and in favor of Italian unity. Tuscany had entrusted herself wholly to him; and at that moment to decide for Tuscany was to decide for Italy. In vain was every influence and virtual threats even used to induce him to support the plans of Napoleon; to intimations of personal danger thus incurred he replied fiercely, in those memorable words: *Dopo Villafranca, ho sputato sulla mia vita!* — "After Villafranca, I have spit upon my life." To this inflexibility Italy owed at this crisis the possibility of her nationality.

That Ricasoli should be governor-general of Tuscany after the an-

nexation was a matter of course. In this position he greatly aided Garibaldi in his Sicilian expedition of 1860; but when the extraordinary Neapolitan conquest of that great partisan chief threatened to betray his loyalty to the Crown, Ricasoli hastened to urge the king and Cavour to send General Fanti at once into Umbria, — a step by which Naples was saved from anarchy and united, with Umbria and the Marches, to Italy. This accomplished, Ricasoli resigned the government at Florence and repaired to Turin to take his seat in Parliament as a Tuscan deputy. It was at the very time when Garibaldi had launched against the Government an attack whose effects were at that period of his extraordinary popularity most serious, and yet to which even Cavour hesitated to reply. Not so Baron Ricasoli. It was enough for him that the monarchy which, in his judgment, was the only hope of Italy, was imperilled. He alone dared to rise in his seat and call the ex-dictator of Sicily and Naples, the idol of the people, to bow before the majesty of the law, to respect the responsibility of the national government and of the Crown.

This was, as the Italians would say, the supreme moment of his life. Great was the excitement to see the man who had successfully resisted the victorious French Emperor and put it in Cavour's power to unite Italy; whose fame was national, but whose person was then little known. "The strange appearance of this descendant of the feudal barons," wrote one who was then present, "was well calculated to excite interest. Tall, slender, his features sharp and angular, his eyes half closed, his look fixed and hard, his step and movements abrupt, his thin, dark, reddish hair brought forward and flattened on his temples, — such was the appearance of the new deputy. He wore his overcoat buttoned and kept on his gloves, and had altogether an air of puritanic stiffness, which yet was not lacking in nobility." Such was the man who, amid the profoundest silence, rose and sternly rebuked the very idea that any one of those who had been privileged to co-operate in the great work of the liberation of Italy could presume upon it. "When the liberator of Italy," said he, "is the king himself; when all Italians have been led by him to the fruition of our common hopes, — no citizen is first and none is last. He who has been fortunately able to fulfil his duty more generously, in a larger sphere of action, in a manner more advantageous to his country, he has the greater duty yet, — that of thanking God that He has granted to him the glorious privilege of saying: 'I have served my country well, I have faithfully done my duty.'" It was enough: the authority and the dignity of the Government were vindicated; and Count Cavour coming out of the Chamber grasped Ricasoli's hand, saying: *Se io morisse domani, è designato il mio successore!* — "Were I to die to-morrow, my successor is found!" Two months after, Cavour was no more; and Baron Ricasoli was at once indi-

cated by the nation and called by the king to succeed him as prime minister.

This office he held once again, in 1866-67 ; though on each occasion for less than a year. There was perhaps too little of the courtier and the diplomat in his temper for the ordinary responsibilities of such a charge. His stern, inflexible directness of purpose was better fitted for the emergencies which required moral heroism than for political administration. On each occasion of his government, however, he rendered to his country the most important service. In 1861 he sustained Italy under the great blow of Cavour's death, repressing the danger of Mazzinian disorders and confirming her confidence in the future. In 1866, taking the reins of government again during the Austro-Prussian war, he secured Venetia for Italy, and maintained against Napoleon her moral independence and dignity. In the interval between these dates, and since 1867, he continued, as a general thing, to hold his seat in Parliament, — always the influential counsellor, the inflexible patriot and statesman whom all parties alike revered, and to whom in any serious emergency or hour of great peril any party would at once have turned. He seldom spoke in the discussions, but sat silent and watchful ; though on the two most important crises of these years — to which reference will be made further on — he made his influence felt, and in the last spoke, with the most important results. The details of this career would too greatly extend this article : they are part of the history of the nationalization of Italy.

Thus throughout a political life which included the entire period of the Italian revolution and the consolidation of the nation was Italy indebted again and again for her safety, in grave crises, to Ricasoli. Whether preparing his own Tuscany for constitutional liberty, or influencing it to subordinate its own local interests and ambitions to the larger interests of Italy and of the Italian people ; whether resisting the French Emperor after Villafranca, or defending the honor of Italy against him after Sadowa ; whether sustaining Cavour in the hour of his most daring and hazardous advances, or replacing him on his death ; whether giving Tuscany to Victor Emanuel, or securing Venetia to the Italian Kingdom ; whether vindicating the dignity and responsibility of the Crown against the reckless presumption of Garibaldi, or repressing Mazzinian impatience and turbulence, — he ever revealed the source of his great power, that which gave its moral greatness to his character : a conscience austere and even stern in its single devotion to private and to public duty, undeterred by censure, unmoved by applause, and utterly incapable of being swayed from what he thought to be right ; inflexible alike in temper and in principle. Baron Ricasoli died at his castle of Brolio, Oct. 23, 1880.

The story of the life of which this is so rude a sketch has been recounted by the press, and will of course be yet more fully told by the biographer and the historian. It is the more special purpose of this article to speak of this great patriot and statesman in his relations to the religious and ecclesiastical issues which were so directly involved in the political events and in the national revolution in which he bore so important a part: nay, to claim for him, now and in ecclesiastical history, a prominent place among the great representative Old Catholics of the generation contemporaneous with the Council of the Vatican.

Baron Ricasoli was personally a devout Christian, and by intelligent conviction as well as by inheritance an earnest Italian Catholic. He was not, like many of the old Italian nobility, a devotee of the existing authorities in his Church, nor even in principle an adherent of that Papal system to which the Catholic Church of Italy is and has so long been subject. But still less was he tempted, with so large a portion of the patriot party, to go to the other extreme of throwing off Christianity itself; nor in his steadfast resistance to Vaticanism in his Church was he by any means ready to accept Christianity under any of the forms of an exotic Protestantism. In support of these assertions it will be sufficient to refer, although in a fragmentary manner, to certain episodes and incidents in Ricasoli's public career, — to which the writer will take the liberty of adding testimony of his own, the relevancy of which will, perhaps, excuse such reference to his own personal relations with the subject of this article.

When in June, 1861, Baron Ricasoli accepted the responsibilities of government on the death of Cavour,—an act which the statesman and philosopher Mamiani characterized as, under the circumstances, one of "civil courage," — he announced his ecclesiastical policy in these words:—

"We wish to go to Rome, not destroying, but building up; providing the means and opening to the Church the way of self-reformation; giving to it that liberty and that independence which may be at once the power and the incentive to regenerate itself in the purity of the religious principle, in the simplicity of manners, and in the strictness of discipline which, so greatly to the honor and dignity of the pontificate, made its primitive times glorious and venerated; and, in fine, with the frank and loyal abandonment of that [temporal] power, utterly opposed to the grand and wholly spiritual purpose of its institution. . . . The Italian revolution is a great revolution precisely because it begins a new era. Italy has had this grand trust committed to her, — to lay the foundations not of her own future only, but of that of the whole human race."

Consistently with this profession of his politico-ecclesiastical principles, Ricasoli's *official* policy ever sought to place the Church in the position most favorable for self-reformation. He opposed all projects for putting upon it a political pressure in that sense. He felt that no

reform would be real or enduring which did not spring from honest and earnest religious convictions ; and he insisted, therefore, that free discussion and moral influences should be the only means used to bring about such a result. His hope, his only hope, was in the spiritual education and elevation of the Italian priests and people. He was ever ready to do what lay within his *individual* power to sustain and to co-operate in such a work, and to encourage those who were engaged in it ; but as prime minister or as a legislator he refused to propose or to sanction any measure which should attempt in any degree to force a factitious reform, or which should go beyond securing to the Church the power thus to reform itself, and to its members at least civil freedom to advocate it. Fully to comprehend Baron Ricasoli as an Italian Old Catholic, it is therefore necessary to speak of his relations with Catholic reform, from these two distinctive points of view.

It will, to Americans, be interesting to know that when, in 1860, application was made to him as Governor-General of Tuscany for authority to hold the services of the American Episcopal Church in Florence, he declined to give it in form, on the ground that to give such permission was impliedly to claim the right to refuse it ; while under the new régime such a right of worship, each according to his own conscience, must be regarded as secured to all by the constitution of the land. Indeed, from the first day of his independent power in Tuscany Baron Ricasoli boldly took the ground that liberty of conscience was the natural and inherent right of every individual, and liberty of worship that of every community, — rights so sacred that to constrain either or to corrupt them was impiety. He was therefore ready, far more than most Italian statesmen, to accord that religious liberty even to the ecclesiastical foes of the State, and confidently to trust alike the political regeneration of Italy itself and the reformation of its Church to the purer and nobler principles which would, sooner or later, assert themselves in the atmosphere of liberty. But in vain, during each period when he held the reins of government, did he attempt to secure parliamentary acceptance of such an ecclesiastical policy.

This confidence was strikingly illustrated, however, in the fall of 1866, when the acquisition of Venetia had, in his judgment, brought such new strength to the State and so shut out external danger that it was safe to venture upon a generous internal ecclesiastical policy. By his circular of October 22, in that year, Ricasoli permitted the return of the bishops who had been for some years excluded from their respective Sees on account of their active hostility to the new government ; and in that of November 16 he took occasion to expound to them the reciprocal obligations involved in the principles of religious liberty upon which he was acting, arguing from the relations of Church and State in this country in a manner as generous as it was statesman-

like. There was, indeed, as much truth as humor in a pictorial comment made at the time by one of the numerous Italian caricature-journals. On one side of a double cartoon several Italian public men were represented commending themselves obsequiously to the Pope, who, clad from head to foot in plate armor and sword on thigh, angrily repulsed and cursed them; while, on the other, two armed and wrathful bishops stood threateningly before Ricasoli, who, seated upon a throne in full pontificals and wearing the tiara, bestowed on them his blessing. The cartoon was entitled, "A Papa-Baron and a Baronial-Papa." The word *Papa* cannot be translated into *Pope* without blunting the point of the antithesis.

These principles were again illustrated, early in 1871, when, after the occupation of Rome, the famous law of the Papal Guarantees was under discussion in the Italian Parliament. Baron Ricasoli was one of the leaders of a section of seventy-nine members who endeavored to introduce into that portion of this law, which sought to define the new relations between the Church and the State, certain important amendments, which, without applying to any one the slightest pressure, would yet "open to the Church the way of self-reformation," by giving to the liberal ecclesiastics "the power and the incentive" to draw around them a lay support in their efforts to that end. This was sought, in the proposed Peruzzi-Ricasoli amendments, by calling into existence local lay corporations and entrusting to these the power of the purse. This attempt, however, was only so far successful that Parliament reserved for itself the future power to make some such eventual provision for the administration of the ecclesiastical possessions of the Italian Church.

This chivalrically generous spirit and this lofty faith in the ultimate triumph of the largest religious liberty was also and still more strikingly illustrated on a memorable occasion in May, 1873, during the discussion of the act for extending the laws for suppressing religious corporations over those in Rome. There were reasons why the passage of some such law was of immediate and critical importance to the State. It was pressed in a spirit of dogged hostility to the Church; it was resisted in a spirit quite as obstinate. The struggle was very bitter, the project was in very serious danger of being defeated, and the Government was in consequence in no little jeopardy, when Ricasoli arose in his seat, proposed amendments which secured the essential principles of the law in all that the interests of the State really required, together with the most generous provisions for the heads of the several Orders, and avoidance of needless interference with what concerned purely religious interests; and in his speech he lifted the whole issue so far above the arena of party strife that his amendments were accepted and the law passed. The king himself next morning drove to the baron's villa without the

walls of Rome, to express to him the nation's gratitude and his own.

Thus was Baron Ricasoli, the statesman, in his moderation and in his great faith in the largest religious liberty, at times almost the protector of the authorities and institutions of the Roman Catholic Church as it still is. What was he when personally availing himself, as an Italian Catholic, of that very religious liberty which he thus defended? The answer to this question will perhaps best be given by speaking of the religious efforts with which he associated himself and to which he openly gave his name and influence.

Among the associates of Baron Ricasoli's early life at Brolio was the estimable parish priest of a neighboring village, who, having been originally a civil engineer, had taken orders after the death of his wife, and devoted himself at once to the duties of his sacred calling and to the education of his only child. The son, Stanislao Bianciardi, grew up semi-ecclesiastical in his consequent familiarity with clerical life and with all the evils and abuses of the Church, and yet devout and no less patriotic; and entering on a literary career became, as a writer, noted for his singularly nervous, pure, and idiomatic Tuscan style. When Ricasoli was entrusted with the Tuscan Provisional Government of 1859, he called this early friend to his aid in preparing the people for the changes to which he sought to lead them. Bianciardi projected a series of popular pamphlets, under the title "*Le Veglie del Prior Luca*," in which, under the forms of a succession of evening talks, of the good prior with some of his parishioners, the great political and ecclesiastical questions of the day were most admirably and effectively discussed. To quote from a writer in the "*Revue Moderne*" (Dec. 1865, pp. 160-165): "Signor Bianciardi distinguished himself in this brilliant campaign against the sporadic but fiery defenders of the exiled arch-dukes, and — an unheard-of thing in Tuscany — the pamphlets were caught up, on their appearance, by thousands of copies. To have any idea of the success of these little masterpieces one must go back to France to the times of the Restoration." Ricasoli subsequently attributed his own power to withstand Napoleon and to unite Tuscany with the North Italian Kingdom largely to the influence of these pamphlets in procuring for him the intelligent support of the Tuscan people. Some twenty of these "*Veglie*" appeared in all, the last so late as 1868, at the time of the marriage of King Humbert, then Crown Prince of Italy.

At the height of the early popularity of these pamphlets, Bianciardi was induced by his publishers to undertake a "*History of the Popes*." It was certainly very significant that such a work should then have been thought opportune. The writer had the active assistance of his own learned parish priest and friend; and the first, and as it proved the only, volume appeared in 1861. In this, the primitive and

ideal government of the Church was vigorously contrasted with the modern Papacy ; the very frontispiece represented Italy trampling upon the papal tiara, and pointing to the Cross and the irradiated Bible in the heavens ; and in the preface the author frankly declared his conviction of the necessity of a Catholic reform in the Church of Italy. In 1864 Dr. Bianciardi became the editor of a periodical, founded and carried on to the date of his death (and, indeed, for two years after) for the express purpose of advocating such a reform, upon principles clearly indicated by its name, "L'Esaminatore;" its text, Jer. vi. 16, "Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths;" and its motto from Tertullian, "Id quod verius prius, id prius quod ab initio." Curiously enough, the first number of this paper contained an account of a Theological Conference held in Munich in December, 1863, and of a discourse there pronounced by Dr. Döllinger, over seven years before he gave the first impulse to the Old Catholic movement of 1871. The second number contained a striking extract from the preface to the "History of the Popes" just referred to. This journal was therefore the recognized organ of the Catholic reform-school among Italian priests and laymen from the first.

Now, not only was Baron Ricasoli ever the personal friend of the Director of "L'Esaminatore," but he contributed to its support, and ever aided Bianciardi in this enterprise with his counsel and influence. In 1866, when prime minister the second time, he conferred upon him the rank and decorations of *Cavaliere*; and in 1868 he procured for him, from the Menabrea ministry, the appointment of *Proveditore Centrale* in the Ministry of Public Instruction. Bianciardi died suddenly in December of this latter year; the very number of "L'Esaminatore" announcing his death contained a letter from the baron, warmly congratulating the director upon its growing influence and usefulness, and thus publicly associating himself with Bianciardi in its principles. Ricasoli wrote in this letter:—

"I approve the prolegomena of the last number of 'L'Esaminatore,' because it is true that the banner should declare precisely the direction to be taken by the forces which serve under it. For the reformation to be what we wish, it is necessary to discuss its component parts, and to discuss them so temperately and judiciously that every day the number of adherents may be increased. The reformation will triumph on the day when the conviction of its necessity shall have become the sentiment of the majority. It is in that way that great revolutions are accomplished in the times we live in. . . . To sustain it with all one's strength and with firmness is a work of duty which, at such a time, leaves in the hands of God both the issue and the reward. Such is my model of the Christian and the citizen: this I find in the work of 'L'Esaminatore;' and this is a pledge that its work will not remain without fruit. Courage then or rather faith! and where faith is, there is also courage and self-denial."

Shortly after, to a mutual friend, Baron Ricasoli wrote in terms which show still more explicitly how closely he associated himself with the work of "L'Esaminatore": —

"If it has pleased God to take away from us a man so important and so able to serve a cause for which we contend with the assurance of doing that which is acceptable to Him, it is our duty to accept with resignation the Divine decrees, and to persevere in our convictions, and to make every effort to maintain our journal; and to trust to whoever may be best fitted the delicate mission of sustaining it, in respect to its support as to its usefulness."

The ecclesiastical career of Stanislao Bianciardi, the principles of "L'Esaminatore," and the convictions of its co-laborers and friends may, then, fairly be accepted as indicative of the religious and ecclesiastical principles of Baron Ricasoli as a man and as an Italian Catholic.

To these illustrations of Ricasoli's religious views, the writer now ventures to add some testimony of his own. It is substantially a transcript of a letter written from Florence on the very day of the conversation therein recounted. On the 14th of June, 1871, three copies of the memorable "Whitsuntide Declaration" of Dr. Döllinger and his associates had been received from Munich. On the day following, Baron Ricasoli, accompanied by a member of his former cabinet, had called upon the writer, in his absence, to inquire about this news from Germany: —

"On the 17th, therefore, I called on Baron Ricasoli, taking Professor Hüber's letter and a copy of the Declaration for him.

"The baron read the letter, and asked whether the Declaration had been published as yet in Italy. I replied that it had been sent me for that purpose, and that I had offered it to one editor, who had declined it as a matter of too little moment. He replied that he would have it translated by a friend, a deputy in Parliament, and would see that it was published. [In fact, it did appear, *in extenso*, a few days afterward, in the 'Nazione.']

"This document and Hüber's letter seemed to kindle in the baron the deepest interest, and he expressed in warm terms his wish that he might see such a movement in Italy. I ventured, in reply, to say that the greatest lack of the liberal Italian Catholics was a *leader*; and that there was, in my judgment, no one who could more effectively lead such a movement than himself. He shook his head. 'Do you not understand the Italians too well,' replied he, 'not to realize that *no* layman could successfully take such a first step? There are,' continued he, 'materials for such a movement in Italy; but the Church of Rome has brought the clergy to such a condition that there are comparatively few sufficiently sincere to desire such a reform, and perhaps none competent to lead it. But,' added he, rising as he spoke, 'if, among the ecclesiastics of sound learning and upright character, there are any of such enthusiasm of religious faith as to be willing to bear everything and to dare everything for the truth, — to whom it is an imperative necessity of conscience to take their stand before God and man in such a cause, — when *such* a man shall come forth, to whom I can look up as I can to Dr. Döllinger, I shall deem it a sacred privilege, and one of the greatest of my life, to sign

my name to such a declaration as this,' pointing to the paper which he held in his hand, '*after* such a man, — as Lord Acton and Count Moy have done here.'

"I said I hoped there were such men among the Italian clergy; and that, therefore, I could not fully share in the discouraging view he took of the state of things in Italy, — naming at the same time certain ecclesiastics known to us both. 'Learned and good men they are,' replied he: 'but not such, in other respects, I fear, as the times need! Do you not see, Signore,' he continued after a short silence, 'do you not know what we are? As I have told you before, religion in Italy is a *corpse*, — a loathsome, corrupting corpse; and nothing but a divine power can restore life to it. Do not think, however, that I despair of my country. The day of faith will come again — in time. But I am myself too old to hope to see it, save with the eye of faith. By faith I see it — feel it — thank God for it and rejoice over it; yet I do not forget what a work of training and educating must first be accomplished.'

"He had seated himself again; and, as he spoke, he drew his chair nearer me and sometimes laid his hand in earnest emphasis upon my knee. And then he spoke of his own religious convictions, hopes, and trust, in a tone and manner which I could imagine must have been most unusual for the seemingly cold, stern man whom the world called 'the iron Baron.' Under that almost haughty exterior there was a warm, loving, yearning heart.

"'Every one is talking,' said he, a few minutes afterward, as I rose to take my leave, and we stood together, — 'every one is talking of the removal of the capital to Rome; and many are saying that it ought not to be done. People are discussing questions of topography; and arguing that Florence is the better site and the true capital. *Puo essere topograficamente*. They know nothing of God's purposes! *Who* is moving the capital to Rome? The Lanza Ministry?' He made one of the expressive Italian gestures of denial. 'The Italian people? They think so; but it is *the power of God* sweeping this people before the breath of His purposes like a whirlwind, and using them, all ignorant of His will as they are, to transfer the capital, not for the mere good of Italy, but for the benefit of humanity and of the whole Church; in order that Rome may be transformed, and that this civil and social transformation may remove from the midst of the Church the agencies and the system which have corrupted it.'

"While he spoke, his every gesture gave double power to his words: his manly and noble though rugged features positively glowed with intensity of feeling, and his eyes seemed to gaze out far into the future with something of rapt insight."

During this interview, Baron Ricasoli inquired whether the Père Hyacinthe, who was at that time in Rome, had given his adhesion to the Declaration of Döllinger and his friends. Learning that he had not done so formally, he expressed his doubt if he would go so far, and his strong hopes that he would be willing to do so. This, reported to the Père Hyacinthe, was first answered by a *private* letter declaring his concurrence in the course of Dr. Dollinger, — a letter which was shown to the baron, — and was also the immediate occasion of his act of formal adhesion to the Old Catholic Declaration, — an act which was signed at Rome, July 7, 1871, and which first appeared in the Florence journals of the 10th of that month.

On a subsequent occasion, two years afterward, the writer had a long conversation with Baron Ricasoli upon the relations of the Anglo-American Church and of American ecclesiastical experience

to the politico-ecclesiastical questions of the day in Italy, the substance of which the baron asked to have written out and published. From this conversation sprang, therefore, a series of letters to "An Italian Statesman," which appeared in the Milan journal, "*La Perseveranza*," a few months later, and which were afterward republished in a collected form, by his permission, as "Letters to Baron Ricasoli."

To this personal testimony the present writer also adds a few extracts from private letters, which are here quoted with the less hesitation that copies of the originals have been placed in the hands of the baron's biographer for a similar use. They will be found to throw no little light on the statements which have been already made.

Under date of July 16, 1869, Baron Ricasoli wrote to the provisional director of "*L'Esaminatore*":—

"It seems to me that the important subject of the liberty of the Church, or rather the separation of the Church from the State, has been treated with a vagueness which will persuade no one; with that vagueness, indeed, which has prevented this principle of the separation of the Church from the State from entering convincingly into the public conscience, so that when the Ricasoli Ministry proposed the law expressly designed to concrete this separation, an ignorant and factious opposition was aroused which was followed by no reaction from an enlightened and vigorous public opinion. And yet this law fully actualized this separation and deprived the Church of its character as a *public institution*; and the State, dispossessing itself of all right to interfere and of all official relations with the Church, reduced the Church to the position of any association of private persons and left all discussions of personal rights to the decisions of the common tribunals. With that law was demolished the construction of ages, from which the Church derives so much power even in the present times, greatly changed and antagonistic as they are; and by that the way was opened for the Church to reorganize itself in accordance with its true principles and with the necessities of the human conscience. All government interference set aside, its corporate character at an end, the old structure would have fallen forever, and would have been inevitably followed by an organization not new, but purged from all the corruptions which have gathered on it for centuries and centuries. Rome herself—that is the Curia Romana—does not desire but rather condemns the liberty which it is proposed to give her; and to say that she condemns it is to say that she fears it. I believe, therefore, that this subject of the separation of the Church from the State has not been treated as it should be; and since it is of the first importance for the future, I think it should be far more thoroughly studied and discussed."

Under date of October 19, of the same year, the baron writes in answer to the expression of the wish that he would lead in this reform:—

"The banner of the reform must be raised in the midst of the priesthood, if it is to be fruitful and enduring; in the midst of a virtuous and learned priesthood, if it is to be serious and authoritative,—or better, if it is to strike lasting roots which can sustain it and vigorously bear a gigantic growth. If such virtue shall be wanting in the contending clergy, the reform in Italy would go wrong; nay, it would result as in another age. In my judgment, to promote this great work in

any other way would be to compromise it; and he who should be so blind as to think that he possessed the power to do this, whoever he may be, be he as great a man as could be desired in other respects, would finish by himself losing all authority, after having done discredit to the greatness of the work. . . . I repeat again, it is the priesthood alone, and especially those of higher dignity, who should raise their voice for reform; but to render that voice authoritative and efficacious, it is necessary that the heart be truly virtuous and the intellect possessed with sound learning, — in a word, virtue and learning that cannot be assailed. . . . The facts, however scattered and hidden, are yet enough to generate faith in a movement in the future; and God alone knows whether it is now maturing, — whether we are nearer than we think to that event, unknown, unlooked for, from which the religious reform will derive a formidable impulse. What do we know? All seem inert, indifferent to religious questions: zeal is found only among those who seek to destroy every religious principle. Shall we, therefore, give ourselves up to despair? Shall we lose faith in ourselves and in the moral laws which govern the unfolding of humanity? Not at all! Evil has its remedy ever with it; and if we will only not demand too quickly to see its results, it is certain that soon or later humanity will return upon its path. It is our duty, then, to aid whatever we believe to be good; and so much the more to aid it, that although appearances give little ground for faith in immediate realization, yet under these appearances there may be a leaven of new life, which at some not distant day will suddenly and wonderfully rise to prove how deceptive have been such appearances, and how laudable it was to persevere against them."

Again, under date of Feb. 20, 1871, during the discussion of the laws of the Papal Guarantees, he writes: —

"Whoever desires and trusts that the religious sentiment shall again become strong in Italy, ought of necessity to desire that the State should cease to interfere in religious affairs. It ought to abandon everything, no matter to whom, if it is a question of the nomination of bishops and of parish priests; it ought to abandon or rather to commit to the laity the administration of those endowments which now it holds in its own hands. It ought also to render the ordinary tribunals competent to decide all the contests which may arise in the bosom of the religious association. The State should regard the Church as a private organization, and leave it to govern itself with its own laws and regulations, and not restrain it by other fetters than those which must be placed upon the liberty of every one by considerations of the public good,—that is by common laws. Full liberty of the individual is necessary, whether alone or collectively, so long as he does not trespass upon the liberty of all, so long as he does not put in peril public order and does not offend good manners.

"You will hear, at first, the priests — certain priests — cry out against this liberty. You will hear them loudly declare that thus the Pope, the bishops, will become masters of all. In the first place, I have already said that the tribunals should be clothed with power to judge of all claims which may be brought before them by members of this religious society when any one believes himself injured in his rights, or that the canons or ecclesiastical discipline have been violated in the exercise of ecclesiastical power; but I add also that so long as State control continues, although some timid priest may feel better protected, yet the laity, the Catholic society, will continue to be a corpse, and religion will be either despised or become a superstitious and mechanical routine. How many millions of men have faced tortures and death for civil and political liberty against tyranny of every kind! It is sad, it is shameful, to see that among Catholic priests, while they cry out

against the tyranny of the Curia Romana, no one dares resist or withstand it with open visor and head erect, fortifying himself with the very statutes of the Church. There is nothing but liberty which can give back life to Catholic society. If liberty cannot do this, we shall be forced to despair of the human conscience. This conscience is now deadened or led astray; and with what stimulant can it be aroused and brought back to a better life? Liberty alone has this power. . . . Not only is fear a bad counsellor, but moreover the cowardly spirit welcomes neither elevated nor brave nor generous sentiments; and religion is anything but an inspiration of fear and of personal calculations."

Again, under date of June 29, 1871, a few days after the conversation above quoted, he writes:—

"I have read with great satisfaction the letter in which the Père Hyacinthe gives his adhesion to the Declaration of Döllinger. . . . What is done by *our* priests, by our Italian ecclesiastics, in the presence of the Declaration of Döllinger and of other German priests? . . . It is no longer a time for silence or for ambiguous language on the part of those ecclesiastics, especially, who encouraged 'L'Esaminatore' or who sustain the Rinnoramento Cattolico. Either *adhesion* or *confutation*! Silence is dastardly! The educated and believing Italian laity await their guidance from the teaching office in the Church. In the presence of the learned and solemn declarations of the German ecclesiastics, inspired as they are by so great faith and such religious interest, this prolonged silence is unworthy. It is incomprehensible that the Italian Episcopate numbers not even one who feels the duty of opposing to the usurpations of Rome the pure and solemn language of the doctrines of Christ and the wise discipline of the Church of the first ages. What wonder that the Italian laity are divided between the indifferent or incredulous and the superstitious and credulous ignorant?"

Again, under date of July 11, 1871:—

"How can it be claimed that the laity should unite with ecclesiastics in theological declarations, when hitherto any layman has been held an *intruder* if he did not bow both head and heart to the decision of the priest in religious matters? Has not every layman guilty of even the appearance of discussing and reasoning on religious subjects been regarded as a heretic? This is precisely one of the causes why faith is extinguished; and if it is still found here and there, it is among the ignorant, and it is a blind and unproductive faith. It is the ecclesiastics who ought frankly and boldly to unveil the abuses which have corrupted and destroyed the faith; it is from them that the faith ought to receive new life, regenerating life. . . . Roman Catholicism has done everything to abase the religious communion in order to have it blindly obedient; those who have thrown off the yoke have finished with losing every sentiment of religion. For them religion is no longer an element either of a sound philosophy, or of social happiness."

Again, under date of March 21, 1874:—

"Bishop Reinkens' speeches seem to me worthy of much consideration. My faith in the religious future of humanity is ever living and constant, and I do not in the least doubt that even in Italy, though slowly, the religious reawakening will advance. There is no affection which requires such freedom in the forms of its manifestation as the religious sentiment. Christianity has not yet attained its full triumph. The religions over which it arose when it appeared in the world inoculated it with the germs of future infection, which, favored by the soil of ignorance and corruption, has spread deeply and widely. It is now necessary to turn

once more to the fountains ; it is necessary to draw from the very words of Christ the reanimating spirit of the religious affection, the true salvation of the individual and the safety of human society. This reforming movement advances slowly in Italy ; but yet it advances. We must indeed admit that it does not advance rapidly elsewhere ; and this will diminish our surprise at the slowness which we note in Italy. Now the most important step has been taken, and it will never be retraced. The temporal power at an end, the Christian regeneration of the peoples has become inevitable. Let us take courage then, and let us labor on as best we may in this great work."

Finally, the baron writes, under date of Feb. 17, 1875 :—

"I have received the French translation of Gladstone's brochure on the Vatican Decrees, and for this also I thank you. This is a pamphlet which will arrest the attention of all those who think and study the vital questions by which society is agitated at the present day ; and first of all these we must place the religious problem. Christ must yet triumph over those who profane his temple."

Such language not only reported by another, but taken thus from Baron Ricasoli's own letters to a foreigner to both his country and his Church,—and not from one only, but from several, extending in date over several years,—will fully justify the claim put forth at the beginning of this article, that the "iron Baron" should be numbered among the noblest representative Old Catholics of our times. While Italy will ever reverence his memory as that of one of the greatest of the patriots of her revolution, let the children of other lands reverence the name of one who loved and labored for the holiest interests of mankind.

WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON.

VICTOR HUGO.

I.

I HAVE endeavored in my notices of Chateaubriand and of Lamennais to trace the influence of the Celtic element in the great literary movement of France which goes commonly under the name of the Romantic movement. The three great factors of the French nationality are the Celtic, the Roman or rather Gallo-Roman, and the Germanic. There is no country in the world where these factors have blended in such equal and harmonious proportions, and it is very interesting to trace their distinct influence in the history and literature of France. Such cases as Chateaubriand and Lamennais are very simple, as they were both pure Celts, and preserved in their integrity all the characteristics of a peculiar race. I must confess that Victor Hugo has long puzzled me. He is cer-

tainly the most prodigious poetical genius of our age ; but his definition, if I may use the word, is not easy. He finds no place in the classifications ; he has no literary ancestors ; he is a world in himself ; he will leave nothing behind him ; he has created no school ; his feeble imitators are a *servum pecus* whom posterity will ignore.

Who is he ? Can he be explained ? What are his ties with the past ? By what threads does he connect himself with France and with the French race ? How did he feel the mysterious influences which are at work in every human creature, and which make even genius the slave of time, of consanguinity, of atavism, of heredity ? Which of the three great influences which have been at work in the slow creation of the French character has been the most potent,—the Celtic, the Roman, the German ? At first sight it can be affirmed that Rome has left no trace in the genius of Victor Hugo. We find in him none of the qualities, none of the vices, that make the statesman, the political man. The subtle sons of the South, grandiloquent and persuasive, the lawyers or professors of Marseilles, of Aix, of Toulouse, of Bordeaux, are born politicians. They seek fortune in Paris ; and in an age of parliamentarism they find a ready employment of their faculties. They are naturally didactic and unpoetical ; vulgar in mind if not in manner ; coldly ardent, fond of intrigue, of controversy ; totally ignorant of sadness, of melancholy, of discouragement ; ever ready, ever satisfied with themselves ; made for organizing, commanding, ruling,—leaders of men in short, and born consuls, but consuls more fit for the senate and the forum than for the battles of Rome. This curious Roman element seems not only wanting in Victor Hugo, but his poetical and unruly spirit has nothing to do with the type of the consul or the proconsul or the prætor. There is nothing in him of the Roman, or even of the Gallo-Roman, as that character appears to us in the verse of Ausonius.

If a proof was wanted of this absence of the Gallo-Roman element in Victor Hugo, I could find it in this legal document which I copy textually :—

“ *Birth.* — The 8th of the month of Ventose, the year X. of the Republic.

“ *Boy.* — Act of birth of Victor Marie Hugo. Born the day of yesterday, at half-past ten in the evening ; son of Joseph Leopold Sigisbert Hugo, born at Nancy (Meurthe), and of Sophie Françoise Trébuchet, born at Nantes (Loire Inférieure), — profession of Chief of Battalion of the 20th half-brigade, living at Besançon, married ; the child presented by Joseph Leopold Sigisbert Hugo ; belongs to the male sex. First witness, Jacques Delelée, chief of brigade, aide-de-camp of General Moreau, aged 40 years, domiciled in Besançon. Second witness, Marie Anne Dessirier, wife of citizen Delelée, aged 21 years, domiciled in the same town. ”

Victor Hugo tells the same story in the famous verses which begin the “ *Feuilles d’Automne.* ”

"Ce siècle avait deux ans ! Rome remplaçait Sparte
 Déjà Napoléon perçait sous Bonaparte
 Et du premier consul déjà par maint endroit
 Le front de l'Empereur brisait le masque étroit,
 Alors dans Besançon, vieille ville espagnole,
 Jet, comme la graine au gré de l'air qui vole,
 Naquit d'un sang breton et lorrain à la fois
 Un enfant, sans couleur, sans regard et sans voix."

The father of Victor Hugo was a *Lorrainer*. Lorraine has always been a sort of debatable land, but the German race has long ago, even in the time of Cæsar, been represented in it: the invasions of the Germans have almost eradicated from it the pure Celtic element. We have no documents on the Hugos; Madame Victor Hugo, who wrote two volumes "*Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie*," says that "the first Hugo who has left a trace, as all the anterior documents have disappeared in the pillage of Nancy by the troops of Marshal Créquî in 1670, is a Pierre Antoine Hugo, born in 1532, privy councillor of the Grand Duke of Lorraine." Some other Hugos are cited. The name of Hugo is very common in the East of France; it is the same name as Hugues, Hugh, and has evidently a German origin. Hugues Capet was the founder of the first truly national dynasty in France; he came out of the people; the origin of his family was almost unknown, and could only be traced as far back as Robert the Strong.

The Hugos were of the old Germanic stock, introduced into France by the Franks. The father of Victor Hugo entered the army as a common cadet in 1788, at the age of fourteen years. He had seven brothers, who enlisted also (the Lorrainers were all soldiers); five of them were killed at the beginning of the war, in the lines of Wissembourg; two only survived, — François Juste, who became a major; and Louis Joseph, who became a general of brigade.

Three years after having entered the service, Leopold Hugo was fourrier (non-commissioned officer), and became the secretary of Alexander Beauharnais. Victor Hugo has given a résumé of his father's career in the dedication which he has placed on the first page of the "*Voix Intérieures*" in 1837:—

TO JOSEPH LEOPOLD SIGISBERT
 COUNT HUGO
 LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE ARMIES OF THE KING
 BORN IN 1774
 VOLUNTEER IN 1791
 COLONEL IN 1803
 GENERAL OF BRIGADE IN 1809
 GOVERNOR OF PROVINCE IN 1810
 LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN 1825
 DIED IN 1828

NOT INSCRIBED ON THE ARCH OF TRIUMPH.

In the preface of this poem, he protests against the omission of his father's name on the great monument of the wars of the Revolution and of the Empire. "After all," says he, "France can afford to allow a leaf to fall from her thick and glorious crown ; this leaf a son must pick up. A nation is great, a family is small ; what is nothing for one is all for the other. France has the right to forget ; a family has a right to remember."

The poor boy, whom Napoleon made a Count and whom his son has made immortal, was sent from the Rhine to the Vendée : a revolution was necessary in order to bring together the Lorrainer and the "Vendéenne" who became the mother of Victor Hugo. In this terrible war of the Vendée, where Old France was fighting with New France, Hugo showed himself as humane as he was brave ; he was filled with the same merciful spirit as Hoche. He became acquainted at Nantes with the family of a ship-owner, called Trébuchet. This man was a thorough Breton, a good Catholic, a good royalist. How did the republican soldier make his acquaintance ? The history of civil wars shows us often such contrasts. Trébuchet had lost his wife ; he had three daughters. One of them, Sophie, became interested in the officer Hugo ; she admired his humanity ; she was herself a staunch royalist, but was also somewhat of a Voltairian. She represented a type which was not uncommon before the French Revolution, and which was found even after the Revolution in many French aristocrats, and even in the Prince of Condé and in Louis XVIII. Hugo had shown a great humanity in the war ; he had saved many women and children. Sophie Trébuchet became engaged to him ; but he was recalled to Paris, where he was named *rapporteur* (reporter) of the first council of war. The *greffier* of this military tribunal was Pierre Foucher, who had been educated at Nantes, and who was an ardent royalist. Leopold Hugo remained two years in Paris ; and as he could not go to Nantes, Sophie Trébuchet came to Paris with her father and her brother. The two young people were married civilly, as all the churches were shut at the time, and all the priests were hiding themselves. The *greffier* Foucher married soon afterward, and Hugo was his witness. During the dinner the major said to his friend : "Have a daughter ; I shall have a son : we will marry them." Curiously enough this wish was realized.

A year afterward, Madame Hugo had her first son, Abel ; and her husband was soon afterward placed on the staff of Moreau. After Hohenlinden, Leopold Hugo was still major ; Joseph Bonaparte had asked for him the rank of a chef de brigade (the equivalent of colonel), but the First Consul was not very partial to the officers of Moreau. Hugo was sent to Besançon ; it was while he was there that Victor Hugo was born : he was the third son, as after Abel there had been a second child called Eugène. I will not attempt to give an ac-

count of the wars and campaigns of Leopold ; he wandered from Corsica to Elba, to the army of Italy ; he made an expedition against the legendary brigand, Fra Diavolo, in the Kingdom of Naples. At the age of five years, young Victor crossed the Mont Cenis with his mother on a visit to his father. He still remembers this journey, and Susa with its gray moss, and a dinner in the Apennines in a hut, where his brothers eat an eagle which had just been caught, and the bandits who were seen hanging from the trees on the high-roads, and Rome and St. Peter, Naples and Avellino, where they were received by their father in full uniform, on the marble steps of an old palace.

These great warriors of the first Empire must have made on their young children the same effect that Hector made on his son Astyanax, still in the arms of his mother. The great helmet of Hector frightened the child, and Hector took off his helmet and kissed him before going to battle.

In the "Feuilles d'Automne" I find a reminiscence of these emotions in these verses : —

" Dans une grande fête, un jour au Panthéon
J'avais sept ans, je vis passer Napoléon. . . ."

He says how he had left "sa mère aux doux yeux," and how he was struck, not by seeing all the people and the crowned vassals who followed the Emperor, but by seeing —

"cet homme souverain
Passer, grave et muet, ainsi qu'un Dieu d'airain !
Et le soir, curieux, je le dis à mon père
Pendant qu'il défaisait son vêtement de guerre
Et que je me jouais sur son dos indulgent
De l'épaulette d'or aux étoiles d'argent.
Mon père secoua la tête sans réponse."

Leopold Hugo followed Joseph Bonaparte from Naples to Spain ; he had become a colonel ; he was named governor of the province of Avila, and afterward of the provinces of Avila, Segovia, and Soria. After a separation of three years, Madame Hugo undertook a journey to Spain. She was living in Paris, where she could find better means of education for her three sons ; one day she placed new books on their table. "There," she said, "are a Spanish dictionary and a Spanish grammar ; in three months you must know the Spanish language." They had such a desire to see their father and to make a journey, that after six weeks they began to speak a little. It was not easy in those times to go from Paris to Guadalajara, where Hugo had been sent, because the province was full of guerillas. The type of Hernani has probably something to do with the *Empacinado* who was the leader of the great guerilla, who was fighting with General

Hugo. The General had the greatest admiration for his Spanish enemies; he pronounces in his enemies as "sublime" this Trenta of New Castille, whom he followed from mountain to mountain, from village to village. He had a heroic turn of mind; is there not a sort of echo of the terrible war-cry of the Guadalupe mountain, in these lines from "Hernani" which are so tragical:—

Morts d'Aragon ! Galice ! Estramadoure !
 Oh ! je porte malheur à tout ce qui m'entoure !
 J'ai pris vos meilleurs fils : pour mes droits sans remords
 Je les ai fait combattre ; et voilà qu'ils sont morts !
 C'étaient les plus vaillants de la vaillante Espagne !
 Ils sont morts ! Ils sont tous tombés dans la montagne,
 Tous sur le dos couché, en braves, devant Dieu,
 Et, si leurs yeux s'ouvraient, ils verraient le ciel bleu !

Is there, in past or modern poetry, a finer, a more vivid expression of the death of the brave, who is struck facing the enemy, than this last line: "ils verraient le ciel bleu"?

Madame Hugo and her children began their voyage in the spring of 1811; at Bayonne, she had to wait a long time for a military escort; the General sent one of his aides-de-camp to accompany his family. Madame Hugo was agreeably surprised when she found that this aide-de-camp was a nephew of Mirabeau, the Marquis de Saillant, who had all the politeness of the old Court. The escort, which accompanied the chest of the army and which became the protection of Madame Hugo, was very strong; it was composed of 1900 infantry soldiers, of 500 horsemen, with four guns. The first station of the convoy was at a place called Ernani. Victor Hugo was only nine years old, but this name of Ernani was not forgotten by him. He admired the old stone houses with their blazoned escutcheons; he saw Tolosa, Torquemada, the dark skeletons of many villages which had been burned by the French, deserted houses; his eye could read already in the cold, defiant, dark eyes of the Spaniards; he admired Burgos and its cathedral; he visited near Burgos the tomb of the Cid, which had become a target for the soldiers. Segovia remained like a dream in his mind, with all its marvels of architecture and its splendid Alcazar. Madame Hugo did not find her husband in Madrid; she waited for him in the palace of Prince Masserano. Victor Hugo spent long hours in the gallery of the Masserano portraits, and this gallery probably inspired in him afterward the famous scene when Don Ruy Gomez shows the portraits of all the Silvas to Don Carlos.

The journey to Madrid had lasted three months. The children remained idle in Madrid for six weeks; but as soon as the General came back, Eugène and Victor were sent to the "College of the Nobles," which was kept by monks; they were obliged to rise at five

in the morning, and when they slept, they were awakened by a little hunchback, with red hair, a red coat, and yellow stockings. This type of the *Corcova*, who was called *Corcövita* (small hump—*Corcova* means hump), was probably the father of Quasimodo in “Notre Dame de Paris” and of Triboulet in “Le Roi s’amuse.” At the beginning of 1817 General Hugo thought it necessary to send his family back to France, and only kept with him Abel, who had entered the Pages of King Joseph. Victor left with delight the College of Madrid, which had been to him a prison and a convent. Madame Hugo made the journey this time with Marshal Bellune; she met everywhere traces of the horrible war which was carried on in Spain, and when she found herself in France she had a sentiment of real deliverance. She returned to the old abbey of Feuillantines, which had become her home in Paris. The little apartment which she had in the abbey seemed very small now to Victor; how often and how long his imagination returned to Spain, its churches, its palaces; what a deep impression the choleric and heroic temper of the country of the Cid had made in his plastic mind, — was well shown afterward, when his intellect began to blossom and bear fruit. All these memories of Italy, of Spain, have been afterward condensed in the ode called “My Infancy.”

“J’ai des rêves de guerre en mon âme inquiète ;
 J’aurais été soldat, si je n’étais poète.
 L’Espagne me montrait ses couverts, ses bastilles ;
 Burgos, sa cathédral aux gothiques aiguilles
 Irun, ses toits de bois ; Vittoria, ses tours ;
 Et toi, Valladolid, les palais de familles
 Fiers de laisser rouiller des chaînes dans leurs cours.
 Mes souvenirs germaient dans mon âme échauffée ;
 J’allais, chantant des vers d’une voix étouffée ;
 Et ma mère, en soin et observant tous mes pas,
 Pleurait et souriait, disant : ‘ C’est une fée
 Qui lui parle et qu’on ne voit pas.’ ”

In a charming poem called “Ce qui passait aux Feuillantines vers 1813,” in the “Rayons et les Ombres,” Victor Hugo tells us himself how his mother received at her old house of the Feuillantines the visit of “le principal d’un Collège quelconque” (he was the principal of the College Napoléon), who told her that she ought to place Victor and Eugène in his college. Victor had suffered so much in the College of Madrid that his mother kept him at home. An old priest taught him Greek and Latin, but he spent most of the time in the garden of the old Feuillantines; his friends were the insects, the lizard, the old wall, the plants, the horse-chestnuts, the broken columns of the old cloister.

“La statue où sans bruit se meut l’ombre des branches”

and all these good and silent friends —

“Tous ces vieux murs croulants, toutes ces jeunes roses,
Tous ces objets pensifs, toutes ces douces choses,
Parlèrent à ma mère, avec l'onde et le vent
Et lui disent tout bas : ‘Laisse nous cet enfant.’”

The mother kept her child, and did not confide him to the Napoleonic University ; but, alas ! the city of Paris needed the garden of the Feuillantines for a new street (the Rue d'Ulm), and Madame Hugo was obliged to leave the old convent. She took an old hotel at the end of 1813 in the Rue de Cherche Midi ; the garden was very small and had no more than four trees.

King Joseph meantime had been obliged to leave Spain ; and General Hugo, who after the battle of Vittoria had protected his retreat, returned to Paris. Napoleon would not even leave him his title of General ; he did not like the friends of Moreau, and he was angry with his brother Joseph. France was invaded, and Hugo consented to join the army as a mere major. The minister of war asked him if he would consent to defend the fortress of Thionville ; he accepted immediately. Thionville was invested and besieged by the Hessians ; but Hugo did not open the doors of the fortress before receiving official communication of the abdication of Napoleon and of the cessation of hostilities.

Madame Hugo triumphed with the Bourbons ; she had never liked the usurper. She became young again, wore white gowns, green shoes (green was the color of the Empire, and the Empire was now trodden under foot) ; she gave white cockades to her children ; the Count d'Artois sent to her and to her children the order of the Lily ; the Lily was in silver, attached to a white ribbon. Nevertheless, General Hugo lost his command in September and returned to Paris, where he placed Victor and his brother in a “pension,” — a dark, dismal place, kept by an ex-abbé Cordier, who was such a fanatic of Jean Jacques Rousseau that he had adopted his famous Armenian costume. The two brothers had rooms to themselves, and only mixed with their comrades in the recreations and at the meals. On the 26th of February, 1815, the pension was making its promenade at the Champ de Mars ; on the Pont d'Jena, one of the boys noticed a great inscription, — “1st March, 1815. Vive l'Empereur !” The pension was much surprised ; but on March 1 Napoleon did land at Cannes. General Hugo returned to Thionville during the Hundred Days. Victor Hugo remembers ascending the great dome of the Pantheon, with one *pion* (the maitre d'études) of the pension, when Paris was surrounded again by the Allies. It was in June he heard the guns of the enemy ; but the sun was warm, the forests green, and the noise of the battle seemed only a small incident in the great spectacle which he had before him. Once more Hugo was

obliged to open the gates of his proud little fortress ; Paris had fallen ; peace was made, and he could resist no more.

Young Victor Hugo had been, politically speaking, completely moulded by his mother ; he saw liberators in the Bourbons. He spent most of his time in his pension, writing verses, and his verses are full of the purest royalism.

“Quand on hait les tyrans, on doit aimer les rois ”

is a verse of that period, kept with many others in some school-boy “cahiers ” which have been published in fragments in “Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie.” He even wrote at school a melodrama, “Inez de Castro,” in three acts in prose. The “vis tragica” is already felt in this childish play, the love of contrasts, of antitheses ; but the piece is a mere sketch, and the characters are quite undeveloped. In 1817 the French Academy offered a prize on this subject : “The Happiness which study procures in all the situations of life.” Young Victor wrote three hundred and twenty verses on this very unpoetical subject. They are the verses of a rhetorician ; they are as dull as anything which ever came out of the classic fountain of Castalia, — watery, dull, prosaic verses of this sort : —

“J’obéirai : pour moi le sentier de l’honneur
Sera toujours le seul qui conduise au bonheur.”

and

“J’admire les guerriers, mais je hais les bourreaux.”

The fountain of Castalia, however, was very dry in 1817. Hugo gave his verses to his friend Biscassot, and they carried them together to the secretary of the Academy. Victor did not have the prize ; but his poem was “mentioned” by the Perpetual secretary, who would not believe that the author was only fifteen years old.

While he continued his studies, he wrote an ode on “The Virgins of Verdun,” and another on “The Re-establishment of the Statue of Henri IV.” He was an ardent royalist because his mother was a royalist. The “Virgins of Verdun” had a prize at the “Jeux Floraux” of Toulouse. Chateaubriand had a great influence over the mind of Hugo ; in his scholar’s notes is this line : “Je veux être Chateaubriand ou rien.” He devoured the “Genius of Christianity.” Chateaubriand dragged him out of the conventionalities of the classic school, and opened new worlds to him.

In 1820 he sent another poem to Toulouse, “Verses on the Rhine,” which had a prize. He wrote an ode to “La Vendée,” and at the age of eighteen he undertook to publish a semi-monthly Review. All his poems of the period of 1820 to 1822 are inspired by Jacobite feelings. He saw nobody at the time but his mother ; his father only came to Paris for a day or two at a time, and he did not live

then with their mother. The "mère Vendéenne" was in full possession of the heart and of the mind of her children; she lived for them and with them. The death of the Duke de Berri inspired Victor Hugo to write an ode, which was much read. Chateaubriand spoke of it in enthusiastic terms, and called Hugo "un enfant sublime." The king requested several times the verse

"Monarque en cheveux blancs, hâte-toi; le temps presse."

Victor Hugo was taken to Chateaubriand's house by a friend. The great man made him his compliments: "Ce qui est beau dans vos odes est très beau." He criticised other parts; he placed poetry far above prose; "Poetry," said he, "is literature from above." He had written some verses himself; but of all his poetical work there remains nothing absolutely but the short poem, which had been put in music:—

"Qu'il va lentement, le navire
À qui j'ai confié mon sort."

Victor Hugo was somewhat disappointed with Chateaubriand's manner and appearance, as all young men are when they see their idols. He did not think himself respectfully treated when one day the old viscount made all his toilet before him, and even took his bath in the English fashion in a tub. Chateaubriand had always piles of five franc pieces on his chimney, and it amused Hugo to see him give them away to his valet, when some old émigré, some old soldier of Condé, came to his door; he never refused to give. Madame de Chateaubriand, who was a very extraordinary person, sold chocolate, and gave the money to a hospital of old priests. "I sell it very dear," said she to young Victor; "will you have a pound?" Victor, who wished to be very generous, took three pounds; but was completely ruined. Chateaubriand used to call himself one of Madame de Chateaubriand's poor. Victor Hugo wrote for him the ode called "le Génie" (in 1820). The tone of it is still classic. Italy is

"cette terre des arts
Où croît le laurier de Virgile,
Où tombent les murs des Césars."

Here and there, however, comes a romantic trait like this:—

"Et Carthage, et la Pyramide,
Toute immobile de la mort."

You feel the true poet in this unexpected image. Madame Hugo fell ill in 1821; she was living then in the Rue Mezières. She lingered for a few months, and died quietly in a syncope on June 27. Among the persons who were in the church when the burial took place was a young priest, who was then a *sous-diacre* in the seminary

of Saint-Sulpice. He was the heir of one of the oldest families of France ; his name was the Duke of Rohan ; he had been married young, and a few days after his marriage his young wife had been burned alive. He had made himself a priest ; he saw Victor Hugo ; he had read his verses ; he called upon and tried to console him for the loss of his mother. During the holiday of the seminary he asked Victor Hugo to go with him to a château which he had at Roche-Guyon. He lived there with no other guests than a few priests of the neighborhood, who always called him "Monseigneur." The servant who waited during the repast was the mayor of the village ; he wore a uniform, and even a sword, after the old etiquette. There was in the château a bed where Henri IV. had slept ; another room had been inhabited by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, the author of the famous "Maxims." The Duchesse de Berri was expected at the château, and Victor Hugo, who was shy, stayed but a short time with his new friend, and returned to Paris without seeing the Princess, though she would have liked to see the poet who had written the ode on the assassination of her husband.

Victor Hugo had no pension from his father ; he had no regular profession ; he lived at that time upon eight hundred francs a year. It was all he could make with his pen at the beginning ; but his vocation was so decided that he was determined not to betray the Muse who was speaking so loud to him. The Duke of Rohan had returned to Paris ; he found his young friend perplexed about the future, unhappy, in love with Mdlle. Foucher, who was the daughter of an old friend of his father and mother, too poor to think of marrying ; he turned the mind of Victor Hugo toward religion, and told him that he must choose for himself a spiritual director. He presented him to the Abbé Frayssinous, who was then the fashionable preacher ; but Hugo did not like him, found him too worldly ; then the Duke of Rohan conducted him to Lamennais. To his great surprise their carriage stopped at the door of the old Abbey of the Feuillantines, where Hugo had spent the happy days of his childhood. Nothing was changed in the apartment where Madame Hugo had lived, and where Lamennais lived now. "My dear Abbé," said Rohan, "I bring you a penitent ;" and Hugo made his confession to Lamennais. Genius knelt before genius. The sins of Victor Hugo were but slight ; he had been dining one evening between Mdlle. Duchesnois and Mdlle. Leverd, two of the most famous actresses of the time, in company with Madame Sophie Gay, an author who was the mother of the famous Delphine Gay (who became Madame de Girardin) ; he had gone with them all to the play ; he had felt almost contaminated by these amiable persons. The "Breton," the "Vendéen" spirit was still in all its strength ; it was at that time that he wrote the gloomy story "Hans d'Islande."

The poems of Victor Hugo had so far only appeared one by one ; he collected them for the first time in the year 1822. A bookseller, named Pélicier, consented to place the " Odes et poésies diverses " in his shop-window ; the virgin volume had not been there a quarter of an hour, when it was noticed by M. Mennochet, who was the reader of Louis XVIII. Mennochet gave the little volume in its modest blue paper-cover to the old king, who looked at it, opened it, and said " c'est un mal fagoté." ¹ He read the verses, however, and with some care ; he knew Horace by heart, and was fond of poetry. The volume was well sold ; fifteen hundred copies had been printed. Victor received for his share seven hundred and fifty francs ; and Louis XVIII. inscribed him for a pension of one thousand francs on the list of his pensioners.

This pension of the king allowed Victor Hugo to get married to Mdlle. Foucher ; the thousand francs seemed to him a fortune. His own father had taken another wife, and lived quite apart from him ; he asked, however, for his permission to marry ; the General could not refuse it, but he did not assist at the ceremony. Lamennais received the confession of Victor Hugo (the Catholic marriage cannot be celebrated without this preliminary ceremony). The witnesses of Hugo were Alexandre Soumet and Ancelot ; the ceremony was performed at Saint-Sulpice, in the chapel of the Virgin, where the funeral of Victor Hugo's mother had taken place. A few months after his marriage Hugo sold to an old Marquis, who had become a bookseller, " Persan," his novel " Hans d'Islande," and the second edition of his " Odes." For " Hans d'Islande " Hugo was paid one thousand francs ; it appeared in four small volumes, without any name, like " René," " Werther," the " Voyage autour de ma chambre " (of Xavier de Maistre). The book was not well received, and we cannot much wonder at it. Charles Nodier alone wrote a complimentary article on it in the " Quotidienne ; " this article is curious as it shows the strategic position of the Classics and of the Romantics. " The Classics," says Nodier, " triumph in the press, in the Academies, in the literary circles. The Romantics triumph on the stage, at the booksellers' shops, and in the drawing-rooms." However, Nodier considers " Hans of Iceland," with all its collection of atrocities, as the error of a genius ; he pities the author, who has condemned himself to look for all the moral infirmities of life, all the horrors of society, all its degradations, all the eruptions of the natural state and of the civilized state ; who looks for anomalies on the marble slabs of the Morgue, or the wooden planks of the scaffold ; who makes the acquaintance of the hangman and the executioner. What Nodier considered as an error of Victor Hugo is a part of his nature ; the pen which wrote the

¹ This expression is often used ; it has its origin in the fagots made with branches in the forests. " The fagot is not well made " is the equivalent of the English " slipshod work."

"Odes," so full of light and of poetry, wrote also "Hans d'Islande ;" the love of the "ugly" was already mixed up in this extraordinary mind with the love of the "beautiful ;" and this "romantic" view of Nature, of life, of human nature, had nothing to do with modern "realism" and "naturalism." The "monsters" of Hugo are unreal ; his devils are no more to be classed among what Zola calls the "human documents" than his angels. The Romantic literature makes me think always of the *Campo Santo* of Pisa, of the great and sometimes sublime efforts of Orcagna and of his school. Here also you find a certain sort of naturalism ; but Nature is idealized, transformed. The artist's own dreams, are they not real ? Have the creatures of his invention no existence ? If Hegel could say "that all that is rational is real," can we not say that there is reality in all that is thought and seen with the mind's eye ? The vision of Hugo is not always objective, like the vision of the "naturalist ;" it is as often subjective, and he can erect new worlds, with the memories of the interior world floating in the chaos of his conscience.

Louis XVIII. doubled the pension of Victor Hugo ; he felt now quite rich. He was invited to the ceremony of the coronation of Charles X. at Rheims ; he met Chateaubriand, who had taken his part as a peer. "This is not," said Chateaubriand, "my idea of a coronation. The church bare, the king on horseback, two books open, — the Gospel and the Charte ; religion married to liberty. Instead of this, we have only had a pageant." Hugo wrote an ode on the coronation in 1825, and in 1826 he wrote his "Ode to the Column of the Place Vendome." A sort of Bonapartist revelation had been made to the young royalist ; he had become reconciled with his father. The cause of the estrangement had been the General's second marriage. One of Victor's brothers having become very ill, the General returned to Paris. Victor saw more of him ; he began to admire the old soldier of the Revolution and of the Empire, the man who had fought to the end against the invader. The Ode to the Column was composed on this occasion. At a great reception of the Austrian ambassador the "huissier" of the Embassy had announced all the old Marshals of the Empire without their titles ; the Duke of Dalmatia had been announced as "Marshal Soult," the Duke of Trévisé as "Marshal Mortier," the Duke of Tarente as "Marshal Macdonald." The old kings and emperors refused to recognize the new knights of the Napoleonic era. Hugo felt as if his father was insulted, and wrote the Ode to the Column.

"Débris du grand Empire et de la grande armée
Colonne, d'où si haut parle la renommée !
Je t'aime ; l'étranger t'admire avec effroi."

The royalist adds, it is true,

"Au bronze de Henri mon orgueil te marie."

But he will not allow any insult to the heroes of the modern time.

“ C'est moi qui me taisais ! Moi qu'enivrait naguère
Mon nom *saxon* mêlé parmi des cris de guerre.”

You see here that Hugo considers himself, his name, to be of Saxon or Germanic origin. He remembers also that he is a “ Vendéen,” and says : —

“ Contre une injure ici tout s'unit, tout se leve
Tout s'arme et le Vendée aiguïsera son glaive
Sur la pierre de Waterloo ! ”

Like Lamartine, like Chateaubriand, Hugo in the midst of the petty wars of parliamentarism is seduced by the poetry of the Empire. The opposition against the Bourbon was Bonapartist ; it worked incessantly upon the feelings which had been wounded by the Allies. Speaking of Napoleon, Hugo says : —

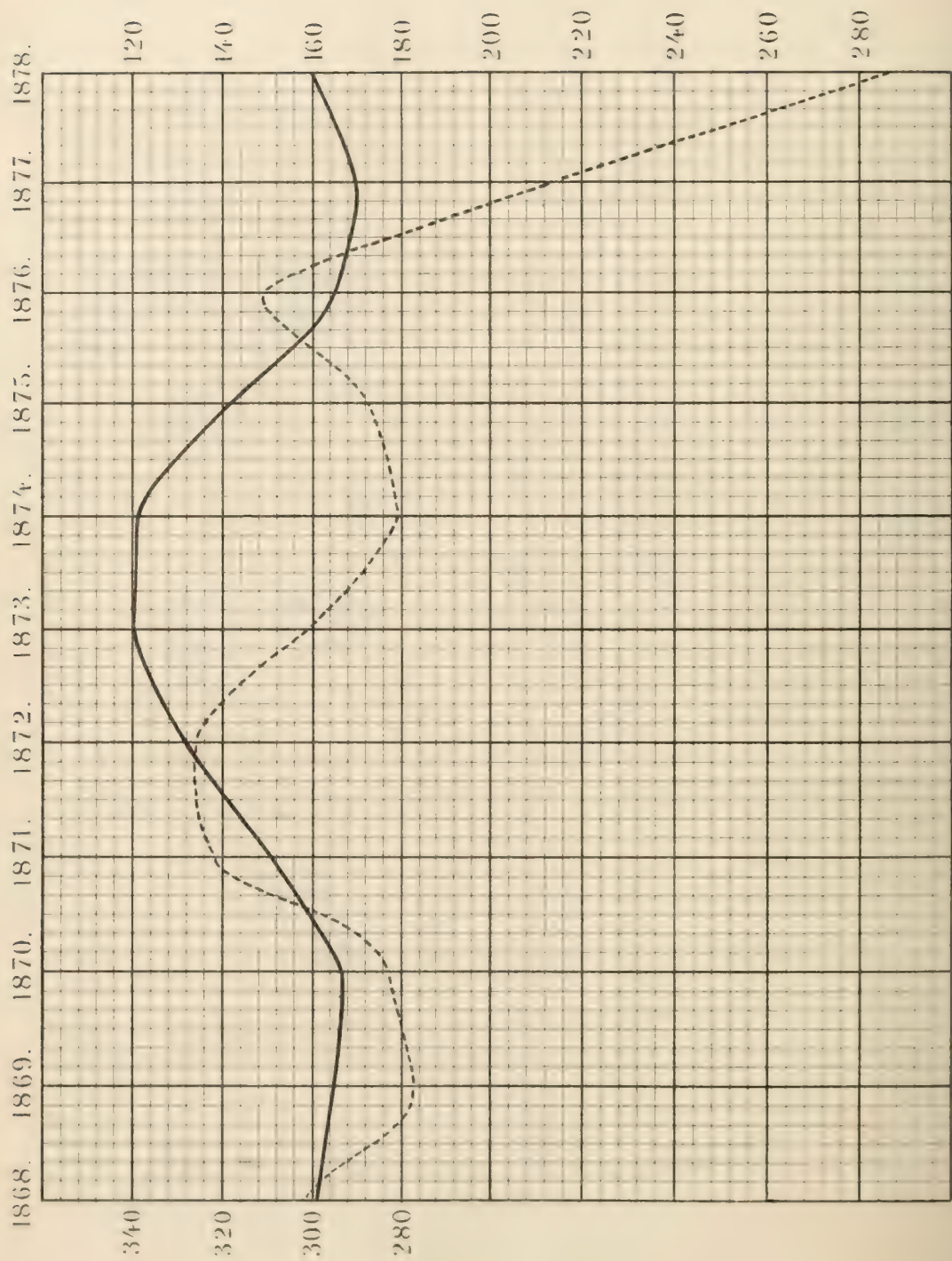
“ L'Europe
Ne compte plus, assise aux portes de sa tente
Les heures de son noir sommeil.”

Hugo was not engaged in the political strife of the time ; but he was a mirror. The revolutionary revival and the Bonapartist revival, which culminated in the revolution of 1830, began to have their influence upon his elastic, flexible spirit. He sang no more, like the Levite, —

“ Oh ! que la Royauté, peuples, est douce et belle !
A force de bienfaits elle achète ses droits.
Son bras fort quand bouillonne une foule rebelle
Couvre les sceptres d'une croix.”

His mind, however, dwelt little on politics ; he was only seized by the dramatic and poetical side of events. His genius was now in full bloom ; his imagination dwelt in all lands,—in England (he wrote “ Cromwell ” in 1828), in the East (the “ Orientales ” appeared in 1829), in Spain (“ Hernani ” was in preparation). He undertook to make a complete reform—more than a reform, a revolution—in French literature ; the system which was afterward called “ Romanticism ” found its first complete expression in the preface of “ Cromwell.” This preface was the declaration of war to the “ Classics ; ” and after the lapse of so many years it is interesting to see what were the objects of the new school, and how far they have been attained.

AUGUSTE LAUGEL.



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THE TREASURY AND THE BANKS.

SECRETARY SHERMAN affirms, in his last annual report, that "United States notes are now, in form, security, and convenience the best circulating medium known." On the other hand, Mr. Garfield said¹ two years ago in the House of Representatives: "The experience we are having in this House from day to day makes me fear there will never be any permanent safety to business so long as there is a greenback in circulation." These two expressions distinctly raise the question, whether the paper money of the United States shall be issued through the agency of commercial banks, or directly from the treasury. Mr. Sherman, it is true, does not propose to adopt either method exclusively; the present system, he says, is the best ever devised. But if United States notes are in fact the best circulating medium known, they should certainly be substituted for the bank notes; and half-a-dozen bills have been offered with this purpose by Western members of Congress. On the contrary, if there be no permanent safety to business while the United States notes remain in circulation, they should be retired and cancelled.

The serious discussion of this subject is not ended, when the bank tax and the rate of interest on the public debt have been compared, or when the relative solvency of bank notes and treasury notes is settled. It is a question, besides, whether the source may not determine the quantity of the supply at different seasons and in different circumstances, so far as to make the notes much more or much less available when wanted for commercial uses. This is a question of fact, to be answered satisfactorily only by a careful analysis of the statistics exhibiting the relations of the treasury and of the banks to the business of the country.

¹ Congressional Record, Feb. 23, 1879.

Fortunately we have abundant and exact information of this kind. The quarterly accounts of the Treasurer of the United States register the income and outlay of the Government with strict precision. The banking statistics, since 1863, are unrivalled for completeness, in this country or any other. It is now possible to measure approximately the varying demand for money, from season to season, as shown somewhat obscurely by the volume of loans from the banks to the public, but more clearly by the changing sum of deposits; and to compare accurately the working of the banks and of the treasury with reference to this demand.

For seventeen years the Comptroller of the Currency has been compiling — at first quarterly, and afterward five times a year — consolidated statements of the condition of all the banks enrolled under the national law. The Comptroller may call for returns at any time; the banks are consequently unable to make special arrangements for them, and the combined figures disclose the true operation of the money market under its natural laws. The national banks in 1880 had an aggregate capital of 624 millions, including their surplus and undivided profits. The capital employed by State banks and private banks was 194 millions.¹ More than three fourths of all the banking capital in the country is accordingly represented in the Comptroller's tables, and nearly one half of the paper circulation, — the rest being furnished by Government.

The transformation from the State to the national banking system may be said to have been completed in 1868, when the capital invested under the act of 1863-64 had reached the sum of 535 millions. If now we reduce the statistics for the ten fiscal years from July 1, 1868, to July 1, 1878,² to their mean values at four seasons corresponding as nearly as may be to March, June, October, and December, the average resources and liabilities of the national banks at these four seasons will show quite accurately the annual course of the money market in the United States. By this method, employed in the study of all natural phenomena, the irregular fluctuations which obscure the law in any single series of observations will be eliminated, and the normal operation of the forces called demand and supply will be revealed.

The demand for money is as purely natural in its origin as the invisible force which raises the slender column of mercury in the thermometer. The summer heat which expands the mercury also ripens the grain on the Western prairies; and the ripened harvest, seeking a market, creates the pressure which begins in October, and is prolonged in November by the movement of the cotton crop in the Southern States. The test of the efficiency of our banking machin-

¹ Finance Report, 1880, pp. 115, 135.

² Comptroller's Report, 1880, pp. 141-151.

ery is its capacity to meet these changing requirements adequately and easily ; and its action must be automatic, since no calculation can include all the elements which go to make up the demand on a given day, or in a given year. The advancing rate of interest, which marks an increasing demand, must act directly upon the natural desire of men for gain, in order to draw into the market a supply of money previously idle or less profitably invested.

The action and reaction of these two forces might be illustrated by an analysis of the banking statistics for any year ; but the general law of the market can be deduced only from a considerable number of observations. The times for observing the condition of the banks have usually, but not always, been appointed by the Comptroller of the Currency in the four months named.¹ In some instances these limits have been anticipated or overpassed by a few days ; but it is strictly accurate to say that the figures below represent the mean values, in millions, of the items returned to the Comptroller during the ten fiscal years 1868-78, in the spring, in midsummer, in the harvest season, and at the close of the year : —

RESOURCES.	Spring.	Summer.	Fall.	Winter.
Loans and Discounts	\$846.5	\$856.2	\$847.2	\$835.0
Stocks and bonds	425.2	427.5	425.4	423.8
Due from other banks	134.8	139.5	129.8	128.5
Unavailable assets	49.1	49.0	47.0	48.3
Cash	271.4	284.8	271.8	273.8
Total	\$1727.0	\$1757.0	\$1721.2	\$1709.4

LIABILITIES.	Spring.	Summer.	Fall.	Winter.
Capital	\$629.5	\$634.6	\$627.3	\$631.8
Circulating notes	312.5	311.1	311.9	313.1
Deposits	610.2	631.9	617.5	600.8
Due to other banks	170.1	174.4	159.9	158.7
Bills payable	4.7	5.0	4.6	5.0
Total	\$1727.0	\$1757.0	\$1721.2	\$1709.4

¹ In the ten-year period, 1868-78, there is a complete series of reports for June, and another for October, except in 1873, when the returns were made for Sept. 12. Returns for March are missing in four years, when the calls were for Feb. 27, 28, and April 14, 17 ; and in three years the calls were postponed from December to Jan. 4, 6, 22.

For convenience, all stocks and bonds, whether pledged to secure circulation or deposits, or held simply as investments, are here summed up together; real estate, current expenses, and premiums paid are classed as unavailable assets; the original capital, surplus, and undivided profits, including unpaid dividends, are reckoned as capital, since they all belong to the shareholders; public and private deposits make but one item; and notes rediscounted are properly included in the amount due to other banks.

These mean resources and liabilities of all the banks are derived from aggregates composed of separate accounts, in which the condition of each bank is exactly stated. Each account is an isolated fact, which the book-keeper records as mechanically as a tide-gauge registers the ebb and flow of the sea. The aggregates, compiled year after year, and reduced to their mean values, reveal the law of the money market precisely as the tidal observations reveal the subtle relation between the movements of the moon and of the waters. We have here an equation between the demand for money at different seasons in this country and the supply, so far as it is furnished by the national banks. The demand is evidently indicated by the sum of loans to the public, of stocks and bonds representing loans to the Government or to corporations, and of loans to other banks. The supply is composed of the capital, the circulating notes, the deposits, and sums borrowed from other banks, or on bills payable. Some of these terms appear to be constant; others vary widely: but the statement requires some further reduction before it can be discussed intelligently.

The unavailable assets, for example, — representing mainly fixed capital, — should be eliminated, leaving only what may be called active capital.

The transactions of the banks among themselves, if only national banks were concerned, would be offset in this general account. If then the amount due from other banks be subtracted from the amount due to other banks, the remainder will be the mean loans from savings banks and other State banks to the national banks.

The volume of circulating notes appears to be remarkably constant; but to determine the volume in circulation, it is necessary to know the amount on hand, and this can be ascertained only by an analysis of the cash account as follows:—

CASH.	Spring.	Summer.	Fall.	Winter.
Checks, clearing-house exchanges, etc.	\$100.8	\$100.9	\$106.8	\$101.1
Bank-notes	16.2	18.9	15.0	17.9
Specie . . , . .	27.7	23.9	17.1	28.5
Fractional currency	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.1
Legal tenders	124.6	139.2	130.9	124.2
Total	\$271.4	\$284.8	\$271.8	\$273.8

The bank notes on hand, varying in amount from 15 to 19 millions, are for the time retired, and should neither be reckoned as cash nor as circulating notes.

After the reductions indicated, the equation stands thus:—

DEMAND.	Spring.	Summer.	Fall.	Winter.
Loans and discounts	\$846.5	\$856.2	\$847.2	\$835.0
Stocks and bonds	425.2	427.5	425.4	423.8
Cash reserves	255.2	265.9	256.8	255.9
Total	\$1526.9	\$1549.6	\$1529.4	\$1514.7

SUPPLY.	Spring.	Summer.	Fall.	Winter.
Active capital	\$580.4	\$585.6	\$580.3	\$583.5
Notes in circulation	296.3	292.2	296.9	295.2
Deposits	610.2	631.9	617.5	600.8
Loans from State banks	35.3	34.9	30.1	30.2
Bills payable	4.7	5.0	4.6	5.0
Total	\$1526.9	\$1549.6	\$1529.4	\$1514.7

The capital now appears nearly constant, as it should,—the accumulation in June and December being undivided profits. The volume of notes in circulation reaches a minimum in midsummer. In the fall and at the close of the year the State banks contract their loans. The principal movement appears in the line of deposits. The differ-

ence between the maximum in June and the minimum in December is 31 millions. Looking at the other side of the equation, it will be seen that of these 31 millions of deposits 21 millions go to swell the sum of loans and discounts in June, and 10 millions appear as cash on hand. It is a little surprising to find the volume of loans greater in midsummer than at any other season; but these, of course, are call-loans at a nominal rate of interest. The usual rate in New York, in June, is 6 per cent for commercial paper and 3 per cent on call; and the quotations for call-loans secured by United States bonds have often been as low as 1 per cent per annum.

The aggregate loan fund of the national banks appears to be 1549 millions in June, 1529 millions in October, 1515 millions in December, and 1527 millions in March. From midsummer until the close of the year the supply of money ebbs away, returning during the next half year.

The quarterly accounts of the Treasurer of the United States¹ show an entirely different law regulating the supply of money from the treasury. The mean quarterly receipts and expenditures of the United States, in millions, for the fiscal years 1868-78, were:—

QUARTERS.	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.
Receipts	\$164.4	\$175.0	\$175.2	\$189.3
Expenditures	172.0	152.1	188.2	179.0
Difference	- 7.6	+ 22.9	- 13.0	+ 10.3

During the first and third quarters the expenditures, swollen by the semi-annual interest payments, exceed the revenue.

We can now compare the money currents to and from the treasury and the banks, from year's end to year's end. In the following table the average outflow for the ten years named, still in millions, is denoted by the sign *minus*, and the return by the sign *plus*:—

QUARTERS.	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.
National banks	+ 12.2	+ 22.7	- 20.2	- 14.7
U.S. Treasury	- 7.6	+ 22.9	- 13.0	+ 10.3

¹ Statement, by Quarters and Years, from the Books of the Treasurer of the United States, showing the Revenue Collected and the Expenditures of the Government during each fiscal year from 1860 to 1877 inclusive, and the Amount of Cash in the Treasury belonging to the United States at the close of each quarter, from July 1, 1859, to June 30, 1877.—Washington, 1878. The accounts for the fiscal year 1878 were obtained in manuscript from the Treasurer's office.

It is the special duty of the banks to provide money for the purpose of forwarding goods from producers to consumers. The treasury has no such relations with the business of the country; and it is here demonstrated, as was to be expected, that the operations of the treasury do not conform to the requirements of trade. In January, when money is flowing into the bank vaults, the treasury pays out 7 or 8 millions, and adds to the severity of the pressure in October and November by withdrawing 10 millions from circulation.

If it be true, as Ricardo says,¹ that not the least of the advantages of a paper circulation is "the facility with which it may be altered in quantity as the wants of commerce and temporary circumstances may require," then evidently this elastic margin, being chiefly desirable for its adaptability to the exigencies of trade, will be appropriate to the dealings of the banks, which are themselves a part of the machinery of commerce, but not to the purposes of the treasury, which is governed by its own necessities.

The variation of the note circulation to meet the autumnal demand for money may easily be determined by an examination of the changes in the condition of the banks, from June to October.

The principal difference is in the deposits, of which 14 millions are drawn out. At the same time the shareholders receive 6 millions of dividends, and the State banks recall 5 millions of their loans. The supply of money is thus diminished by 25 millions; but the volume of circulating notes increases nearly 5 millions, so that the actual drain is only 20 millions. Of this sum, 9 millions have been paid out of the cash reserves. The amount of bonds on hand is 2 millions less. Finally, the loans and discounts are curtailed to the extent of 9 millions. Of course there is a much larger reduction of the amount of loans on call, and an increase of loans on business paper; but the net contraction is only 9 millions.

The detailed cash account shows that the amount of specie and legal tenders is 15 millions less in October than in June; but this deficiency is partially made good by the multiplication of checks and clearing-house exchanges. These items increase by the surprising sum of 6 millions, and the net loss of cash is accordingly 9 millions.

It appears, then, that one fifth of the annual pressure upon the banks is met by a temporary expansion of the note circulation, and as much more by the natural accumulation of exchange; so that the cash reserves easily bear one half of the remaining requirement, and only a fractional part of the demand falls finally upon the loans. An examination of the changes from October to December will show that the bank notes are returning, and that the unusual amount of

¹ Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency. Quoted by F. A. Walker, in "Money," p. 415 n.

exchange has disappeared at the close of the busy season. The paper circulation, in its place as a part of the mechanism of banking, may really, it seems, "be altered in quantity as the wants of commerce and temporary circumstances require," with the effect which Ricardo points out in the same sentence, of "keeping money at a uniform value"¹ by averting the force of the demand, in part, from the loan market, and so limiting its effect upon the rate of interest.

The same phenomena appear on a larger scale in the statistics for a series of years. The bank circulation follows the commercial demand for money with a wider sweep, and the operations of the treasury show a greater eccentricity. The cash balances in the treasury from year to year, and the annual statements of the circulation of the banks, mark the stages of these greater fluctuations.

In the accompanying diagram, the continuous line represents the variation of the bank circulation, as reported annually in June during the ten-year period from midsummer, 1868, to midsummer, 1878. The dotted line rises and falls inversely with the balances in the United States treasury from year to year, on the 1st of July.² The scale on the left marks the amount of the bank circulation; that on the right, the treasury balances, — both in millions. An upward movement of either curve signifies expansion of the sum of money in circulation; a downward movement, contraction.

A glance shows that these two lines are in no way related to each other. If one of them corresponds to the requirements of commerce, the other does not.

On closer inspection, it is found that the continuous line follows with undeviating accuracy the course of trade during the period designated. In March, 1869, Congress had solemnly pledged the faith of the United States to make provision at the "earliest practicable period" for the redemption of the legal-tender notes in coin.³ That pledge foreshadowed a general decline of prices; business was accordingly restricted to necessary and legitimate transactions; and the banks, finding no use for a portion of their circulation, surrendered it. A year later it began to appear, that, in the estimation of Congress, the earliest practicable period for a resumption of specie payments was still far away. The speculative movement began, which ended in the panic of 1873. To meet the demand for money the banks increased their circulation to 340 millions. Then came four years of depression; and the volume of bank notes ran down to 290 millions,

¹ This evidently means market value, or price. J. S. Mill notes, in his "Elements of Political Economy," Am. ed. vol. i. p. 538, that "the words value and price were used as synonymous by the early political economists, and are not always discriminated even by Ricardo."

² Finance Report, 1880, p. 19.

³ Act to strengthen the public credit, approved March 18, 1869.

rising again to 300 millions when business began to revive in 1878.

The bank issues rise or fall with the tide of business. The notes are called out by the demands of commerce, and return when the exigency is past. The credit of the banks thus serves to enlarge the loan fund for the uses of trade. The treasury balance is not a loan fund, but a deposit subject to the order of Congress. It is increased by borrowing, or by taxation, and diminished by payments, under the authority of the Senate and House of Representatives. This authority is arbitrary, — an accidental majority may turn the scale in favor of economy or extravagance; and the sums thus locked up, or suddenly thrown into circulation, have sometimes been large enough to occasion serious financial disturbances.

In 1870, as the diagram shows, the expenditures of the Government began to exceed the receipts. During the next three years the treasury paid out 49 millions of dollars, which went into circulation. Prices went steadily upward.¹ Money was plenty, though the rates of interest were high. Great sums were borrowed for the construction of railroads, from which returns could not be expected for many years. The market was flooded with city, town, and county bonds for public improvements from which no pecuniary return could possibly come. Credit, public and private, was strained to the bursting point; when, in 1873, without warning, 25 millions were drawn in. A ruinous collapse followed, and the distress was prolonged and aggravated by an additional contraction of 20 millions in 1874. Then came another period of expansion. In 1875 and 1876 29 millions were poured out of the treasury. Congress had given notice in 1875 that specie payments would be resumed within four years; but this inflation raised the price of gold from 110 to 115. The markets were unsettled and irregular. Railroad earnings increased during the first six months of 1876, but soon declined again. The delusive gleam of prosperity was quickly extinguished. At the close of the year, the number of mercantile failures was found to be larger than in 1875, though the liabilities were somewhat less. In 1877 the treasury drew in 65 millions, and 72 millions more in 1878, to provide for the redemption of the United States notes in 1879. This severe contraction was alleviated by increasing the deposits with the national banks on account of the United States. These deposits, usually about 9 millions, amounted in June, 1878, to 22 millions, and in October to 41 millions. In this way, a portion of the money belonging to the treasury was kept in circulation.

It is noticeable that the diagram shows a tendency to expansion on the part of the treasury at intervals of four years. The curve sweeps

¹ Finance Report, 1873, p. 502. Prices of staple articles, from 1864 to 1873.

upward in 1872, and again in 1876. If we go back to 1868, we shall find that between July 1, 1867, and July 1, 1868, the treasury paid out nearly 40 millions. And if we come down to 1880, we find between July 1, 1878, and July 1, 1880, an expansion of 55 millions.¹ This is evidently a political period. It has happened, just before the Presidential elections of 1868, 1872, 1876, and 1880, that the amount of money in circulation has been regularly increased by from 30 to 55 millions paid out of the treasury of the United States. Of course these payments have all been made upon lawful appropriations by Congress; but for some reason Congress appears to be subject to quadrennial fits of extravagance. It does not follow that there has been a deliberate purpose to inflate the currency for effect upon the elections. On the contrary, the inflation has usually occurred in the third year of the Presidential term, and has been followed by a contraction in the latter part of the fourth year, occasioned by a show of economy in the appropriations at the last session before the election. A quadrennial period, however, is clearly indicated; and an expansion of the currency may be expected before every Presidential election, and contraction afterward, so long as the treasury balances are large enough to affect appreciably the sum of money in circulation.

It has been shown that the outflow from the treasury before the elections of 1872 and 1876 was followed by the usual symptoms of an inflation of the currency. These indications were very marked in 1871-72, and hardly less in 1879-80, when the 55 millions poured into the channels of trade from the treasury, mostly in 1879, were followed by 64 millions of gold and silver coin in 1880.² The Director of the Mint shows in his last annual report that the average prices of exported commodities for the fiscal year 1880 were $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent higher than the prices of 1879.³ The heavy crops of 1879 should have cheapened the cost of living, but the deluge of 120 millions of dollars swept irresistibly through all the markets. Flour advanced \$2 a barrel; pork \$5 a barrel; coffee and sugar, a cent a pound; cotton, 3 cents a pound. The price of pig-iron nearly doubled; steel rails went up from \$43 to \$70 a ton; and in the face of this increased cost, the number of miles of new railroad built in the United States

¹ There is an apparent expansion of 100 millions in 1879 and an apparent contraction of 155 millions in 1880; but the treasury balance July 1, 1879, consisted largely of temporary deposits with the banks, during the process of refunding a portion of the public debt. These deposits amounted June 14, 1879, to 248 millions, standing to the credit of the Government, but not withdrawn from circulation. All such temporary accounts were closed in September, 1879.

² The Director of the Mint estimates the amount of gold and silver coin *in circulation* in the United States at 228 millions Nov. 1, 1879, and 292 millions Nov. 1, 1880.

³ Finance Report, 1880, p. 229.

leaped from 4,570 in 1879 to 7,150 in 1880, — nearly reaching the hitherto unapproached figures of 1871 and 1872.¹ The stock market was buoyant. Illinois Central shares rose steadily from 79 to 127; Union Pacific, from 66 to 113; New York Central, from 114 to 155. Money, which was quoted at 4 to 6 per cent on call, in January, 1879, was worth 6 or 7 per cent in January, 1880, and 5 to 6 per cent at the close of the year. Finally the impulse touched real estate. At the meeting of the National Board of Trade in December, 1880, Mr. Philo Parsons noted the fact and pointed out the cause. "Real estate within six months has advanced 25 per cent in Detroit," said Mr. Parsons, "simply because we have an enormous surplus of money."²

This arbitrary change in the valuation of every man's property and labor was not wrought by the banks. During the two years from June, 1878, to June, 1880, their circulation slowly expanded with the expanding volume of traffic. The increase was about 18 millions; and this, with the importation of specie, would have been enough to keep all the wheels of industry in motion. But into this full current the treasury of the United States poured 55 millions more, and the stream became a flood.

How happens the treasury to hold such enormous balances, that 55 millions are scarcely missed from its store? Why is such a supply of ready money left to the disposition of a political body, governed by impulses and exigencies utterly foreign to the laws of trade? There is but one reason. The treasury is compelled to keep funds, not only for the current expenses of the Government, but for the payment of 346 millions of dollars on call.³ So long as the treasury absorbs a considerable proportion of the money of the United States for this purpose, the amount in circulation will be determined in part by the levies and appropriations of Congress, — not deliberately and of set purpose, which would be bad enough; but without design or expectation, in the course of ordinary legislation. A change in the tariff may cause a sudden contraction of the currency; or a bill for the improvement of rivers and harbors may result in inflation.

The accumulation of great hoards in the treasury is in every way hazardous. The moneys collected by the Government should be paid out and kept in circulation; for whether obtained by selling bonds, or by taxation, they are always borrowed from the American people, who lose the interest upon them so long as they remain in the treasury.

¹ Railroad Gazette, Jan. 28, 1881, p. 53. Poor's Manual reports 5,878 miles of new road in 1872. The Railroad Gazette, which is later if not better authority, reports 7,340 miles built in that year.

² Proceedings of the National Board of Trade, 1880, p. 71.

³ The sum available for resumption Nov. 1, 1879, was 151 millions of dollars, which was exactly the amount of bullion held by the Bank of England at the same time. Finance Report, 1879, p. 129.

This loss on the reserve offsets a large part of the saving of interest on the notes ; and since the reserve cannot safely be abolished until the notes are retired, they should be paid and cancelled.

The fluctuations of the treasury balance act directly upon the circulation, and so upon prices. The variations of the bank note currency, on the contrary, affect primarily the loan market and the rate of interest. That they do not influence prices, was proved by Thomas Tooke fifty years ago. "In point of fact and historically, so far as my researches have gone," said Mr. Tooke,¹ "in every signal instance of a rise or fall of prices the rise or fall preceded, and could not be the effect of, an enlargement or contraction of the bank circulation." This was an induction from the history of prices in England for thirty years ; and Mr. Tooke afterward pursued his inquiry through nearly thirty years more, with the same result. The American statistics confirm his conclusion. When prices rise, more money is needed ; when they fall, the notes return to the banks. The use of their credit in this form enables the banks to bear the annual drain upon their deposits without raising the rate of interest so as to restrict mercantile operations. They have been enabled also to lend their whole capital to the Government without detriment to their customers ; and they pay a tax on their circulation equal to the entire profit which the United States could hope to secure by issuing treasury notes.

Professor Jevons says² that "the issue of notes is more analogous to the royal function of coinage than to the ordinary commercial operation of drawing bills ;" and so it is. The duty of the Government towards the paper currency is precisely like its duty towards the metallic currency. It is not the province of the Government to provide either paper or coin, but to see that both are what they profess to be ; to test the weight and fineness of the coin, and to insure the soundness and convertibility of the paper. The citizens who have gold and silver to be coined, or credit to be loaned in the form of circulating notes, may be trusted to supply both as they are needed. It is no more a political function to furnish dollars for the people than to furnish any other tools of trade.

H. W. RICHARDSON.

¹ Before the committee of the House of Commons on the Bank Charter, in 1832. Quoted by J. S. Mill, 'Elements of Political Economy,' vol. ii. p 217.

² Money and the Mechanism of Exchange, Am. ed. p. 317.

THE SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM.

THE greatest need of the South is popular and practical education.

The greatest hindrance to education is popular indifference.

The Southern States, as even the politicians admit, have fairly begun an era of prosperity. Now, when they are permanently recovering the losses of war, and gaining profits from its benefits; when the soil is under more general cultivation than ever before, with a more domestic system of labor; when capital is beginning to seek investment in manufactures, and immigrants are invited and encouraged; when a generation of men have grown up to fill the places of the generation that were lost in war; when Southern thought is becoming broader, and Southern society is rebuilding itself on a sounder and wider basis, — while need after need is thus finding satisfaction, the more plainly does it appear that the greatest hindrance to the development of the people is the ignorance of the masses and their indifference to education. Educators are needed more than capitalists; school-houses more than cotton factories; a change in educational methods more than a change in politics. But worse than the lack of school-teachers, of school-houses, and of practical methods is the lack of a proper appreciation of education. Indifference is worse than ignorance. The fact that there are in a certain territory a hundred children who cannot read is not so deplorable if they are eager to learn; but it is deplorable that there should be in a certain territory a hundred men who neither read themselves nor care to have their children taught. The ignorance of one generation causes a more stolid ignorance in the next; and when improper methods acquire an hereditary sanction, a change means a revolution.

A mistake has been made in assuming that statistics¹ show the

¹ (Calculated from the Census of 1870.)

Total population of original free States	24,805,055
„ „ former slave States	13,310,586
Number of persons of 10 years of age and upwards who cannot read: —	
In original free States	955,939
In former slave States	3,482,267
Number of persons 10 years of age and upwards who cannot write: —	
In former slave States { whites	1,403,130
blacks	2,660,809
Of entire population of original free States those 10 years old or over who cannot read form	3.9 per cent
Of entire population of former slave States those ten years old or over who cannot read form	26.1 „
Of all persons ten years of age or more in the United States who cannot read, there are in the former slave States	78. „
Of all persons ten years of age or more in the former slave States who cannot write, the blacks form	65. „

real conditions of the problem of Southern education. To tell how many ignorant children there are in South Carolina, for example, does not indicate the difficulty of educating them. Schools may remove

The former slave States, therefore, in 1870, contained a little more than a third of the entire population of the States, and nearly four-fifths of the illiterate. The educational statistics based on the census of 1880 have not yet been published; but there cannot be any great change in the percentages calculated above, although some improvement in the Southern States may be confidently predicted.

(From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1877.)

Estimated school population (ages, on the average, calculated from 5½-20 years):—	
In former slave States	4,823,028
In original free States	9,270,750
Average daily attendance:—	
In former slave States	1,176,217
In original free States	3,710,072
Percentage of school population in daily attendance:—	
In former slave States	24.3
In original free States	40.
Average school days in the year (public schools):—	
In former slave States	100
In original free States	135
Money expended for public schools in the year 1877:—	
In former slave States	\$9,485,625
In original free States	70,615,662

The following is an exhibit that was made showing the number of colleges and universities, their number of instructors and of students, in 1878. It is approximately correct:—

STATES.	No. of Colleges.	No. of Instructors.	No. of Students.
Alabama	4	51	488
Arkansas	4	19	369
Georgia	7	53	604
Kentucky	13	111	1,695
Louisiana	6	35	408
Maryland	8	85	700
Mississippi	4	34	805
Missouri	16	110	2,191
North Carolina	8	53	946
South Carolina	6	45	580
Tennessee	21	176	2,853
Texas	10	85	1,645
Virginia	7	77	1,196
Total	114	935	14,480

The number of volumes in college and university libraries in the United States is estimated at 2,100,000 volumes. Of these only 388,000 are in the South (not including the library of the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore).

The value of grounds, buildings, apparatus, etc., of the colleges and universities in the United States is estimated at \$37,200,000. Of this (not including the Johns Hopkins University), the colleges and universities in the South are estimated at only \$8,000,000.

ignorance, but they cannot so easily remove indifference. Statistics show the number of persons who cannot read and write ; but statistics cannot show the number who do not want to read and write. The bulk of the ignorance is not so bad as the density of it.

To understand the aims and methods of the present system, and to discover the attitude of the people towards the subject, it is necessary to review briefly the history of Southern education.

The aim of all Southern educational work before the war was to make gentlemen, not scholars ; nor was it thought necessary to educate the masses. The end in view was purely an individual end. The education of the slaves was prohibited by statute ; and there was no general public-school system for the whites. Only a small proportion of the people were educated at all. The elementary teaching of the educated classes was done by private schools, or more frequently by tutors and governesses. The boarding schools came next in course. They were constructed with direct reference to training their pupils for the universities. Even the text-books were selected with this idea rather than for their intrinsic fitness. After the boarding schools came the universities and the religious colleges. A glance at the working of these three grades of schools will show the underlying idea of the whole educational structure.

The *ante-bellum* public-school system can be dismissed with a very few words. Efforts to establish a complete system were made in several Southern States before the war, especially in Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina. The census of 1860 shows that the fifteen Southern States had 966,464 children attending the public schools out of a white school population of 2,183,950. There were at the same time 177,425 children attending private schools. This exhibit shows a sad lack of appreciation of education ; but it refutes the assertion, so frequently made, that there was no desire for public education before the war. But the schools were kept open only a few months in the year, and nothing was taught beyond the "three R.'s." The pupils who were there taught to read and write very rarely received any further instruction. They belonged to the poorer and more ignorant class. The elementary teaching of the richer class was done by private tutors and governesses. Almost every planter employed a teacher exclusively for the children of his household. Many girls of the richer classes were taught entirely by governesses.

The boarding schools were patronized by those who afterward attended the universities, to which they were slavishly preparatory. In these, Latin and Greek grammars were the chief educational staples. A lad did nine-tenths of his work in committing paradigms to memory. Beyond this mechanical kind of drill he received little training. He trod in a treadmill for two or three or four years. His only aim was

to enter a certain class in a certain university. The greatest benefit that he received was of a social kind ; for his associates were usually the sons of the best houses, — the boys who became prominent men. These schools were often institutions of a so purely social character that a gentleman usually selected that school for his son which seemed to afford the most aristocratic associations. Thus far a lad might have an ambition to enter a university creditably ; but it had never been suggested to him, nor had he thought of it, that he might become a scholar. He might become a lawyer, — which almost always meant a politician also, — or a clergyman, or a physician ; but he rarely thought of scholarship for its own reward. He did not need accurate learning to be a gentleman.

The training at the university consisted of a course of loose reading of Latin and of a little Greek, from the old inaccurate text-books ; and progress was measured by the number of pages read and the number of authors crowded into the course. A dozen or two lectures were given on philosophy, law, and literature. Mathematics were taught in a general way. The literary societies were of more benefit than the lecture-rooms ; their training was better than the training given by the faculty. A readiness in speech and in writing, a knowledge of parliamentary customs, and a political training were there given which made their members such masters of men in later life. The weekly meetings of the Washington and Jefferson Societies of the University of Virginia, and of the Philanthropic and Dialectic Societies of the University of North Carolina, were the greatest events of old Southern university life. Each had its constituency of States ; and a youth joined that society to which the students from his State had belonged for three generations. In the debates in these societies, a boy of eloquence gained an influence and a following which often clung to him through a long political career. If he won honors there, he was almost sure to win honors in a larger forum. Not infrequently rivalries and discussions in these societies led to an "encounter on the field of honor," as they called a duel ; for the real power at the universities was the *esprit de corps* of the students. This ruled everything ; and the "honorable" or "dishonorable" bearing of a student determined very greatly his reputation in after life. And the universities were the social capitals of the land. The Commencements were the great social occurrences of the year. The *élite* of all the South assembled for a week's gayety. Every notable family in every one of the States was always represented among the students. The work of these old universities can best be judged by the result. While at least three-fourths of the men in the South who rose to eminence in politics, in law, or in the ministry (the professions which attracted the best men) attended the University of Virginia or the University of North Caro-

lina, where is one out of these thousands that attained eminence in scholarship? ¹

The religious colleges, which were fostered by the different religious sects, did the most thorough work done in the South. Their teaching was predominantly religious and even sectarian, and they were patronized by the middle classes, who looked with abhorrence upon the extravagance and the spirit of the universities. The abrupt social change which made the old university life no longer possible gave the religious colleges a broader scope. Since the war they have become more thorough and useful.

Such was Southern education before the war. It took no general hold upon the masses. It was not of the people, nor for the people; nor was it practical. A collegiate honor was a social rather than an educational achievement. It was an accomplishment generally too costly for the masses. When a man had lived his life without books, and had thought of education merely as an accomplishment, he was not likely to be eager to educate his children. Thus ignorance begat indifference, which is the worst result of all. It is still the most stubborn difficulty to be contended with. It could be understood fully only by understanding its cause and growth. One step further, and the present attitude of the people to the subject can be seen, and the difficulties of the work to be done can be appreciated.

The war caused the suspension of the universities and colleges, and made the peculiar old university life impossible. The people and the States were very poor. Almost a whole generation of men were dead or made unable to work. Children were obliged to do the labor which their fathers should have done. The educator, therefore, at the close of the war found these difficulties to be overcome: (1) The old prejudice of the aristocratic class against public schools, which was made worse by the attempt to establish schools common to both races; (2) the ignorance of the middle class and their indifference to education; (3) the poverty of all classes and the plundering of the old institutions of learning; and (4) the large negro part of the school population, while the freedmen were yet not tax-payers. Added to all these was the important fact that educational appliances and methods had been improved and remodelled; while the only ideas which the Southern people had were of old aims and of old methods. Still the aim was the stilted and general culture of the individual, and not the education of the masses or the advancement of learning. Under such difficulties the work had to begin. What has thus far been done can be told in a few words; what remains to be done can then be seen, and the hindrances appreciated.

¹ For a picture of old Southern university life see "Sea-Gift," a novel, by Edwin W. Fuller, published by E. J. Hale & Son, New York. It is an utterly worthless book except for the good description of life at the old University of North Carolina.

Naturally Southern educators made an attempt to begin after the war just where they had left off. There could be no sudden change of method or aim. To change a people's habits of thought much time is required. A toleration of Bullions' grammars was as hard to cure as an old ulcer. The first work done towards re-establishing and improving the public schools was singularly unfortunate. The system had been perfected in the North ; and a horde of fanatical educational missionaries went South, who imagined that a knowledge of orthography and arithmetic could eradicate all evils and implant all virtues. Because a large percentage of the Southerners, especially the freedmen, could not read and write, these enthusiasts concluded that the South was utterly benighted. Their zeal was commendable, but their methods were unfortunate. They could not wait for the Southern people themselves, with judicious encouragement and help, to build up slowly and surely a public-school system, — they must thrust one already made upon them. Moreover, while these apostles of a new civilization were proclaiming salvation through public schools, the "carpet-bag" governments were misappropriating the school funds and throwing the States into hopeless bankruptcy. This not only hindered the work for several years, but it also prejudiced the people against the system. The attempts to have schools common to both races strengthened this old prejudice and aroused a new one. Thus poverty and prejudice are still the chief hindrances. Most of the States are yet burdened with debt ; and the people are neither willing nor able to be heavily taxed. The negroes are yet but small tax-payers, and their children are a vast multitude. But a public-school system has been mapped out, and has a pretence of life all over the South. Although the schools are kept open but a few months in the year, and the pay of the teachers is too small to secure the most efficient, and the money and labor expended do not yield as large results as they would under more favorable circumstances, still the work is going on hopefully. The educators are at work in all the States. What they have recently done in North Carolina will serve as a good example. This State has a very large percentage of ignorant whites, and it has been the slowest among the Southern States to build up its educational system. The educators have been stimulating public opinion until the Legislature was recently urged to pass a bill to require the State Board of Education to recommend text-books for the public schools which shall not be changed in less than three years, and to regulate the prices ; to establish a system of county superintendents of schools ; to appropriate money for teachers' institutes ; to levy a tax of 12½ cents for school purposes on every \$100 valuation of property, — and if this is insufficient, with the capitation tax, fines, etc., to maintain at least one school in every district for four months every year, the

county Board of Education shall levy a special tax to meet the deficiency ; to require all teachers to have a proper certificate ; to fix the pay of teachers at \$3 per day for the first grade, \$2 per day for the second grade, and \$15 a month for the third grade. Two normal schools for the whites and two for the blacks are provided ; and this year \$130,000 will be distributed among the counties, on a basis of school population, for special school purposes. This will show that the Southern people themselves can be trusted with the problem. Indeed, the history of educational efforts since the war shows that no ready-made system can be thrust upon the people. The Southern educators understand the problem better than anybody else : they alone can do the work. An impatient zeal coupled with an ignorance of the difficulties can do no good.

The greatest quantity of work to be done by the public schools is the education of the negroes. It is now conceded by all that they must be educated separately from the whites. Public schools are established specially for them, and they are founding other schools of their own. But the poverty of the States and of the negroes makes pertinent the plea that has been made for the national government to provide for their education. Yet, whatever help the national government may give, we must be patient in looking for large results. It has been too often assumed in the North that a rudimentary education would at once lift the negro from a semi-barbarous state into intelligent citizenship. The experience of a generation or two of freedom is necessary for him to learn that practical management of affairs which will make him prudent. Education is only one help. His growth in prudence and thrift is the only condition upon which beneficial results of a knowledge of orthography and arithmetic can be based. Nor will he ever attain any very great proficiency in learning. He can be educated ; but, fitted as he is mainly for manual labor, he will rarely need or desire higher training than can be got in the most elementary public schools. It marks, however, a decided advancement in Southern thought that it is now conceded on all hands that the education of the negro is a necessity for the protection and upbuilding of Southern citizenship. The question is no longer, Ought he to be educated ? but, How shall he be educated ? What remains is mainly a question of time and money.

Too much praise cannot be given to the energetic educators of the South, especially the managers and teachers of the public schools. Many of them give their whole time to the work for inadequate compensation, or for no compensation at all. They struggle against poverty, indifference, and prejudice, and are teaching not only the children under their charge, but also the public. They are educating the masses to appreciate their work.

Such is the work to be done by public schools. But another kind of work awaits the educator in a higher field. A change of aim and method is needed in the higher schools. Along with the introduction of the public schools good methods can be introduced. But to introduce good methods and practical aims in the boarding schools and colleges, where obsolete methods and improper aims have acquired an hereditary sanction, requires something more than time and money. To appreciate this difficulty, let us see what work is now done by a typical Southern college or university. Of course there are exceptions.

The "university" of to-day is, in a general way, the lineal descendant of the *ante-bellum* university. The grade of scholarship is not high. The pupils who go to it are advanced about as far as the entering pupils of the best Northern high schools; but in many cases their training has been slovenly. The school is usually called a "university." There is a sort of elective system of studies by which a lazy lad may leave undone the more difficult work required in the old curriculum. On this basis, the students and faculty assume that they are doing university work. The studies are preponderatingly classical. There is no scientific apparatus, nor are there any laboratories. Homer is taught,—even now sometimes with such text-books as Anthon's,—but not Shakspeare. No thorough or stimulating work is done. Beyond an elementary course in mathematics and mechanics (as they call a medley of engineering, physics, and chemistry), there is little pretence made of scientific education. The boys write essays on the most general subjects, "go through" a text-book of rhetoric or listen to a course of general lectures, read an old book on psychology and metaphysics, and in due course receive a bachelor's, a master's, or a doctor's degree. The following is the faculty and the division of labor in one of these universities, with a little inside history in parenthesis:—

———, A.M., D.D., LL.D., President, Professor of Mental and Moral Science and of Constitutional and International Law. (His text-books and lectures are substantially the same that were used when he was a pupil at this school thirty-five years ago. He is dignified, bigoted, and incapable of accepting a new idea. Salary \$2,500.)

———, A.M., Professor of Greek and French. Hebrew taught if desired. (He was graduated at this same university thirty years ago. He uses the same text-books that were used before the war, if they are procurable. His pupils never attempt to translate English into Greek or French. The accents of either language are disregarded. His pupils are hurried over a great number of authors. Salary, \$2,000.)

———, A.M., Ph.D., Professor of Latin and German. (He won a

doctor's degree at Leipsic in 1875. He is young and ambitious ; but he has discovered that he must do the work of a high school, and not of a university. He is cut off from all scholarly associations, and is gradually losing his ambition, and is in danger of making his work a mere treadmill. He often thinks he would resign if he could earn \$1,500 a year in any other way.)

———, A.B., S.D., Professor of Chemistry, Physics, Applied Mathematics, and Natural History. (He was educated in the North. He is disgusted with the lack of interest and hindered by the lack of apparatus, and is in danger of falling into mere routine and theoretical teaching, and of losing his enthusiasm. He must be very careful in speaking of modern scientific scholars, or he will be declared an infidel, and will lose his \$1,200 a year.)

———, A.M., Professor of Mathematics and Book-keeping. (He solves the most difficult problems in Robinson's Higher Algebra with ease, because he has been solving them for the last twenty years ; he is also a good penman. Salary, \$2,000.)

———, A.M., Professor of English Language and Literature, Rhetoric and Elocution. (He has read little English of more recent date than Addison. He lectures on rhetoric, and spends about one-third of the collegiate year in revamping the graduating speeches and in training the boys for their Commencement efforts. Salary, \$1,800.)

The faculty consists of two classes of men, — the *ante-bellum* teachers, who cling to the old methods, and the younger professors, who have been trained in the North, in Europe, or at some Southern school where they learned new ideas. The old class, in the slang of a recent satire, " may not be much in the 'ologies, except theology and necrology ;" but they can demolish half-a-dozen Hegels, Kants, and Mills in a single lecture to the " seniors." The younger class are too apt to make the mistake of trying to teach comparative philology and physics to boys who cannot write a correct English sentence or solve an algebraic problem. But there is usually found at least one young professor who is practical enough to master the situation. They will gradually remodel the whole structure of higher education. In a few more years most of their old associates will be dead, and their work will be given to more practical men. Now, however, the old professors rule ; and in giving dignity they manage to give dulness to the whole work of the " university." The pupils consider their university life a sort of necessary evil, to be endured in order to receive a collegiate degree. That is their chief aim. A lad is hurried over so many subjects in a superficial way that he becomes interested in none. His text-books he imagines to be exhaustive treatises ; his degree, the *summum bonum* of his training. He has no desire to investigate, to read, to follow out the suggestions of his elementary

teaching. His training has lacked the essential element of success, the one thing without which all his paradigms and lectures on metaphysics are worth nothing, — he has received no *stimulation*.

Southern girls, as a rule, are not educated at all, beyond the superficial knowledge of French and music which they acquire at boarding schools. A Southern woman can do nothing to earn her bread but teach. The education they receive is not practical nor thorough. There are several very excellent female colleges for teaching girls accomplishments ; but they need such advantages as Vassar College, Cornell University, and Harvard afford ; and they need schools of design and other such facilities for practical training. But the girls acquire (or have) one essential thing which the boys fail to receive in their training, — a habit of reading. By far the greater number of magazines and books of light literature that are sold in the South are bought by women.

The greatest fault of Southern education, from the public schools to the universities, is the lack of stimulation to reading. The "graduates" practically have not much more intellectual life than have the utterly ignorant. This fact is a striking refutation of the idea that a mere knowledge of reading and writing is necessarily of such vast benefit to a people. Something more is needed than schools. Perhaps the schools will bring this something when they are made more practical. But there is needed an indigenous intellectual movement, — something from the people for the people. The poets, the novelists, the magazines, and the newspapers have done more than all the schools to stimulate the intellectual life of New England. The statistics of publishers and booksellers show more accurately the intelligence or ignorance of a people than educational statistics. The press in the South is not a public educator as it is in the North. The newspapers do not receive a patronage which enables them to be more than chronicles of news or partisan campaign pamphlets. Every year or two an attempt is made to establish a magazine in the South ; but the first numbers are morbidly "Southern," their contents are sophomoric and stale, and it very properly dies. For why should it be peculiarly Southern ? — why not national ? A rural member of the Kentucky legislature understood the problem, and proposed to solve it recently by an enactment compelling the State to publish a good weekly newspaper, and to send it free to every family. There is need of newspapers, magazines, book-stores, and libraries, as well as of schools.

Now it can be seen that practical and popular education in the South requires these three things : (1) Money, — which means educational equipments ; (2) a change of aim, and consequently a change of method, — a more practical aim and a more thorough method ; and

(3) a public opinion which demands popular education. This, of course, is a result as well as a cause.

But the outlook is not so discouraging as it may at first seem to the impatient. Time is needed. The old system of education is founded on the old system of social life; the new cannot all at once be thrust into the body of the old,—it must grow: and all growth is slow. New ideas are gradually taking a hold on the people. Once let the educators get the handle of the lever, and they will pry mightily. Once let the intellectual life of the people overcome poverty and isolation, and the *dilettanti* of Boston will see again what vigorous thought is. In less than three generations the virility of American thought will be in the South. It will assert itself when the Southern cotton mills close the New England mills, and Southern seaports are open to direct traffic with Europe; when the Mississippi River becomes the highway of Western shipping, and when the American isthmus is cut.

Such is the problem, and such the outlook. Now one other thought is suggested. Although the old system of education did not elevate the masses nor advance scholarship, it is but fair to inquire how successfully it is accomplishing its avowed aim,—to train the favored individual. Did the students of William and Mary College and of the *ante-bellum* universities of Virginia and North Carolina get no benefit from their training? Are the characteristics which several of the best Southern universities of to-day have inherited from them an unmixed evil? This is a pertinent question, not only in connection with the special problem of Southern education, but also with the broader problem of American education. The old Southern culture, which was the result of the training of these schools, was the basis of a broad and manly character, if also of an aristocratic and uncreative thought. Their aim was to make men broad, and they can afford to be judged by the result. The Americans of the widest sweep of thought (not of the greatest learning), and of the most evenly-balanced character (not the most progressive or ambitious), were those old Southerners. Their culture may seem very stiff to us now, when we remember that they quoted Horace and Cicero at their tables, and knew the genealogy of the British nobility more accurately than the geography of New England; but they combined the breadth of the Roman senator and the dignity of the English nobleman in their thought and manner. This broadening of the individual should count for something in American education; but since the German methods have so strongly influenced our schools, the individual has been too much sacrificed to science. The German method alone can make an exact scholar; but it too often sacrifices the man. An English master will not compare with a German doctor; but the German will

not compare with the Englishman. While Northern education, following the German tendency, is building up an American scholarship and advancing science, may it not be hindering a broad and evenly-balanced growth? So much of the old Southern aim as can survive in healthful conjunction with the special aims may prove a useful ballast. There may be a good lesson which the Northern schools might learn from such schools as the University of Virginia and Vanderbilt University; for these two, especially the former, cannot be classed with the typical "university" which has been so freely criticised.

To build up American scholarship is a great aim; to educate the American masses is a great aim; but to broaden and keep in balance the educated individuals of America is also a great aim, and we must not miss it. The old Southern method may contribute one good element to American education, and that is breadth.

WALTER H. PAGE.

JOHN WESLEY.

IN a letter to Sir William Wilberforce, Southey said: "I consider Wesley as the most influential mind of the last century,—the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long." A much higher authority than Southey, in reviewing Southey's "Colloquies on Society," wrote: "Wesley was a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have rendered him eminent in literature, whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu, and who devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered the highest good of his species."¹ The late Mr. Buckle styled Wesley "the first of theological statesmen;"² and Dr. Dobbin, with pathetic eloquence, writes: "A greater poet may rise than Homer or Milton, a greater theologian than Calvin, a greater philosopher than Bacon, a greater dramatist than any of ancient or modern fame; but a more distinguished revivalist of the churches than John Wesley, never!"³

These are strong expressions coming from men of distinguished abilities and of the most varied and extensive information; but, strong as they are, they do not seem to color too highly the features of that remarkable life, and will scarcely be thought exaggerations by those who are able to view Wesley's achievement in the light of his difficulties. That he has founded a religious sect which to-day constitutes

¹ Macaulay's Essays.

² History of Civilization.

³ Tyerman's Wesley, iii. 660.

the largest body of dissenters in the Christian world seems to me by no means the chief among the many reasons why his name should not be permitted to perish from the earth ; for success in founding a sect is generally due more to the credulity of the masses than to the genius of the founder, and some of the most influential and widespread religions in the world have had beginnings almost too mean for contempt. But to have impressed himself as Wesley did upon one of the most illustrious ages in English history implies the possession of abilities such as are but seldom vouchsafed to any of the children of men. It is impossible that Wesley should not have been conscious of his powers ; yet he seems not to have dreamed of fame, but on the contrary to have been actuated, first, by a desire to save his own soul, and, secondly, by motives of the purest and most disinterested love and sympathy for his species. His long life of eighty-eight years is one unbroken record of incessant philanthropic labor. So early as 1726 we find him writing to his brother Samuel : "Leisure and I have taken leave of one another. I propose to be busy as long as I live, if my health is so long indulged me." He was then but twenty-three years of age, and, though his life was protracted for sixty-five years longer, never was a resolution more rigidly kept. From that day until his death in 1791 there was scarcely one hour of his life that did not have its proper and specific employment. "John Wesley's talk is good," said Dr. Johnson in 1776 ; "but he is never at leisure ; he is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have his talk out, as I do."¹ Nothing, indeed, was permitted to interfere with the fixed and innumerable duties of his life. So many and varied were his engagements, and so long and rigidly had he schooled himself to obey the least call of duty, that it mattered little how pleasing the company or how agreeable the entertainment ; when the hour for going came he rose and departed, without the least sign of reluctance or disappointment. "I should like to rest here awhile," he would sometimes say ; "but rest is not for me in this world. I must arise, and be about my Father's business."

It is not strange that a long life thus methodically devoted to labor should have given us an instance — probably the most remarkable on record — of what may be achieved by a single man inspired by an intense zeal and purpose to husband every moment of his time. We are appalled when we consider what was crowded into that single life. John Wesley was one of the most accomplished scholars of his day, thoroughly skilled in all the niceties and refinements of learning. His knowledge of Latin and Greek was sufficient to have constituted him a critic in those languages. He was also a good

¹ Boswell's Johnson, vol. iii. p. 396.

Hebrew scholar ; and when but thirty-four years of age he officiated regularly in French, German, Italian, and Spanish. His Journals, covering the whole of his life from 1735 to 1791, abound with shrewd criticisms of men and books which not only render them very attractive, but also show an amount of reading that we should scarcely have expected even from a man whose whole life was devoted to literary pursuits. From 1739 to 1791, a period of fifty-two years, he was engaged in the itinerant ministry ; and it is estimated that in that time he preached more than forty thousand sermons, — being an average of something more than two sermons every day, — and travelled upwards of a quarter of a million of miles, being an average of nearly 5,000 miles every year, and that too at a time when steam locomotion was yet to be discovered. In 1774, seventeen years before his death, his works were published in thirty-two volumes, not including his *Philosophy* or *Notes on the Old and New Testament*. He was also an industrious and voluminous editor, publishing scores of volumes for the benefit of his societies, many of them being abridgments, and not a few translations from foreign languages made by himself. This represents only the more important labors of his life : and what an amount of work do we see here ! Any separate department of this immense labor might well be considered a great life-work for a man something above the average of mortals. Then what must have been the power, the industry, the zeal of one man who could accomplish all, not only without assistance, but under the perpetual scrutiny of hostile eyes, sleepless through hate ! If we consider his reading, we wonder how he could have found time to write ; if we look at his writing, we wonder how he could have found time to travel ; or if at his travelling, how he could have found time to preach ; or if at his preaching, how he could have found time for any other labor. Most of his writing was of a theological character, and has to a great extent suffered from the general oblivion which has overtaken that class of thought ; but though his works are little read at this day, they deserve to be better known for that clear, pure, and forcible style which entitles them to a front rank among the best specimens we have of the power and beauty of the English language. His controversial writings particularly are masterpieces of clearness, simplicity, and power. Though harassed perpetually by hostile newspaper criticisms, lashed by scurrilous pamphlets, and beset by ponderous octavos, he was never known to lose his temper, but replied, whenever he thought a reply necessary, coolly, calmly, and conclusively, adopting always the memorable precept of Hooker : “ To your railings I say nothing ; to your reasons I say what follows.” I know of no writer who could say as much as Wesley in so few words. Clearness and conciseness were made a study of his life ; and certainly no man ever spoke more plainly or

unburdened his mind in fewer words. Indeed, conciseness was a matter of conscience with him ; he had no leisure to be verbose. To write many words when few would suffice he regarded as a waste of time ; and to his mind a waste of time was sinful. Hence, by long practice and the constant effort to adapt his language to the capacity of his hearers, he early assumed that clear, simple, beautiful, and powerful style both of speaking and writing which at once arrests the attention of the reader, and lends such a charm even to Wesley's private correspondence that when we glance at one of his letters we are sure to read it through to the end. In 1764 he wrote :—

“What is it that constitutes a good style? Perspicuity, purity, strength, and easiness joined together. When either of these is wanting, it is not a good style. As for me I never think of my style at all, but just set down the words that come first. Only when I transcribe anything for the press, then I think it my duty to see every phrase be clear, pure, and proper. Conciseness, which is now as it were natural to me, brings *quantum sufficit* of strength. We should constantly use the most common, little, easy words (so they are pure and proper) which our language affords. And there is a dignity in this simplicity which is not disagreeable to those of the highest rank.”¹

But Wesley was even more powerful as a speaker than as a writer. A large number of his sermons have come down to us, and from them we can learn something of the manner which he adopted in addressing his hearers. His language was the very essence of purity, simplicity, and clearness ; his reasoning close, accurate, and logical ; his manner calm, scholarly, and undemonstrative, but intensely earnest. Whitefield spoke to the nerves, and addressed himself entirely to the passions and emotions ; Wesley, on the other hand, spoke to the understanding, and attempted to influence the mind by addressing the reason. Yet, if he failed to reach his hearers in this way, he did not hesitate to speak to the emotions ; and his profound knowledge of human nature enabled him to do this with a terrible power. The effect of Wesley's preaching was similar to that of Whitefield, but it was more marked, and of more frequent exhibition.

The great religious revival of 1739 has received special notice at the hands of more than one grave historian, and Wesley's Journal for that year forms a curious chapter in his busy and eventful life. We see there recorded by his own hand scenes which came under his own observation, but which we could not believe were they not told by him with a simplicity which carries with it a conviction of truth and sincerity. It was shortly before these scenes that Wesley, under Moravian influence, first began to preach the doctrine which afterwards became the great fundamental idea that underlay the Methodist movement ; namely, that salvation is by faith alone, and that

¹ Tyerman's Wesley, vol. ii. p. 183.

this saving faith comes suddenly, and that the recipient is in a moment transformed from a state of sin and misery to one of joy and peace in the Holy Ghost. In 1735 Wesley went to Georgia to convert the American Indians; but two years later, when he had returned, harassed by enemies, gloomy and despondent, and with indictments hanging over him, we hear him saying: "I went to convert the heathen, but who shall convert me? Who shall change this heart of unbelief?" In the midst of such thoughts, Peter Böhler, the Moravian, first convinced him that faith was necessary to salvation. Wesley thought he should cease to preach till he had obtained such faith; but Böhler said, "Not so: preach faith till you have it, and then you will preach faith because you have it." Shortly after this, at a meeting of a society in Aldersgate Street, Wesley tells us he experienced that sudden change, and felt an assurance of that saving faith for which he had pined so long.¹ "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say," writes Mr. Lecky, "that the scene which took place in that humble meeting in Aldersgate Street forms an epoch in English history. The conviction which there flashed upon one of the most powerful and most active intellects in England is the true source of English Methodism."² No sooner had he become convinced that this was the true doctrine than with characteristic energy he set out on a pilgrimage to Hernhut, then the centre of Moravianism, to study the discipline and teaching of the Moravian Church, and returned more convinced than ever that salvation by faith was the fundamental doctrine of Christianity. Whitefield and Charles Wesley were already preaching the same doctrine with great success. The Methodist movement was now fairly in progress. Meetings were held in private houses; societies began to be formed; the new preachers were excluded from the pulpits of the churches. Whitefield began to address the colliers at Kingswood in the open fields, then preached in the streets at Bath, and afterwards addressed immense crowds in the open air at Bristol. Wishing to try the same experiment elsewhere, he sent for Wesley to come and relieve him. Wesley had been reared a strict disciplinarian, and therefore hesitated to take so unusual a step, and laid the matter before the society at Fetter Lane. They resorted to the usual superstitious practice of opening the Bible at random and glancing at the first text that met the eye, believing that in this way God would direct them what to do. The text failing to decide the matter, they drew lots. The lot said, "Go;" and Wesley went. It is difficult to restrain a smile when we see this man, who afterwards became probably the greatest field preacher that ever lived, resorting to the uncertain chances of sortilege to determine whether or not he should undertake this work, and believing

¹ Journals, 1738.

² History of England, vol ii. p. 607.

sincerely that God directed him in the choice of the lot. Wesley himself tells us how difficult it was to determine upon this step. "I could scarce reconcile myself," said he, "to this strange way of preaching in the fields, having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin if it had not been done in a church."¹ Thus did the founder of Methodism, by the casting of lots, determine upon a step which, in its results, was one of the most important of the Methodist movement. More even than the distinctive doctrines of the sect it served to give identity to the movement, by contrasting it with the strict formality of the established system, and opened to the Methodist ministers an access to the great laboring population of the country, who by the exigencies of their lot were excluded from most of the privileges of the aristocratic Church of England, and who afterwards constituted almost the entire membership of the Methodist societies. Wesley was a presbyter of the Church of England, and it was no little matter for one believing as he did thus publicly to infract the strict laws of order and decency observed by that church. But, once determined, there was no turning back. Having put his hand to the plough, he did not look behind him; and from March 31, 1739, when he preached his first sermon in the open air, until his death in 1791, he continued this practice; preaching thousands of sermons on the commons and in the streets of cities, and thus contracting such a love of out-door preaching that he ever after preferred it to preaching from the pulpit. In this way Wesley was brought into contact with the worst elements of English society, — men, women, and children sunk in the profoundest ignorance, destitute of moral principles, regarding life as a mere struggle for subsistence, — many of them having never heard a sermon, or felt those higher instincts which come with knowledge.

These facts will enable us to understand the effects of his preaching, which to him were novel and unheard-of, and which he sincerely believed to be the work of God. Those dreadful paroxysms of convulsion to which reference has been made soon became matter of daily occurrence. Wesley's Journal for 1739 is a ghastly and revolting spectacle. Not individuals merely, or congregations, but whole communities, were wrapped in the shadows of a religious madness; and death or permanent derangement of the understanding was not an uncommon terminus of this overwhelming mental excitement. Some of the instances recorded by Wesley are melancholy and pitiable in the extreme. We give but a few: A Quaker who was standing near one who fell down in convulsions was much displeased at what he thought to be the dissimulation of the man, when he too dropped as if thunder-

¹ Journals, March 31, 1739.

struck. "The agony he was in," says Wesley, "was even terrible to behold. We besought God not to lay folly to his charge, and he soon lifted up his head and cried aloud, 'Now I know thou art a prophet of the Lord!'"¹ On June 15 many fell down at once. "Some sunk down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently that often four or five persons could not hold one of them. I have seen many hysterical and epileptic fits; but none of them were like these in many respects. One woman was greatly offended, 'being sure they might help it if they would,' when she too dropped down in as violent an agony as the rest."² A man who had heard of these fits went to one of the societies to see for himself, and went away convinced it was "a delusion of the devil." Soon after, while reading a sermon on salvation by faith, "he changed color, fell off his chair, and began beating himself against the ground." Wesley came and found several persons trying to hold him in bed. Fixing his eyes on Wesley, he cried: "Ay, this is he who I said was a deceiver of the people. But God has overtaken me. I said it was all a delusion; but this is no delusion!" He then roared out: "O thou Devil! thou cursed Devil! yea, thou legion of devils! Thou canst not stay! Christ will cast thee out. Tear me to pieces if thou wilt; but thou canst not hurt me!" He then beat himself against the ground again, "his breast at the same time heaving in the pangs of death, and great drops of sweat trickling down his face." Wesley prayed over him and his pangs ceased.³

One other instance shall suffice. Wesley was sent for to come and see a young woman at Kingswood. He says:—

"I found her on the bed, two or three persons holding her. It was a terrible sight. Anguish, horror, and despair above all description appeared in her pale face. The thousand distortions of her whole body showed how the dogs of hell were gnawing at her heart. The shrieks intermixed were scarce to be endured; but her stony eyes could not weep. She screamed out as soon as words could find their way: 'I am damned, lost forever! Six days ago you might have helped me; but it is past. I am the Devil's now. I have given myself to him; his I am; him I must serve; with him I must go to hell. I cannot be saved; I will not be saved! I must, I will, be damned.' They prayed with her, and she found momentary relief, but soon cried out again: 'Stony hearts, break! Break, break, poor stony hearts! Will you not break? What can be done more for stony hearts? I am damned that you may be saved. Now break, now break, poor stony hearts! You need not be damned, though I must.'"⁴

These are but a few of those melancholy recitals scattered here and there through the long Journal of Wesley's life. It is difficult to restrain a feeling of indignation as we read the effects of this organ-

¹ Journals, May 1, 1739.

² Ibid.

³ Journals, 1739.

⁴ Ibid.

ized system of religious terrorism. Wesley and his coadjutors frightened their hearers into nervous diseases which overthrew their powers both of mind and body, and which were no doubt similar to what may be noticed daily among the negroes of the South. Yet he does not seem to have understood the nature of these disturbances; for when Whitefield objected to his encouraging them in the societies Wesley said: "I trust we shall all suffer God to carry on his own work in the way that pleaseth him."¹ During the year 1739 these scenes were of constant occurrence; but they seem to have been rare after that time. They however subjected Wesley to much derision, and made him for many years the object of newspaper attacks and the butt of every scurrilous pamphleteer. Yet these attacks in no way interfered with the labors of his life. He preached and travelled and wrote, as though he had no enemy in the world; and it is a remarkable instance of his energy and zeal that for sixty years he rose every morning at four, and preached a sermon every morning at five o'clock. After he had begun to travel and form societies throughout Great Britain, it was his custom every morning, in whatever city or village he happened to be, to take his stand at five o'clock at the head of some street, or in some open space where a crowd could gather; and, beginning by singing a hymn, he would soon have an audience of curious people, to whom he proceeded to unfold the mysteries of the divine plan, in one of those plain, forcible sermons which have given his name so wide a celebrity in the world.

At a time when religious prejudice ran so high in England, Wesley could not expect to escape the consequences of so great an innovation upon the fixed habits of the nation's religious life. Persecution soon assumed the form of violence and bloodshed. Magistrates and even grave bishops encouraged the rabble to attack him, and for years together the great preacher travelled about carrying his life in his hand. Whitefield was an arrant coward; Wesley, on the other hand, was the very soul of moral and physical courage. There was no danger so great that he would not willingly face it, if by doing so he could "call one sinner to repentance;" and he not unfrequently went where it seemed that certain death awaited him. "The poor people," he would say, "are as sheep without a shepherd; and shall they be left to the tender mercies of the wolf?" Without considering what might be the consequences to himself, he went among them, scattering the seeds of what to him was the word of life. Mobs gathered; but he only preached the more earnestly. At one time they sacked the house in which he stopped, dragged him through the streets by the hair of his head, and threw him in an unconscious state into the water; but he was rescued before life was extinct.

¹ Journals, July 7, 1739.

Yet, though repeatedly beset by mobs, it was but seldom that violent hands were laid upon him. His strikingly venerable appearance, added to his utter insensibility to fear, inspired even enraged mobs with a reverence for his character. On more than one occasion, when his house was surrounded by an infuriated rabble thirsting for his blood, and his friends begged him to conceal himself from their rage, he would open the door, his long white hair falling about his shoulders, and his calm blue eye filled with the tenderness of a father mourning over the errors of his wayward children; and advancing among them with that placid courage that never forsook him, would say to the most excited of the crowd, "My friends, whom seek ye?" All would become quiet in a moment. The firm gaze of his clear, piercing eye, the inexpressible tenderness of his voice, disarmed ruffianism itself; and it was seldom that one could be found to offer him violence after meeting his glance or hearing him speak. Let him but gain their ear, and there was not a mob in England that could resist his appeals.

Wesley was not unconscious of his influence with the multitude; but no doubt the chief source of his courage was his firm and unshaken confidence in the ever-present care of a divine Providence, his unchangeable belief that God was always near to watch over and protect him. The watch-care of the Almighty was to John Wesley something more than an abstraction; it was full of a deep and profound significance. He believed himself to be under the special guidance and direction of Jehovah, and felt that in the most trivial matters all his ways were chosen of God. When he could not decide what to do in any case, he determined it by lot, not doubting that God directed his choice.¹ Time and again he mounted the pulpit, opened his Bible at random, and preached from the first text that met his eye, sincerely believing that God and not he had made the selection.² When the sun shone too hot upon him while preaching, he prayed that it might be covered with a cloud; when it rained, he prayed that it might cease till the services were ended. When, on his journeys to Ireland, his vessel was tossed at the mercy of winds and waves, he prayed that the tempest might be stilled; or, if becalmed, that a favorable wind might arise to take him to his destination. When he had headache, or suffered from any acute pain, he knelt down and asked God to heal him; and in all these instances he assures us with the utmost simplicity that his petitions were granted at once. His Journals are full of such entries as the following:—

"*Friday, April 25, 1755.*—At three in the afternoon I preached at Hepston Stall, on the brow of the mountain. The rain began almost as soon as I began to

¹ Journals, Feb. 3, 1737; also March 28, 1739.

² Ibid., June 4 and 15, 1739.

speak. I prayed that if God saw best it may be stayed till I had delivered his word. It was so, and then began again."

"*Sunday, Feb. 27, 1757.* — After the services at Snowsfield I found myself much weaker than usual, and feared I should not be able to go through the work of the day, which is equal to preaching eight times. I therefore prayed that God would send me help; and as soon as I had done preaching at West Street, a clergyman who came to town for a few days came and offered his services. So when I asked for strength, God gave me strength; when for help, he gave this also."

"*June 5, 1772.* — In the evening we mightily wrestled with God for an enlargement of his work. As we were concluding, an eminent backslider came strongly into my mind, and I broke out abruptly: 'Lord, is Saul among the prophets? Is James Watson here? If he be, show thy power!' Down dropped James Watson like a stone, and began crying aloud for mercy."

"*Sept. 5, 1781.* — In an hour after we left Taunton one of the chaise horses was on a sudden so lame that he could hardly set his foot to the ground. It being impossible to procure any human help, I knew of no remedy but prayer. Immediately the lameness was gone, and he went just as he did before."

These instances might be multiplied without number, but space forbids. I cannot, however, omit inserting one of his prayers in the midst of a storm at sea. Wesley was in his cabin reading. On deck everything was confusion and dismay. Hearing the noise he opened the door and inquired the cause. Being informed, he said quietly: "Then let us go to prayer." Several of his companions prayed, and then Wesley knelt down and said: —

"Almighty and everlasting God! Thou hast sway everywhere, and everything serves the purposes of Thy will. Thou holdest the winds in Thy hands, and sitteth upon the water floods, and reignest a king forever. Command that these winds and these waves shall obey thee, and take us speedily and safely to the haven whither we would be."¹

Wesley rose from his knees and resumed his reading; and we are assured that the winds at once ceased, and that the sea grew calm! But probably Wesley's greatest weakness was his intense credulity, and this is the more strange considering how consummate a judge he was of men and of human character. He seems never to have doubted anything that was told him, and his Journals are interspersed with the most marvellous stories, which with an amusing simplicity he assures us were told him by eye and ear witnesses. One or two instances shall suffice: A man whose son had married without his consent was so enraged that he "wished his right arm might burn off if ever he left or gave him sixpence." Being taken sick soon after, he made a will leaving his son his whole estate, and died the same day. After his death a disagreeable smell was observed proceeding from the room where the corpse lay. On entering, they found the room full of smoke. The sheet which covered the body being removed, it was found that

¹ Tyerman's Wesley, vol. iii. p. 505.

the body was so burned that the entrails protruded ; the right arm was nearly consumed, and the head burned so that the brain appeared. When water was thrown on the body it hissed like red-hot iron. The sheet which covered it was not singed, but the pillows and plank on which it lay were both consumed. They hurriedly put the body in a coffin and took it to the churchyard for burial, and when it was brought to the grave the church-steeple shook and fell down. "All the circumstances," says Wesley, "were related to me and my wife by eye and ear witnesses."¹ A certain man, when a little child, had just learned his "Christ-cross Row," but soon forgot it. He made no effort to read until between twenty and thirty years of age, when he was converted. He then felt a strong conviction that he could read, and going into a neighbor's house he picked up a Bible and read with perfect ease ; and could always do so afterwards !² A Catholic girl was struck blind while reading her Mass book. Afterwards her eyes happening to fall on a New Testament her sight was restored ; but her blindness returned whenever she tried to read the Mass book. Yet she could always read the Bible with great ease !³

The amount of this stuff scattered through Wesley's Journals is simply amazing. We wonder how he could have been imposed upon by such stories ; but no doubt it was owing in great part to his strong conviction of the existence of a world of spirits, both good and evil, that constantly attend us, to lead us astray or guide us in the path of life. To Wesley's mind the world was full of these invisible agencies, and no story of ghost or goblin could be made so preposterous that he was not willing to credit it if attested by witnesses whom he thought to be sincere. The following very remarkable passage was written when Wesley was sixty-five years of age :—

"It is true likewise that the English in general, and, indeed, most of the men of learning in Europe, have given up all account of witches and apparitions as mere old wives' fables. I am sorry for it ; and I willingly take this opportunity of entering my solemn protest against this violent compliment which so many that believe the Bible pay to those who do not believe it. I owe them no such service. I take knowledge these are at the bottom of the outcry that has been raised and with such insolence spread throughout the nation, in direct opposition not only to the Bible, but to the suffrage of the wisest and best men in all ages and nations. They well know (whether Christians do or not) that the giving up witchcraft is in effect giving up the Bible."⁴

In this single passage we see an explanation of that extreme credulity which we have noticed as one of the greatest weaknesses in Wesley's character. Believing in the existence of powerful spirits that were constantly intertering in the affairs of men, it was but a natural outcome of this belief that he should have thought them capa-

¹ Journals, July 19, 1757.

³ Ibid., 1748.

² Ibid., June 4, 1759.

⁴ Ibid., May 25, 1768.

ble of performing any prodigy. Hence those preposterous stories of ghosts and spirits scattered through his Journals, and related with an artlessness that excites a smile in spite of us. Yet notwithstanding this and other weaknesses incident to human nature, Wesley was unquestionably one of the greatest characters England has ever produced. Says Mr. Lecky: "Great as was the success of John Wesley in the career which he adopted, it is difficult to observe his extraordinary powers both of organization and of reasoning, without reflecting upon what he might have been if circumstances had made him a statesman and a lawyer."¹ Such powers would easily have promoted him to the highest positions of worldly wealth and honor; yet he steadfastly turned his back upon all, and devoted his life, his mind, his energy, and his money to the service of God and of his fellow-man. And never was any life given up more completely or more unselfishly to whatever duties he felt himself called upon to perform. To do good seemed to be his only ambition; and for more than half a century he labored as probably no other man ever labored to alleviate the sorrows of mankind and to lessen the miseries of life. Had he been a selfish man, or even in the narrowest sense of the word a prudent man, he might, even as a minister, have accumulated immense wealth; yet he died leaving nothing but the prospect of money to arise from the sale of his books. When taunted by his enemies with using his position for selfish purposes, he replied: "If I leave behind me £10 above my debts and my books, or what may happen to be due on account of them, you and all mankind bear witness against me that I lived and died a thief and a robber."² He was fond of saying that his own hands should be his executors; and how far he made them so will appear from the following entry in his cash book, made July 16, 1790, less than one year before his death: "For upwards of eighty-six years I have kept my accounts exactly. I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction that I save all I can and give all I can,—that is, all I have."³ Dr. Whitehead estimated that in the course of fifty years Wesley gave away between £20,000 and £30,000. Henry Moore, writing with Wesley's account book before him, thought the supposed £30,000 might be increased by several thousands more. This was a large amount of money, which came to him almost without effort; and scarcely any of it was permitted to remain in his possession for a single night. No sooner did it come to his hands than he hastened to relieve the distresses of the poor; and he ceased to give only when he had nothing left. We are told that when he had thirty pounds a year he lived on twenty-eight and gave away two. "The next year, receiving sixty pounds, he still

¹ History of England, vol. ii. p. 617.

² Tyerman's Wesley, vol. i. p. 436.

³ Ibid., vol. iii. p. 615.

lived on twenty-eight and gave away thirty-two ; the third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away sixty-two ; the fourth year he received one hundred and twenty pounds, — he still lived on twenty-eight and gave away ninety-two." And this is but an illustration of the charity he practised through life.

Nor was his labor or benevolence confined to London and its vicinity. He formed societies throughout England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and tried, so far as he could, to visit them all at least once a year. Hence the necessity of the almost incredible amount of travelling which he did in the fifty-two years of his itinerancy. During these years he never passed a village or a town without preaching ; and as he was excluded from nearly all the pulpits of the country he generally preached in the open air, or wherever he was able to collect a crowd. For nearly forty years Wesley's father held the living of Epworth and filled the pulpit at that place ; he died there in 1735, and his remains were laid in the Parish churchyard. Seven years later John Wesley, in one of his excursions, came to Epworth to preach. The curate refused to allow him to enter the pulpit which his father had filled so creditably and so long ; but nothing daunted, Wesley went into the churchyard, and mounting upon that father's tombstone preached to the assembled crowd one of his most powerful sermons. What a throng of impressive associations does this scene recall ! Beneath his feet the ashes of his venerable father slept, after many years of toil, of destitution, and of want ; years spent in the service of this very people whose preacher now refused the son admission to a pulpit which the father had filled acceptably for more than a generation ; years, too, full of laborious literary enterprises and an unquenchable thirsting after knowledge, that clung to him even when beset by creditors and overwhelmed by poverty and despair. Near at hand stood the old house in which Susannah Wesley, a woman almost without an equal in her age, assisted her husband in rearing that family that was destined to make the name of Wesley a familiar sound even in the uttermost parts of the earth, — "a family, which," says Mr. Tyerman, "for genius, talent, and romantic history must always stand high among the remarkable households of mankind." There was scarcely a member of that large family, who came to years of maturity, whose life was not worthy to have been recorded ; but all have been obscured by the transcendent fame of Charles and John Wesley, — the former probably the greatest hymnologist, the latter certainly the greatest revivalist, of the churches that has ever appeared in the world. Charles Wesley, besides being an accomplished scholar and an able and effective speaker, wrote more than six thousand hymns, many of which are among the very finest specimens of sacred poetry that can be found

in the English tongue. His sons, too, were men of broad culture and refinement, and afterwards attained to high fame in the world of music. We doubt whether in all history there could be found a family that in a single generation produced more and greater talents than the family of which John Wesley was the chief ornament.

In 1735 Wesley first began to keep a journal of his life, and this was kept up until within a very short period before his death. It lies before me as I write, printed in six volumes, most of it done on Wesley's own presses and under his own supervision. This long Journal is a curious record, and furnishes an inexhaustible fund from which biographers have drawn the story of his life. It is scarcely probable that any but the curious and the studious will now read these Journals, though they may be read both with pleasure and profit; for scattered here and there through the monotonous details of his preaching tours may be found scores of shrewd and pungent criticisms of men and books, that throw an inexpressible charm over what would otherwise be an exceedingly dry and prosy record. It is a noticeable feature of these criticisms that Wesley had permitted his religious opinions and prejudices so to warp and distort his mind that he could not believe it possible there could be any good in a man who denied the authority of the Christian religion. Indeed, he seemed to think that such a man could not even possess a high order of understanding. He did not demand of any one that he should be a Methodist, or belong to any special branch of Protestantism. It was enough if he were a Protestant and a believer; but if he happened to be neither, Wesley thought—and in this he might find many agreeing with him at the present day—that it was quite impossible he could be anything else than a villain or a fool. David Hume, who next to Bacon has been thought to be the most comprehensive intellect England has produced, was “the most insolent despiser of truth and virtue that ever appeared in the world; . . . an avowed enemy of God and man, and of all that is sacred and valuable on earth.”¹ Chesterfield “was a man of much wit, middling sense, and some learning; but as absolutely void of virtue as any Jew, Turk, or Heathen that ever lived. . . . If he is rewarded according to his desert, his name will stink to all generations.”² Voltaire, Machiavelli, Raynal, and many others were disposed of after the same fashion; and I remember no instance of his having spoken with respect either of the character or the abilities of any man who presumed to doubt the sufficiency of the evidence by which Christianity is said to be established.

There is a branch of Wesley's labor to which reference has not yet been made, and in which he probably displayed more ability than in any other department of his work. We refer to his government of the

¹ Journals, May 5, 1772.

² Ibid., Oct. 12, 1775.

Methodist societies. All critics have united in praising the consummate skill with which for half a century he ruled the numerous societies scattered throughout Great Britain. Among them he was as veritable an autocrat as ever dispensed power, and he would never permit any one to question his right to rule them as he pleased. His people looked upon him with a peculiar reverence and awe, and felt for him a love, strong no doubt, but deeply mingled with fear. And the preachers of his connection were no less subject to his will than the people. Indeed, he gave them to understand from the beginning that they were to preach only when and where *he* appointed, and insisted upon it as a rule from which he would never consent to depart, that so long as they remained with him they "must consent to be ruled by him ;" and if they did not choose to do this he expelled them from the society. The "Conferences," he said, existed only by his will, and that he called his preachers together annually not to control but to advise him ; nor would he permit any one to usurp any portion of that authority which he felt that he alone, as the founder of Methodism, had the right to exert over the societies. In this way he succeeded in establishing an absolute authority, which he continued to exercise to the day of his death. He seems at one time to have been troubled by the thought of what would become of the societies when he should be no more ; and about eighteen years before his death he wrote to John Fletcher of Madely, laid the matter before him, and proposed that he should consent to assume the leadership after his own removal. But Fletcher's health failed soon after this, and Wesley seems to have dismissed the matter from his mind ; and, so far as I can ascertain, the proposition made to Fletcher was never made to any one else. No doubt he despaired of the possibility of their remaining together after his death ; and it is certain that he thought it very improbable the connection could be preserved. In a paper read before one of his Conferences in 1769, he said, speaking of his preachers, "They are a rope of sand, and such they will continue ;" and as to the probability of the connection being preserved, he said : "Those who aim at anything but the glory of God and the salvation of souls, who desire or seek any earthly thing, whether honor, profit, or ease, will not, cannot, continue in the connection ; it will not answer their designs. Some of them, perhaps a fourth of the whole number, will procure preferment in the Church ; others will turn Independents and get separate congregations. Lay your accounts with this, and be not surprised if some you do not suspect be of this number." ¹

In this connection it may not be improper to insert a very curious letter which has recently come under my observation. In the month of April, 1840, Mr. Henry Hetherington, a bookseller in the Strand,

¹ Whitehead's Wesley, vol. ii. p. 192.

was indicted for selling certain numbers of a work entitled "Haslam's Letters to the Clergy of all Denominations," the indictment charging them as libels on the Old Testament. The case was heard before Lord Denman in the Court of Queen's Bench in December of the same year, and the defence was conducted by the defendant himself, "with great propriety and talent," says Talfourd, — "it being rested mainly on the claim of an unquestioned right to publish all matters of opinion, and on the argument that the work charged as blasphemous came fairly within the operation of that principle." In his argument before the jury Mr. Hetherington quoted certain passages from the letter which we give below, and which he says appeared in a Life of Wesley in 1792; and afterwards in a published account of the trial he gives the letter in full, saying in a foot-note that he does so because he thinks it of sufficient importance to be preserved. It is a little long for quotation, but too curious to be omitted; and I therefore take the liberty to give it in full:—

CITY ROAD, Thursday Morning.

DEAR SIR,— For your obliging letter, which I received this morning, I return you thanks. Our opinions for the most part perfectly coincide respecting the stability of the connection after my head is laid in the dust. This, however, is a subject about which I am not so anxious as you seem to imagine; on the contrary, it is a matter of the utmost indifference to me, as I have long foreseen that a division must necessarily ensue from causes so various, unavoidable, and certain, that I have long since given up all thoughts and hopes of setting it on a permanent foundation. You do not seem to be aware of the most effective cause that will bring about a division. You apprehend the most serious consequences from a struggle between the preachers for power and pre-eminence, and there being none among them of sufficient authority or abilities to support the dignity, or command the respect, and exact the implicit obedience which is so necessary to uphold our constitution on its present principles. This most undoubtedly is one thing that will operate very powerfully against unity in the connection, and is, perhaps, what I might possibly have prevented, had not a greater difficulty arisen in my mind. I have often wished for some person of abilities to succeed me as the head of the church I have with such indefatigable pains and astonishing success established; but convinced that none but very superior abilities would be equal to the undertaking, were I to adopt a successor of this description, I fear he might gain so much influence among the people as to usurp a share if not the whole of that absolute and uncontrollable power which I have hitherto and am determined I will maintain so long as I live. Never will I bear a rival near my throne. You, no doubt, see the policy of continually changing the preachers from one circuit to another at short periods; for should any of them become popular with their different congregations, and insinuate themselves into the favor of their hearers, they might possibly obtain such influence as to establish themselves independent of me and the general connection. Besides, the novelty of the continual change excites curiosity, and is the more necessary as few of our preachers have abilities to render themselves in any degree tolerable any longer than they are new.

The principal cause which will inevitably effect a diminution and division in the connection after my death will be the failure in subscriptions and contributions

towards the support of the cause ; for money is as much the sinews of religious as of military power. If it is with the greatest difficulty that even I can keep them together for want of this very necessary article, I think no one else can.

Another cause which, with others, will effect the division is the disputes and contention that will arise between the preachers and the parties that will espouse their several causes ; by which means much truth will be brought to light, which will reflect so much to their disadvantage that the eyes of the people will be open to see their motives and principles, — nor will they any longer contribute to their support when they find all their pretensions to sanctity and love are founded on motives of interest and ambition. The consequence of which will be, a few of the most popular will establish themselves in the respective places where they have gained sufficient influence over the minds of the people ; the rest must revert to their original humble calling. But this in no way concerns me. I have obtained the object of my views by establishing a name that will not soon perish from the face of the earth. I have founded a sect that will boast my name long after my disciplines and doctrines are forgotten. My character and reputation for sanctity are now beyond the reach of calumny, — nor will anything that may hereafter come to light or be said concerning me, to my prejudice, however true, gain credit.

“ My unsoil'd name, th' austereness of my life,
Will vouch against it,
And so the accusation overweigh,
That it will stifle in its own report,
And smell of Calumny.”

Another cause that will operate more powerfully and effectually than any of the preceding is the rays of philosophy which now begin to pervade all ranks, rapidly dispelling the mists of ignorance which have been long, in a great degree, the mother of devotion, of slavish prejudice, and the enthusiastic bigotry of religious opinions. The decline of the papal power is owing to the same irresistible cause ; nor can it be supposed that Methodism can stand its ground when brought to the test of truth, reason, and philosophy.

JOHN WESLEY.

This is a very remarkable document. Is it genuine ? I answer plainly, that I do not know. It is here given as published by Mr. Hetherington in his account of his trial ; but all efforts to trace it further have been fruitless. We have met with no Life of Wesley in which it is noticed ; and even Mr. Tyerman, who has treated this subject more exhaustively than any other writer, seems not to have known of its existence. The reader must therefore form his own opinion concerning it. The style and diction, however, are just what we should have expected Wesley to use ; the opinion here expressed of his preachers, and of the stability or instability of the connection, is the same we know him to have entertained many years before his death ; and his inordinate love of power is not more strongly expressed in this letter than it was in the whole course and conduct of his life. On the other hand, with a knowledge of Wesley's long life of benevolence and devotion to the welfare and happiness of his species before us, it is very difficult to believe that he could have been the hypocrite this letter makes him to appear. If genuine, it places him in a light

in which men have not been accustomed to view his character ; and we feel almost constrained to exclaim, " If John Wesley was insincere, who is there in all the world in whose sincerity we can trust ? " Whatever may have been his private opinion, the world at least has given him credit for having acted upon strong and earnest convictions ; and men will not easily believe that he could have been insincere who, for so many years, steadfastly turned his back upon all those exalted honors that his abilities might easily have procured for him, whose only ambition seemed to be to go about doing good in the world, and whose very last written words, scrawled in a tremulous and almost illegible hand when the grasp of death was already upon him, were words of encouragement to Wilberforce in his efforts towards the abolition of slavery, — a not unfitting close for the long labors of a pen that for seventy years was never taken up except in defence of the liberties and happiness of mankind.

Viewed in the light of the present, it seems very improbable that such a reformer as Wesley will again appear. His is a character which belongs essentially to the past, — to an age in which religion occupied the minds of men much more than it does to-day, or probably ever will again. The dense ignorance which wrapped the minds of the poor in Wesley's day has been, to a great extent, removed. An intellectual night has been eclipsed by the light of a broader knowledge. " The rays of philosophy " have indeed begun " to pervade all ranks." Invention treads so fast on invention, discovery follows discovery so closely, that we stand bewildered amid the multitude of intellectual achievements which have crowned the labors and investigations of this century. And this activity is not, on the whole, favorable to religion. The incursions of hostile science have penetrated the remotest recesses of the domain of theology, and a sceptical philosophy — profound, searching, and critical — has, in a great measure, usurped the thought of the age. Nor is the light of knowledge any longer shed only upon a few isolated minds. It pervades all classes of society ; it is making its way into the hovels where poverty and destitution are supreme ; it has risen like the sun of the morning to gladden and refresh the earth. The result of this general dissemination of knowledge has been, I apprehend, to make it impossible for the scenes which accompanied the rise of Methodism ever to be repeated. That superstition is the mother of devotion is no more a truth than that ignorance is the mother of superstition. Remove the ignorance, and the mind is lifted to a plane where it can more easily resist the zeal of enthusiasts and the importunity of fanatics. Religious excitement, manifesting itself in cries and convulsions, is frowned down in all enlightened communities ; and this is no doubt due mainly to the fact that men are accustomed to think more for them-

selves, and are therefore the less easily frightened by stories of hell and of the doom of the unrepentant sinner, — and their minds being more independent of their feelings are on that account less easily influenced by appeals directed to the nervous system. It may reasonably be supposed, therefore, that there will not appear another reformer who will exert such, and so great, an influence as Wesley. Religious revivals, capable of upturning the great masses of society and changing the face of history, have become practically impossible. We have recently seen an effort made in this country by Messrs. Moody and Sankey pass away without disturbing the equilibrium of society. The influence of that revival is already dead. It was scarcely less ephemeral than the very breath that wafted their songs and prayers upon the air. New sects no doubt will arise; but they will arise gradually and silently. It is scarcely probable that they will again originate in violent irruptions from already established systems. The day of the enthusiast and the fanatic is past; and men are everywhere demanding proof for many things which have for centuries been accepted without a question. The age is one of severe analysis and criticism; nor is it easy to guess where the iconoclastic tendencies of the times will find a check: but so radical have been the changes wrought by the last century in all the modes of thought, that it is quite improbable there will ever again be witnessed such a revival as that instituted by the distinguished founder of Methodism, — a revival whose results are to-day seen in one of the largest and most influential of the Protestant sects, and whose power and influence will no doubt be felt after another century has come and gone.

WILLIAM MYALL.

MR. ATKINSON ON "THE SOLID SOUTH."

I.

THE readers of the "International Review" for March last will hardly need to be told that Mr. Atkinson's article under the above-named heading has greatly shocked the sensibilities of the people upon whose character and institutions he has commented so severely. With characteristic frankness Mr. A. had avowed himself an original abolitionist and free-soiler; and we had been taught by the vehement declarations of Mr. Phillips, the caustic pen of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and the seductive romances of Mrs. Stowe to expect the grossest misapprehensions, oftentimes put forth in the harshest and most offensive

language. Mr. Atkinson had embodied some of his severe comments on the South (he says,¹ severer than anything in his published article) in a speech delivered at Atlanta, Ga., last winter, before a small audience of just twenty-seven persons. How far he may be justified in this comparison I am unable to form an opinion. But the outline which appeared in the newspapers thoroughly agrees with the article in the quality of sharpness. As to the applause with which his sentiments were received in the Senate Chamber of Georgia, truth compels me to say what may possibly dispel pleasing anticipations of converting the South to his own extreme opinions. But knowing the men who had listened to him, I was desirous to hear what they meant by their applause. My inquiries seemed to awaken in some of them not a little amusement, and the answer was interrupted with irrepressible laughter. "We had heard," they said, "that Mr. A. and his friends doubted whether free speech was allowed in the South, and we went into the hall with a sort of understanding that we would applaud him to the echo, without any regard to the truth or error that might be found in his statements." What view the ex-Confederate to whom he alludes may have taken in advising the publication of sentiments about the South, past and present, which of course he knew to be charged to the brim with error and

¹ The following note was forwarded to me from my house in Atlanta during a recent absence of some weeks in Virginia and Kentucky. I also take occasion here to say that this absence upon duties growing out of my profession necessarily delayed the preparation of this reply to Mr. A.'s criticisms. The note, and everything else known to me concerning Mr. A., deepen the impression of his transparent honesty and sincerity, and offer an instance, suggestive as it is melancholy, of the fearful power of preconceived opinions to darken the mind and warp the feelings in well-meaning and otherwise kind-hearted men :

BOSTON, May 18, 1881.

Dear Sir, — I have lately learned that you had taken some public exception to an article of mine on the "Solid South" published in the "International Review." This pleased me much, as I do not value my work unless some one finds it a matter of sufficient interest to review it, and to present any other side of the question at issue that may be apparent to him. We old Abolitionists always believe in the merit of continual agitation for the removal of wrongs. I did not myself consider my article in the "International" nearly as sharp in its points as my speech at Atlanta, which appeared to be so acceptable to my audience, although I do not suppose one of them sustained me in all my points. Moreover, I submitted the "Review" article to an ex-Confederate soldier, who is now president of a Southern college, asking him if it was any too severe, and he advised me to print it as it was written. I shall therefore be very much gratified at any printed comments that you may have made, and am glad to learn that you are to reply in the "Review." The world gets on as much by means of friction, both material and intellectual, as it does by the removal of obstructions. If the locomotive did not bite the rail and abraid its surface, the train could not move at all. What we are after is, that the train *shall* move; and I wish to see the Southern train come up even with the Northern.

I shall be much pleased to hear from you, if you have leisure to send me any articles that you may have written.

Very sincerely yours,

DR. BOGGS.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

misconception, we are left to conjecture. But it is only natural to infer that he may have had opinions like those of Mr. A., to the effect that the collision of opposing views develops truth. However, one may venture with due humility to suggest that the old rule, "*Fortiter in re, leniter in modo*," finds application here. Mr. Atkinson will meet with better success as a moral reformer when he learns to feel more sympathy with the erring and to make more allowances for honest differences in opinion. His mode of dealing with the South reminds me of a story with which a venerable professor of sacred rhetoric used to guard his pupils against the fatal error of denunciatory sermons. "There was once," Dr. L. was accustomed to say, with the faintest approach to a gleam of humor flitting over his dignified and composed features, — "there was once a young brother who was called to conduct the services in Charleston, the old pastor being with him in the pulpit. The young man commented with great fervor and freedom upon the weaknesses and frailties of his brethren; and at the conclusion of public worship he ventured, with manifest self-approbation, to ask the older minister what he thought of the sermon. 'Oh, well,' said the old pastor, 'you plainly told them that they were all going to hell, and that *you were glad of it.*'" Such preaching, whether in the pulpit or out of it, is not usually very abundant in "the peaceable fruits of righteousness."

Any good which is to accrue to North or South must come, it seems to me, through roundabout channels. Many men hereabout find themselves incapable of reading the brief discussion to its close. They have not the requisite patience to wade through dreary paragraphs of the old-fashioned, *ante-bellum* misconceptions to see themselves virtually placed upon a level with the Mexican for culture and intelligence, the Comanche for blood-thirstiness, and the Turk for sensuality. But those who have patiently endured it to the end are thoroughly satisfied that the redoubted Knight of La Mancha was not more sincere in charging might and main upon wind-mills and flocks of geese than Mr. Atkinson is in his furious onslaught upon the hob-goblins and "chimæras dire" of Southern society. African slavery as it existed among us was, in his thinking, the quintessence of all that is contrary to the principles of truth, justice, and charity. The matador's red flag does not more completely infuriate his antagonist. There are excesses in word and deed to which only the honest man under the spell of a powerful delusion is liable. When, for example, Senator Dawes, ready upon principle to believe all manner of evil of the South, hastens to proclaim himself the champion of the "gray-headed old man" who had barely escaped with his life from the torch and shot-gun in Louisiana, as Lot from Sodom, and thereby becomes the laughing-stock of the nation, every man who is not devoid

of sense or of sensibility can see at a glance that he is painfully sincere in his blunder. The very style of Mr. Atkinson's paragraphs, the headlong zeal with which clause is jammed against clause, epithet piled upon epithet, after the fashion of a general "smash up" in a railway train, bears witness to his zeal in what he deems a righteous cause. The red-hot lava of his too long pent-up feeling gleams beneath the scorix of somewhat disjointed words which rather float on the surface than convey his meaning. It is only some such perverting influence that could bring an honest mind and a heart naturally kind to utter such a fearful indictment against a whole people, professedly Christian,—his own countrymen and perchance his kindred, though they have erred grievously as he thinks. Only under some such hallucination can the sincere champion of the rights of the manumitted African virtually accuse the white race of the South of deliberate perseverance in brutal cruelty and revolting lust. Only under this uncontrollable conviction would a humane man consent to invade the silence of the grave itself that he may fix the brand of infamy upon the honored and illustrious dead!

But it gives us pleasure to recognize in this rough, uncouth guise one who really desires to do good and not evil. We of the South cordially reciprocate his manifest wish to see harmony and a better understanding between the sections of our common country; and we can unitedly assure all honest men that, having accepted the arbitration of the sword,—to which our fathers and theirs appealed with better fortune, but not with a more honest belief in a just cause,—we are fully resolved to abide the result. The Union is to be esteemed irrevocable so far as past issues are concerned. The bitterness of that past is being forgotten. We heartily rejoice in the prosperity of our more fortunate brethren at the North. It is our purpose to learn from them, so far as may be necessary, how to develop the mighty resources of the South that they may be utilized for the common good of the whole country. But all this growing goodwill is, in our opinion, perfectly consistent with wide divergences of opinion as to the questions which caused us to seek a separate government in 1860. True charity *presupposes* just such differences, and upon matters about which we care a great deal. And the same desire for harmony which makes us welcome the good intentions of Mr. Atkinson, despite the misconception and harshness which accompany the expression of them, leads us to correct the impression made by his article. Mr. A. himself we can hardly hope to see changed. He has shrewdly suggested in this very discussion the fact—sufficiently general to be styled a law of human nature—that men do not change after passing a certain age: as an "original Abolitionist" he must have passed under the dominion of that law. But there are younger

men and women in New England and throughout the North whom we would fain have to think of us as cordially as truth will allow. And if any word of remonstrance shall touch a kindly chord in older hearts, breaking up and dispersing the clouds of prejudice which have so long obscured our view of each other, we shall only rejoice the more.

But it is time that we examine more in detail some of Mr. A.'s statements which have, as I said, so shocked the feelings of his Southern readers. On page 198 I find the following characterization of "the Solid South" as it was before the great civil war; for he insists that the newly coined expression truly describes a state of things which has been in existence for the whole of the century, — that is, practically from the beginning of our history as an independent people: —

"What then has been meant by the term 'Solid South' in common speech? Geographically, it included all the States south of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, or what is known as Mason and Dixon's line, and east of the Rocky Mountains, together with the State of Missouri. Industrially, it included cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco, which were with very limited but conspicuous exceptions examples of all that was wasteful and improvident, and it included manufacturing and mechanic arts developed only in a most limited degree. Mentally, it expressed a habit of intolerance in thought promoting violence in action, the latter leading to the frequent crime of homicide and the folly of the duel; it mistook for what it called chivalry that brute courage which has no respect for human life, and it substituted a jealousy of the independent thought and action of other men for a sentiment of honor, of the true nature of which sentiment it had no conception. Morally, it descended to a depth of baseness which to-day is hard to be conceived. It permitted the chasing of men with bloodhounds, the flogging of naked women before the eyes of men and boys, the breeding of human live-stock, and the sale even of the very children of those who engaged in the nefarious traffic. Of course there were individuals who furnished exceptions to these characteristics, but they were only exceptions, even if more numerous than those who enforced the rule; and the representatives of these exceptions would have been as powerless to control their several communities as the reformers of the North were powerless, until the passive war of which these characteristics were but the outward expression culminated in the active war by which they were swept out of existence. Politically, the term 'Solid South' included only the Bourbon idea of the section which it covered geographically. This Bourbon idea was that all men are *not* born free, but are born unequal in their rights; and it was the function of the privileged few to govern the incapable many. It included those men who, though residing in the Northern States, were foreign to them, and who as 'dough-faces' and 'copperheads' did the dirty work of their Southern masters, — the same class who of late years, by taking advantage of the popular meaning of the word 'democrat' and perverting it to base purposes, have misled the masses of ignorant and unthinking voters to the great danger of the country and to the misgovernment of the great cities which they infest. The very necessity of the Solid South before the war degraded Southern men who possessed the ability of statesmen to the mean level of being advocates of a national crime, and kept them in bondage to a system which they knew to be base. Soon after the publication of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' two friends of the writer, a distinguished publicist and his wife, took tea at the house of Senator Preston of South Carolina

After tea, the talk of the two ladies turned upon the book. The Senator, ordinarily a man of extreme and fastidious courtesy, gradually became excited, until at last he burst forth: 'Yes! Mrs. L., we've read "Uncle Tom's Cabin;" and, by God! I swear it is true. I can match every incident in it out of my own experience.' Thus the convictions of the man burst forth in spite of himself, and proved all his public acts to be governed by no principle, and only controlled by a base necessity."

Were this indictment anything else than a wholesale slander of the living and the dead, thus propounded by Mr. Atkinson in good faith, under the prepossession before mentioned, that Southern slavery was by the necessity of the case the synonyme for all that is dishonest, cruel, and base, contaminating everything that came within the wide sweep of its baleful shadow, — then we should find little to object to, save the wretched English, in the sentence which follows (p. 199) : —

"If the term 'Solid South' still meant these noxious and dangerous conditions; if these ideas were now still dominant, after fifteen years have passed since the collapse of the Confederacy, — then the policy of the North which has come to be named 'Stalwart,' and which finds its intense expression in a recent article in the 'North American Review' by Mr. George S. Boutwell, would be fully warranted. In such a case the centralization of national coercion and of national power would not only be justifiable, but absolutely necessary. Yet this would be a condition of *quasi* war."

After briefly justifying his opposition to "Stalwartism," as a sort of "heroic treatment" of the diseased patient, by an analogy taken from the healing art, Mr. A. proceeds with his account of the South as it was (p. 200) : —

"In the days of slavery it was necessary for the few leaders who possessed political intelligence to keep the masses in ignorance, lest whites as well as blacks should know that even they themselves were slaves. The so-called first families of Virginia resisted the establishment of common schools. A governor of South Carolina called the workmen of the North 'the mudsills of society;' nor was he singular in his ignorance and illiteracy."

Want of space will not admit of my following Mr. A. into some curiously worded sentences, in which the phrase "Solid South" is made to do duty in such marvellous variety of aspect as to remind one of the ludicrous contortions of the "Jumping Jack." Describing the industrial system of the South before the abolition of slavery, he continues (p. 201) : —

"Its system of labor forbade the use of any but the rudest tools by the slave; while the poor white, who dwelt next the planter, if he labored at all, worked ignorantly and intermittently under a sense of indignity. There was no organized industry, no art, no science, no literature."

Then follow some comments on the improved industries of the South, intermingled with hints as to the uprising of the small farmers against the "Bourbons," whoever they are, upon which he bases the sanguine expectation apparently of the Republican party of the South.

Now, as to this opposition of the working classes to the more affluent, it has been the proud boast of the South hitherto that no such combinations have existed in our borders. The writer has been intimately associated in peace and war with men who gain their bread by daily toil ; and a hardier, braver, more independent class of men are not to be found on the earth than those white men who, destitute of lands and slaves, — too often of sufficient education also, — have stood upon the pride of their Caucasian blood, and have usually been able to make matters too warm for the man who dared to trespass upon their reserved rights. The reviewer himself quite correctly remarks in another communication that the number of actual slaveowners in the South was never large ; and it results of necessity from this obvious fact that a very large proportion of the Confederate armies were from the great body of non-slaveholders : especially was this true of the infantry. Now, I venture nothing in saying that the glorious soldiery that followed Lee and Johnston may leave their vindication in the hands of the brave men who opposed and finally overwhelmed them. They were probably in the proportion of seven out of ten without slaves of their own ; and the man who says they were not as full of manly independence as they were of fiery blood is either ignorant or else incapable of judging. Individuality, proud assertion of personal rights, even under the stern discipline of the military code, was precisely *the* peculiarity of the Confederate infantry. (I speak of this arm especially, because I knew it best, and because it contained the largest proportion of non-slaveholders.) Indeed, competent critics who were on hand to observe have inclined to the opinion that individuality was carried to the extreme of weakening the disciplined unity in which the Northern armies so excelled.

Let Mr. A. be assured, moreover, that to this hour no such alienation between the poorer and the richer whites has made its appearance in the South. He is simply misinformed if he relies on other men's impressions ; deceived, if he trusts to his own. His suggestions have been referred to competent observers, and with one accord they deny that there is any foundation whatever for affirming that there are such divisions among the whites as have appeared among our cousins at the North and in Great Britain. All thoughtful men deplore the temporary necessity which fuses the white men of the South into one political organization. All know, of course, that at least two parties are necessary for the best results in a representative system such as ours, — one to act as the "progressive," the other as the "conservative" influence, whatever other and incidental names they may bear. The germs for such parties are unquestionably embedded in the mental structure of our people. But the natural development cannot take place because of unfriendly conditions in the "environ-

ment ;" let time or good statesmanship remove these hindrances, and the germs will burst into life. The South is not "solid" because of latent secession feeling : that idea was definitely abandoned when we surrendered our arms. But the dread of a conservative people has been thoroughly aroused by the mad experiments of the dominant party upon the Constitution. The wholesale enfranchisement of ignorant negroes — one of the wildest experiments of modern times — has shocked the judgment as well as the prejudices of the Southern people. They are slow to give their confidence to any party that is capable of such madness. More than that : while the Democrats fought us as strenuously during the Civil War, they have not continued to heap abuse and insult upon the living and the dead. Southern men have sentiments which cannot be thus trampled on. The great military leaders of the North were notoriously from the Democratic party, — McClellan, Hancock, Rosecrans, and even Grant and Sherman. Men who respect themselves will not choose to co-operate with those who take every occasion to pour contempt and abuse upon associations which are dear to them. Time, the great healer, is by degrees assuaging this source of annoyance and irritation. As the old men die off new men will learn to be more courteous and charitable. By degrees the way will be opened for Southerners to consult their preferences only in entering a political party. And even the new evil of tinkering with the Constitution will, it is hoped, be abated. The most permanent source of that pressure which makes the Southern whites "solid" is the problem of the negro race, and the elements introduced by negro citizenship. Southern men and Democrats at the North are not the only men who see the great difficulty in reaching a satisfactory solution : there are statesmen in the Republican party who confess their perplexity. Time, patience, and the fear of Almighty God can and will help us to the conclusion. Meantime let us turn to Mr. A.'s attempts at portraying Southern civilization. On p. 203 he continues : —

"Slavery constituted a despotism of the most malignant type. What despotism is more malignant than that of custom, even if the custom is not incorporated in the statute law ? But when to the force of custom the force of law is added, no power can be devised so capable of promoting wrong. Can it even be imagined that men of the intellectual vigor of the more prominent leaders in the Rebellion, or those by whom it had been planned and promoted for many years, did not know that the sum of all iniquity was a system which enforced ignorance and illiteracy, justified murder, compelled unchastity, ignored utterly the institution of marriage, made the quadroon daughter of the slaveowner more profitable to raise for the basest purposes than the most vigorous field-hand ? Is it possible to justify their intelligence, except at the cost of their moral and mental integrity ? This despotism compelled every man who combined more than average mental ability with education to suborn his true convictions to its behests. I speak only of recent periods. The slaveholders of other days dared to speak and dared to act in favor of abolition ;

but as time went on no prominent man or leader could do so publicly and live. Well might Jefferson say, as he witnessed the drift of opinion before he passed away, 'I tremble for the future of my country when I remember that God is just.' Hence, as I have said, in the last half century the slave States produced no *national* statesman, no author of any note, no philanthropist, no artist, no public man whose life has made mankind better or wiser, or by whose living human welfare has been promoted.

"But let us not be unjust. True men and good men there were in this Southern land, — men who made the best of their condition, who suffered under it, but who could see no way to surmount its evils. Men willing to become great reformers, and who have the mental capacity to carry the will into action, are few everywhere. In the South the proportion of men even of tolerable education was very small, the number of slaveowners was very limited, and not one of their number had ever happened to appear who had the courage and capacity combined which would have enabled him to resist the despotism of the system. These men of average ability and education were, as I have said, honest in their subserviency; they believed implicitly that the negro race was fated to serve the white, and their children never doubted the alleged divinity of the peculiar institution. These children are the Bourbons of to-day, but their honesty of belief can only be justified at the expense of their intelligence; and it thus happened of necessity that there could be neither literature nor art, neither true chivalry nor true honor.

"Such were the results of the despotism of slavery, — an arrogant, violent, dishonest ruling class, few in number, and therefore holding their places for long periods; a somewhat larger number of slaveowners counting themselves as an aristocracy, but without sufficient intellectual power or development to know their own miserable, dependent, and unprogressive condition: a mass of illiterate whites to whom war only could bring enlightenment; and below all these the oppressed black, even less a slave than the poor white, because it was the interest of the owner to feed and clothe him. There was no middle class, no progressive body of mechanics, no small farmers constantly supplying the new blood which in the North builds up cities and lays the foundation of States. By their fruits we have known them. Figs have not been gathered from thistles, and never will be."

Want of space compels the omission of Mr. A.'s characteristic account of the origin of the war between the States and of the reconstruction era, with its timid apology for the thievish carpet-baggers. His benevolent sketch of the "New South" going forth to meet the future in the spirit of his own Abolitionism which shudders at the past of the South is a curious jumble into which we need not enter now. My object is to bring clearly before the reader's mind the furious criticism of the South against which protest is offered. One who has the sympathetic imagination which realizes the jealous love of our country, which only misfortune and defeat can fully develop, will not wonder that men of the milder type, holding Mr. A.'s criticisms to be the grossest misconceptions engendered by prejudice, cannot bear to finish the perusal of such an article. They find it hard to believe that a man of average intelligence and information, no further away from us than Boston, can possibly believe these accusations. We have heard of Mr. Atkinson as one who has written a treatise of

some value on the railroad problem. We learn that he is esteemed a very high authority in all that pertains to the production, staple, and markets of cotton and its fabrics. Surely such a man ought to know something of his own country, and especially of that part of it whose chief product has been the study of his life! How can he write such absurd and yet horrible things of the South, and yet be an honest man? The answer has already been partly given. He is a man in whom will and feeling largely predominate over the judgment. It is his nature to project his own ideas into the world of experience, and to mistake them for realities. Fully satisfied that slavery is, as he says, "the sum of all iniquity," he bravely and boldly proceeds to draw the conclusions which should logically follow from such a premise.

The last paragraph, indeed, seems to suggest what may be a partial explanation at least of the excess of color in the picture. Quite naïvely he says:—

"In this paper I have intentionally pictured the Old South (the 'Solid South,'—the South of slavery) in the darkest shades, in order to make the contrast most intense, and this New South in the brightest aspect; perhaps, in respect to the latter, drawing more upon the hope that may be reposed in the future than on the general facts of the present day for my justification. Special facts I have, however, which are ample to sustain me. What I wish to prove is that a false principle, whether adopted by or imposed on men or nations, works surely and steadily to greater and greater depravity; while a true principle, whether accepted doubtfully and unwillingly, or freely chosen and applied, works as surely toward the integrity and stability alike of national and personal character."

Now the shrewd reader of such a paragraph will be reminded of that "robe of charity" which is said to hide a multitude of sins. The critic, with a candor which does him infinite credit by revealing the instinctive truthfulness of his nature, acknowledges the strong motives which acted upon him. But while the acknowledgment does credit to his heart, it necessarily works immense damage to his discussion of Southern civilization; it confesses that the critic looked at his facts with a controlling bias in his mind. He went to contemporary history, not as a judge, but as an advocate with a cause to be sustained. He reminds one of a theorist who approached a famous chemist with an elaborate hypothesis for explaining certain facts in that science. The chemist heard him patiently to the close of his long argument, and then mildly ventured to interpose: "Very ingenious, indeed, sir; but, unfortunately, the facts are not at all as you assume them to be. They are irreconcilably opposed to your theory." "Be good enough, then," angrily retorted the theorist, "to give me the facts, *that I may explain them by my theory.*" Such men easily make romance of history, and substitute ideal creations for the works of nature. Mr. A.

set out to prove that the system of labor which existed in the "Old South" was legalized villany of the grossest and blackest type, so that the whole government and people of the United States were tainted by its polluting presence. The South was made filthy and loathsome as the leper, as he is sketched to the life by the prophet's pen: "From the sole of the foot unto the crown of the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores; they have not been closed, neither mollified with ointment." This is his theory in brief. He reads everything through a medium colored by this conviction. So sure is he of the indisputable truth of his creed that examination into the facts is scarcely necessary at all.

See, too, how this suggestion harmonizes with the indictment brought against the Democratic party by his allusions to the last Presidential election. To this bold critic the aims of the Democratic leaders are simply treason decently veiled, but not disguised from his searching eye under other names. And who, pray, were these disguised secessionists? Such representatives of the Federal armies as General Hancock and General McClellan, to whose genius for organization competent critics are inclined to ascribe, more than to any other man's agency, our final defeat! Such statesmen as Horatio Seymour, Bayard, Hendricks, and Thurman! What shall be said of heads so shallow as to be deceived as to the real issue? — what of the souls base enough to betray a country and a cause for which they had so often perilled life and limb? Benedict Arnold was a saint to such. But what shall be thought of that "stability" in which Mr. A. finds such satisfaction when one recalls the fact that General Hancock was defeated by a majority in the whole vote of less than ten thousand, the Republican ticket having been carried by relatively small majorities in the Northern States!

Nor, when we come to examine Mr. Atkinson's statements with regard to his own special department, — cotton statistics, — do we find him any more able to escape from the fatal thralldom of his prejudices. On p. 205 we find him speaking thus of the superiority of free over slave labor: —

"Mark the first fruits of personal liberty. I have spoken of the new productions, but consider the increase of the old. When the present crop of cotton (i. e. that of 1880) is added to those previously gathered since the war, the sixteen crops will exceed the sixteen ante-war crops by more than 13,000,000 bales, perhaps by 14,000,000, which have brought to their producers more than \$800,000,000; and this is the excess only, the very first fruits of personal liberty."

When my eye first lighted upon the word "cotton" and the figures accompanying, I was ready to say, with a sigh of relief, "Now, at last, Mr. A. comes down to business. Rob Roy has touched his native heath, and will be master of the situation!" But, alas! it was easy for

a man with half an eye to see that he was trying to build a tower without counting the cost. All who are really familiar with the labor system of the South and the financial condition of the cotton-planters know at a glance that Mr. A.'s theories have played him false again. There are limits to the maxim, "Figures cannot lie." All who form their opinions upon observation rather than theorizing know that as a class cotton-growers have had a protracted and bitter struggle for existence since the war. This gross "surplus" of Mr. A. is a delusion so far as his argument is concerned, for the obvious reason that he makes no allowance for increased cost of production. His theory obliges him to find the cause of the surplus in the Emancipation Proclamation, and he accordingly so declares. Now, Southern men have no occasion whatever for writing bitter things against the negro. He has done wonderfully well, all things considered. The good understanding between him and his former master, interrupted only by the interference of carpet-baggers and other dishonest schemers, is a complete refutation of the ignorant caricatures of Southern slavery to which Mr. A. and his school are addicted. But it is expecting too much of poor human nature, white or black, to call for such vast improvement in productive industry. Take one fact bearing upon the comparative value of the negro's labor before and since the Civil War. The wages commonly paid in middle Georgia for a prime field-hand before the war ranged from \$125 to \$150 in money, together with food, lodging, and clothes. The same class of laborer now brings but \$75 to \$100 in money, together with his lodging and food, but not his clothes; the average for best field-hands being about \$8 in money per month, or \$96 per annum. The market is free to all, and yet the inexorable laws of trade have set this difference upon the two articles,—labor rendered as a slave, and labor rendered as a freedman. This, too, in the face of the notorious fact that tens of thousands of acres of the fertile cotton-lands of the Mississippi bottoms and of its tributaries are now lying idle, or else are rated nearly one half below what they brought in 1860. The rapid development of railroads and the opening of mines makes the competition perfectly free, and the labor to rate, as nearly as it can be estimated, at its real value. Desirous of having all the help necessary, I wrote to careful farmers and to a great cotton house in Memphis, whose business makes them thoroughly acquainted with labor in West Tennessee, Arkansas, and North Mississippi. While speaking kindly of the negroes, and testifying to marked improvement as to industry, they unitedly maintain that Mr. A.'s position is not only an error but an absurdity. My friend, S. M. Inman, Esq., of Atlanta, Ga., has kindly noted for me the following brief statement of facts, which I submit the more confidently because Mr. Atkinson has had the opportunity of forming an estimate of

his high capacities and thorough knowledge of cotton production in the South:—

"Causes for the increase of the cotton crop for sixteen years after the war as compared to the sixteen years previous to the war:—

"1. Increase in population in the cotton-growing States. As a fair average of *ante-bellum* population, take the average of the two census periods of 1850 and 1860; as an average of the *post-bellum* population, take the average of the two census periods of 1870 and 1880.

"2. The increased price stimulated production. The average price of middling uplands for sixteen years before the war, in New York, was less than eleven cents per pound; for sixteen years since the war nearly nineteen and one half cents per pound currency, or probably sixteen cents gold.

"3. The more perfect methods of collecting statistics through the various exchanges and boards of trade, and through the Government Bureau of Agriculture, have enabled the count to be made more accurately, and added many thousands, perhaps millions, to the aggregate crop since the war that were lost by careless counts before the war.

"4. The discovery of South Carolina phosphates, and the general use of commercial manures; introduced not as a result of the war, for they have been introduced North and South, and are only an evidence of improved agriculture in both sections. These manures hasten the maturity of the plant, and extend the culture much further northward, in addition to largely increasing the yield. Also, the opening of new lands in Texas and the West, where the crop has increased enormously on that account. The settling of these new lands may not be called a result of the war, as they would have been settled as rapidly had there been no changed condition of things.

"The increase in cotton in the slave States has been no greater than the increase in the wheat and other crops of the North. The increase of these crops was not the 'first fruits of personal liberty,' but only an indication of the general growth and progress of the country. Why should an increase of the Southern cotton crop be any less an indication of the same thing, regardless of the institution of slavery?"

A careful observer of cotton statistics, himself engaged in planting, writes that in his opinion the increase of population has less influence in the surplus production, because the colored women and children have been largely withdrawn from the fields. He attributes increased production to the extended use of costly fertilizers, but more still to the diminished area devoted since the war to the production of Indian corn and of meat; and the importation into the South of immense quantities of breadstuffs and meat have absorbed a large proportion of the \$800,000,000 of cotton surplus to which Mr. A. refers.

Great impatience has been expressed among ourselves at the bad policy of this exclusive culture of cotton. In so far perhaps as it is based upon the flattering prospect of higher prices, there may be great force in the criticism. But intelligent farmers tell me that this course is demanded to a large extent by two parties, who exercise a potent influence, — the commercial men, to whom the cotton-growers of the South, as the grain-producers of the West, are so largely indebted;

and the negro laborers, who work more contentedly in growing cotton. But all observers unite in condemning Mr. Atkinson's hasty implications as to the superior profit in free labor so far as we have yet gone. We hope for gradual improvement in the future ; but mean time rest assured that only the power of preconceived opinions would have deceived so sharp an eye as Mr. A. has the credit of having.

The same influence seems to betray itself in Mr. Atkinson's allusion to the collapse of the Confederacy. Slavery was the great curse of the South, according to his way of thinking ; and it is but natural to find in it the cause of our fearful defeat. And, in order to develop this opinion, so congenial to one of his deep and thorough-going convictions, he gives us the suggestion made by a poor, miserable deserter, accompanied with shocking profanity. It was the perception, Mr. A. thinks, by the non-slaveholding soldiers that they were fighting for the perpetuation of an institution in which they had no interest that turned the scales against the South. Verily, we had hitherto imagined that it was the fighting qualities of the Federal armies, outnumbering the Confederate more than three to one, and the possession of a navy which blockaded every port and swept every sea and navigable river, that crushed the Confederacy. It seems to be an ill compliment to the Union soldiers thus to allow a poor deserter to rob them of their hardly-won victory. Had not Mr. Atkinson been under an irresistible spell which led him to see things in a strange light, he would have been saved from such hasty conclusions ; he would have remembered another refutation of his harsh judgment as to our brutality toward the negro, which is found in the fact that we who went to the frontier confided our helpless families, our aged parents, wives, and children, to the care of the slaves, *who never in one single instance are recorded as having deceived us or betrayed the trust.* Mr. Atkinson knows too much about human nature to put great confidence in the accounts given of their own motives and conduct by men who have been unfortunately betrayed into acts which by common consent consign them to infamy. All who are or have been soldiers can think only with pity of a forlorn creature whose agonized soul sought such justification for great wrong-doing. None will make his utterances the basis of important deductions. And Mr. Atkinson will, I am sure, accept in good faith the testimony of one who was most intimately associated with Confederate soldiers from the first battle at Manassas to Lee's surrender at Appomattox. I was possessed, I suppose, of the mind of the soldiers in the ranks as few could be who did not hold the sacred position of a Christian pastor to them. With all his defects or excellences, the Southern soldier was intensely religious. Few in the splendid command which I had the honor to serve (and I have affecting proofs to this hour of their confidence and affection) ever chose to be absent

from religious services. I have had their sacred confidences ; have talked with them in the hospital, on the march, and as they lay, so humble and noble that I weep now to recall them, on the bloody field where they fell, often bearing their dying messages to mothers and wives ; yet never have I in any instance detected the slightest trace of such a feeling, though, like myself, most of them were without land and without slave property enough for us to have given one finger for it. These men in the ranks had decided convictions of their own. They verily thought (whether they were right or wrong we need not stop to argue now) that they fought for the right of self-government as guaranteed to them by that Constitution which Mr. Atkinson's friends had branded as "A league with Death and a covenant with Hell!"

Mr. Atkinson has chosen to animadvert with great severity upon two distinguished statesmen of South Carolina, in violation of the rule approved by the justice and exquisite sentiment of classic Rome, — *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, — "Of the dead say nothing but good." To Senator James H. Hammond he alludes as "a governor of South Carolina" who was not "singular in his ignorance and illiteracy" (save the mark !). The words to which Mr. A. excepts occur in Senator Hammond's well known "Kansas Speech," delivered in his place in the Senate chamber of the United States. About twenty years before, Mr. Hammond had, indeed, been governor of South Carolina ; and of this Mr. A. seems to have had some vague idea. But if he had taken the trouble to verify his statement of facts by the record of that great speech, he would have discovered the error of saying that the offensive expression was intended for "the workmen of the North." The partisan press of the day diligently sought to make such an application of the senator's words ; but it is of record that he expressly denied such intention. Certainly such an application is not warranted by the report of the speech in the "Congressional Globe," which, a little more fully cited, reads thus :—

"In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. That is a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have, or you will not have that other class that leads progress, civilization, and refinement. It constitutes the very mudsill of society and government, and you might as well attempt to build a house in the air as to build either the one or the other [a house or a government] except on this mudsill. Fortunately for the South, we have such a class," etc.

Now, so far as we are concerned, the senator may be in error as to the necessity of such a class. It may be found that the cook in the kitchen shall eventually come to play the sonatas of Beethoven as well as the lady in the parlor who hires her to prepare a dinner. It may ultimately appear that the men who wield the pick and shovel shall

know the higher problems of civil engineering as thoroughly as the expert who locates the railway track. But, be this as it may, Senator Hammond was speaking in general terms. His words were intended for all countries and all societies ; they cannot be specialized without perverting them. The term "mudsill" in the connection is exactly equivalent to "groundsill," "foundation." The speech was *ex tempore*. Had he written down his words beforehand, doubtless his faultless ear and critical taste would have substituted a synonyme to escape the appearance of harshness. Mr. H. was a great planter. The delightful occupation from which he was summoned to the Senate by the unsolicited voice of his State was draining the swamps of the Savannah, and turning them into fertile fields. He had builded many structures for engineering and other purposes on the soft soil, and hence the expression "mudsill" was natural to him. It implied no contempt whatever. The times, however, were all "out of joint." Suspicion and excitement were filling the air with portents of the coming storm. It is only fair to suppose that Mr. Atkinson received the impression prevalent in his section and among his party. But how, in the name of sense, he ever came to speak of Mr. Hammond as *illiterate and ignorant* remains a solemn mystery among the many striking peculiarities of his paper.

James H. Hammond was the son of Elisha Hammond, who early in this century removed from Massachusetts to South Carolina. He was a descendant of that Benjamin Hammond who in 1633 emigrated from old England to the colony of Massachusetts Bay. And thus the brilliant senator from South Carolina was, on one side at least, of the true-blue old Puritan stock, which has given so many great men to all parts of the country. A graduate from Dartmouth College, the father engaged in school-teaching, and, being a man of intelligence and character, he was received into cultivated society, and intermarried with an excellent and wealthy family. In due time he was elected professor of ancient languages in the South Carolina College ; and the son, having been carefully trained under the father's eye, was graduated in 1825, fourth in the class in which the Hon. Randall Hunt of New Orleans was first, Hon. Thomas J. Withers of South Carolina second, and Bishop Elliott of the diocese of Georgia third. Two of them, Mr. Hunt and Bishop Elliott, were truly of national reputation ; and Judge Withers was and is regarded by those who know him a most distinguished ornament of the bench of his native State. Young Hammond entered upon the practice of law with brilliant omens. He was chosen to be governor at a comparatively early age, but retired from public life that he might apply his splendid energies to the coveted employment of planting. Mr. Hammond was a student to the day of his death. Deeply read in history and literature, he

twice made extensive tours in Europe, where his keen observation confirmed, supplemented, or corrected what he had read. It is no exaggeration to say that few men of such broad culture have entered the Senate of the United States. To sneer at the "ignorance and illiteracy" of James H. Hammond, whatever one may think of his political creed, is to show a contempt for the history of one's own times and country which is truly edifying.

As to the violent denunciation of that eloquent and accomplished gentleman, Hon. Wm. C. Preston, even the color-blindness of such a zealot as his critic is no excuse. It was the writer's privilege to meet him in his serene and benignant old age; and the picture of the patriarch, whose silver tones had charmed senates and swayed multitudes at his will, abides with me as a protest against such unmanly rudeness and profanity as is attributed to him. Mr. Preston claimed to be a Christian; he was known by his associates throughout the United States as a gentleman. That he should speak in such a manner is so improbable, so unlike himself, as to be incredible. Upon calling the attention of my friend, James H. Rion, Esq., of Winnsboro', S. C., to the attack upon his illustrious friend and benefactor, the following reply was sent (Mr. Atkinson will pardon any warmth of feeling which it may exhibit: the senator had been to Mr. R. almost as a father):—

"As to Senator Preston declaring, 'Yes, Mrs. L. [the name can be identified with tolerable certainty], we've read "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and, by God! I swear it is true: I can match every incident in it out of my own experience,'—I must think this to be gross exaggeration. . . . The idea of a *gentleman* like Mr. P. using such language to Mrs. L. (?) or any other lady is, to one who knew him as I did, simply preposterous. I never heard any profanity from him. The whole of the language strikes me as the gross forgery of one's signature would impress another who is familiar with the autograph. My personal acquaintance with Mr. P., with his style of conversation and writing (you know I have his autobiography in MS.) authorizes me in declaring that he never did utter such sentences. The style and mode of expression are utterly foreign to him. The foundation of this fiction consists in the fact that Mr. P. regarded 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' as a wonderful *novel*. He had a copy elegantly bound by Ticknor, and kept the volumes on his centre-table. I often heard him speak of its power as a novel, but never of its being true. He could not 'swear that it was true,' for *that* would be to swear falsely, and he so knew. There are many incidents in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' which the laws of the Southern States rendered illegal, and others which our humanity rendered impossible.

"But suppose that each incident could be 'matched,' what then? If one were to write a novel filled with atrocious cases of cruelty by parents at the North to their children, could not each incident be matched out of Mr. Atkinson's experience?¹ Yet would such isolated facts prove the book to be a correct representation of domestic relations at the North?"

¹ Let the shocking case of that father in New England speak the answer who offered up his son as a religious sacrifice; or of another recently examined in the police court of Cincinnati for grossly criminal relations with his own daughter, which were known to the entire family for years.

Mr. Preston's conduct, as it is conceived by Mr. Atkinson, cannot be allowed the poor plea of necessity, as a partial extenuation; for it is well known to all men at all versed in the history of their country that no public man at the South ever enjoyed more of personal popularity, more unbounded enthusiasm of regard in fact, than Mr. Clay; and yet Mr. Clay, on grounds of public policy, was known to be opposed to slavery, for he was the President of the Emancipation Society. Among ecclesiastics none was ever more respected or more potent in the highest councils of the great Presbyterian body than Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge; and yet he was associated prominently with Mr. Clay in that movement. Mr. Preston knew these facts, of course. He was a kinsman of Dr. Breckenridge.

I humbly protest in the name of humanity, of charity, and of common decency, that Mr. A. ought to revise his horrible denunciations of the dead, based as they are upon such flimsy evidence. One can well see how cordial expressions by Mr. P. of his admiration for the splendid talents displayed in Mrs. Stowe's potent romance might come in the course of transmission to be gradually shaped into an indorsement of its alleged portraiture of Southern society. More than this none of his acquaintance will ever be able to believe. His eloquent and gracious lips, silent in death, can speak no more to deny what we know to be a total misconception. But Mr. Atkinson does his own better self a grosser injustice than he inflicts upon the dead.

As a matter of course, Mr. A. finds the cause of the gross ignorance and mental obscurity which, according to him, characterizes the South in that abomination of abominations, slavery. True enough, history would have suggested that he pause before asserting such to be the fact. But then your dogmatic theorist is distinguished from common men by a thorough contempt for history, foreign or domestic, ancient or contemporary, sacred or secular. If he were only on speaking terms with history, she would have told him that the three most influential literatures of the world, — the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman, — were produced by slaveholding nations. All the world is presumed to know that in ancient Hellas, — the cradle of Art, of Poetry, and of Philosophy, whose masterpieces yet stand forth as the unattained goal of modern endeavor, — the slave-code was severe as compared with ours. But, having properly located the cause of mental sterility at the South, our vigorous critic quite naturally was led to make the effect worthy of such a potent cause. The condition of the South before the war is put in a style almost sufficiently laconic to be compared with Cæsar's famous despatch, — "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" He says: "There was no organized industry, no art, no science, no literature." It is some relief to one's pent-up feelings to have him add: "But this record is no longer a faithful picture of the present time."

On page 203 he asserts, as the indisputable conclusion of his reasonings, physical, metaphysical, moral, and metaphorical: "Hence, as I have said, in the last half century the slave States produced no *national* statesman, no author of any note, no philanthropist, no artist, no public man whose life has made mankind better or wiser, or by whose living human welfare has been promoted." Well, this is pretty severe. But Mr. Atkinson's theory required him to think it, and he is not the man to mince matters when it comes to saying what he thinks.

In reply, let it be said frankly that we of the South cordially yield the palm of literary merit to New England. Whatever be the reasons, it remains an indisputable fact that Literature and Art have somehow preferred to restrict their *habitat* almost exclusively to the extreme Northeast, rarely caring to pass far beyond the west bank of the Hudson. Of course, one who does not despise history will not be sure that slavery offends these beautiful children of imagination, since they abode for centuries on the Ilissus and the Tiber despite a very severe form of slavery. It seems, too, that whatever cause has hindered the development of imaginative art in the South is operating over wide regions of the West and Northwest, which have in this respect an indisputable advantage over New England, in that the blight of African slavery has never existed there at all. We of the South rejoice in the genius of Irving, Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, and all the galaxy of lesser lights. They are our countrymen; and even if they were not, they would be our fellow-men. We are their debtors for the many elevated thoughts, the many pure pleasures, they have given us; and if amid the beautiful roses we of the South are occasionally pricked by a thorn, we shall not for that reason cast the flowers away. But Mr. A.'s theory, as usual, brings him into collision with facts. Has he forgotten that Washington Allston, probably the first of American painters, was born at Waccamaw in South Carolina? Perhaps he has not found the time to unbend from his railroad problems and cotton statistics to drink from the fountain of the Muses; but if he ever does so, and has the discerning palate, he will probably say that America has produced no truer son of song than the ill-fated Edgar Allan Poe. The popular verdict has placed his "Raven" and "Annabel Lee" among the songs that never shall die. The list might be greatly extended by names which drop into the rank just below that of the immortals. But it seems that the South is in all things of slower growth than the North. Like the century plant, however, it is sure to break forth into blossom by-and-by; for no land that the sun shines on holds in its bosom the ashes of a more heroic dead; none rejoices in a sweeter, saintlier type of womanhood,—and these are the chief materials from which Poetry weaves her spell.

WILLIAM E. BOGGS.

IMMANUEL KANT.

ONE hundred years ago there appeared in Germany a book destined to have a greater influence on the world than any book which has appeared since the Fourth Gospel, — Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." Of the completely revolutionizing character of his work Kant was perfectly conscious. He compared himself, in the preface, to Copernicus. What Copernicus had done to explain the celestial movements, that he did for the solution of the problems of philosophy, — he fixed a new centre. Mankind had failed to explain the facts of consciousness by the criterion of external phenomena. It remained to see whether the phenomenal world could be made to conform to the critically determined laws of the mind. From now on — that was what Kant said — philosophy must work from within outward, instead of from without inward. Says Kuno Fischer:—

"If we were required to name the world's three greatest thinkers, we should answer with three names, beginning with the ancients and advancing to the moderns. It is questionable, perhaps, whether Plato or Aristotle should have the first place. According to our criterion, Plato should have the preference. Of all the philosophers of antiquity he penetrated deepest into the distinction between truth and error, — and it is by this insight, not by the extent of systems, that we measure the greatness of the thinker. For the second place, one might hesitate between Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz. Spinoza seems to us the one in whom the sense of truth was most highly developed along with equal power of thought, — the power which stripped bare human imaginations and conceits for the sake of real knowledge. As to the third place, all minds are one. This place belongs to Kant. He is perhaps the most important thinker altogether, if we compare minds alone, without regard to historical conditions. He is by far the greatest thinker of our age."¹

That the influence of Kant to-day is greater than that of any other philosopher would hardly be questioned. In Germany itself the cry of "Back to Kant!" has been one of the most remarkable things in the philosophical world during the last twenty years, — ever since Helmholtz and other scientific men began to observe how strikingly their investigations confirmed great principles of the Kantian philosophy of Nature. The general conviction to-day in Germany and in the scientific world at large is that no ground has really been conquered

¹ "I asked Goethe," says Eckermann, "which of the later philosophers he thought the greatest." — "Kant," said Goethe, "beyond a doubt. He is the one whose doctrines still continue to work, and have penetrated most deeply into our German civilization. He has influenced even you, although you have never read him. I never had any personal relations with Kant, but from my own nature I went a way like his. I wrote my 'Metamorphosis of Plants' before I knew anything about Kant; and yet it is wholly in the spirit of his doctrine."

since Kant, but that Kant's statement of the problem is that with which we still have to do to-day.

It is to Kant that both parties in the great controversies of our time appeal. The enemies of metaphysics concede that Kant at least must be treated with respect; they claim him indeed as the great prophet of the bright new era of positive science, and they glean from him that modicum of metaphysics which even anti-metaphysics cannot do without. "All the agnostics and physiological psychologists, when pushed" — that is the way Dr. McCosh puts it — "fall back on Kant." But Kant is the corner-stone too of the idealistic and spiritual philosophy of our time, the necessary presupposition of Fichte and Hegel and all the absolutists. "I seek to undermine Hegelianism" — so says Dr. McCosh again — "by undermining Kantianism;" and everybody perceives this foundation character of Kant's position.

Finally, the men of "common sense," the men like Dr. McCosh, — whom I quote repeatedly just here, because he is so good a representative of the "short and easy method," — the men who, opposed alike to positivism and to idealism, find in Kant a stumbling-stone, find also that which earns their confidence and enthusiasm. Says Dr. McCosh:—

"He has laid a deep and immovable foundation for ethics. No writer in ancient or modern times has stood up so resolutely for an independent morality. He has taken us up into a region of grand ideals where poetry, led by Goethe and Schiller, has revelled ever since. He has established fundamental mental and moral principles which are seen to be fixed forever."

While scientific men everywhere, in Germany and out of Germany, are celebrating in their various ways the centennial of the "Critique of Pure Reason," it will be serviceable to sum up Kant's work once more, say something of his life and character, and glance at the main features of his philosophy. Having done this, I shall speak more particularly of his religious thought.

Kant and Lessing were the two great pioneers of the golden age of Germany. Kant was born in 1724, five years before Lessing, but was only just entering upon the great era of his activity as Lessing died. Lessing's death occurred in the same year, 1781, as the publication of the "Critique of Pure Reason." The two men never met, and Lessing could have had no foreboding of the great light about to rise in the east. Yet Rauch did rightly and showed fine insight when, among the eminent contemporaries of Frederick who surround the base of the great king's statue at Berlin, he sculptured Kant and Lessing side by side, in confidential intercourse. They were spiritual brethren. Their work was one, — the emancipation of reason from

dogmatism ; their method was the same, — the method of criticism. Lessing was above all else a critic, — a critic in that high sense which makes criticism itself creative ; and Kant knew no better name for his philosophy than that of the “Critical Philosophy.”

Moses Mendelssohn and others were mutual friends of Kant and Lessing, and at one time the two men came near being colleagues, — the professorship of rhetoric at Königsberg, which had been offered to Kant and refused by him, being then offered to Lessing, to be refused by him also, and for the same real reason, because among its other duties was that of annually delivering a panegyric upon the reigning monarch. Kant was familiar with Lessing's writings and valued them highly. The “Education of the Human Race” is praised in one of his essays, and we know that he read the “Nathan.” In Lessing's writings Kant is nowhere named, but the following passage from one of his essays will be interesting to those who are fond of prophecy and know how to read it :—

“Let us imagine that a man should rise up in our times who, from the height of his perceptions, might look down with contempt upon the most important performances of our scholars ; who, with Socratic strength, should expose the follies of our so lauded philosophers and dare exclaim : ‘Alas, your science still is wisdom's childhood !’ Suppose that all his teachings should aim at the only thing which can insure us a happy life, — at virtue. He should teach us to hear distinctly the voice of Nature in our hearts. He should teach us not only to believe in God, but, what is the chief thing, to love Him. Moreover, imagine this man willing to leave that concerning which he is obliged to say, ‘I do not know it, I cannot comprehend it,’ though thereby renouncing somewhat of the empty honor bestowed by fools. Nevertheless, let him lay claim to the title of philosopher, and have the courage to deny it to these other men. What would our philosophers do with this man ?”

“With Socratic strength !” By that term Lessing foreshadowed the parallelism so often drawn between Kant and the great Athenian. The work of both was, in truth, to great extent, the same, — the rude dispelling of illusions, the breaking down of great systems of dogmatism which had no sound foundation, the forcing men to see and own their ignorance, that so they might attain some real knowledge. The work of both alike was to establish faith in truth against a negative scepticism, to oppose to a frivolous materialism the reality of spirit, to strike down that selfishness which had set itself up as the standard of life, with the pure moral idea. The end of both was ethics, — a philosophy of life ; the message of both was the same, “Know thyself.” Both were alike too in that proud humility which, confessing the limitations of its own knowledge, was conscious of its superiority to all the pretentious philosophy about it. “I am better off than the philosophers,” said Socrates ; “for they know nothing, yet think they know, while I neither know nor think I know.” Again, “If you ask me, men of Athens, what kind of wisdom I possess, — for this repu-

tation of mine has come of a certain sort of wisdom which I do possess, — I reply, Such wisdom as is attainable by man. To that extent I am inclined to believe that I am wise ; whereas these others claim a superhuman wisdom, which I cannot describe because I have it not myself." Hear Kant, too, in the preface to his great "Critique" :—

"I flatter myself that I have discovered the cause of, and consequently the mode of removing, all the errors which have hitherto set reason at variance with itself. I have not returned an evasive answer to the questions of reason, by alleging the impotency of the faculties of the mind. I have examined them completely in the light of principles, and have solved them, discovering the cause of the contradictions into which reason fell. It is true, these questions have not been solved as dogmatism had expected ; for it can only be satisfied by the exercise of magical arts, and of these I have no knowledge. It was the duty of philosophy to destroy illusions, whatever darling hopes be ruined. My chief aim has been thoroughness ; and I make bold to say that there is not a single metaphysical problem which does not find its solution, or at least the key to its solution, here. I think I see upon the reader's face signs of displeasure mingled with contempt at declarations seemingly so boastful and extravagant ; and yet they are incomparably more modest than those advanced by the commonest programme of the commonest dogmatist. Such a dogmatist promises to extend human knowledge beyond the limits of possible experience ; while I humbly confess that this is beyond my power. I confine myself to the examination of reason alone, and its pure thought ; and I do not need to seek far for its full knowledge, since it has its seat in myself."

No lives could have been more unlike in their externals than those of Kant and Lessing. Lessing's life was cut into a dozen chapters. No place was long his home ; he was restless, fond of travel and new scenes, given to sudden breaks and changes, irregular and fitful in production, very subject to the influences of time and circumstance. Kant passed his eighty years in the city of his birth, never crossing the borders of the province,—his days all alike, his whole life devoted unbrokenly to one object.

Like Lessing before him, like Fichte and Hegel after him, Kant was at first destined for the pulpit. Kuno Fischer has remarked upon the interesting fact that each of the really epoch-making men in modern philosophy was educated by those of whom he was afterward to become the stout opponent, — Bacon by the Scholastics, Descartes by the Jesuits, Spinoza by the Rabbins, Kant by the Pietists. Kant completed the necessary theological studies, and even preached a few times in country churches about Königsberg, though he did not impress his congregations with the notion that preaching was his forte. He saw, moreover, that his prime interests were in philosophy, that he had small sympathy with the Church's doctrines, and that an ecclesiastical position would rob him of that independence which he prized above all else. His ambition was to become an instructor in the university ; and in 1755, after long years passed as tutor in families

near Königsberg, he received an appointment. For fifteen years he labored on in the obscure position of a *privat docent*, only in 1770 receiving a professorship, with a salary of some four hundred dollars. Until 1797, several years after the appearance of all his greater works, he continued uninterruptedly his university lectures. His influence was inspiring. His object, he said, was not to teach men philosophy, but to teach them to philosophize; not to give them a stock of opinions, but to provoke them to thought.

Among his hearers, from 1762 to 1764, was Herder, who writes years afterward: "I have had the good fortune to have a philosopher for my teacher. In his maturest years he had the glad vivacity of youth; cheerfulness and joy were throned upon his lofty brow; the richest words flowed from his lips; wit and humor were his servants; his speech was full of instruction and of delight. With the same keen interest with which he criticised Leibnitz, Wolf, and Hume, and examined the principles of Newton and Kepler, he took up the works of Rousseau, then appearing, — the 'Emile' and the 'Heloise,' — as well as each new natural discovery; discussed them and passed judgment, coming back ever and ever to the simple principles of nature and the moral dignity of man. History, politics, and nature, — from these his lectures and his conversation drew material and inspiration. Nothing worth knowing was indifferent to him. No clique, no sect, no prejudice, no name, was anything to him; the truth and its extension, — this was all."

An admirable classical scholar, he knew by heart the best passages of the Latin poets; had thoroughly assimilated especially Lucretius "On the Nature of Things." He loved to quote Milton and Pope. He was a great reader of books of travel; and, although never away from his native city, was constantly mistaken for an extensive tourist, so vivid were his pictures of foreign lands. His political sympathies were democratic, and his famous essay on "Eternal Peace" was the first distinct programme of "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." His sympathy with the American Colonies in their struggle for independence was intense and outspoken. He was a warm supporter of the French Revolution, and was not frightened by the excesses of the Reign of Terror; his own most revolutionary book, the "Religion of Reason," appeared in '93. Rousseau's portrait was the only one which adorned his study; and almost the only time when he is known to have broken in upon the iron regularity of his habits was when he first received "Emile," which he sat up all night to read.

Kant's private life was remarkable in its simplicity. He never married. Severely economical, even refusing to remit his lecture-fees to poor students lest it should impair their sense of independence, he was withal most generous. "Whoever will tell me of a good action left

undone," he said, "him will I thank, though it be in the last hour of my life." Weak and sickly in youth, his severe self-discipline enabled him to say in old age that he had never lost a day and never needed a doctor. His medicine was the *will*, whose power over the body he believed practically unlimited. One of his most interesting essays is that on the "Power of the Mind to overcome Bodily Affections." Prone to hypochondria, he overcame it by the strong resolve to let his mind rest for no moment on any bodily or mental weakness. In this way, too, he conquered acute pains; and, by resolutely fixing and holding his mind upon some single object, he overcame sleeplessness. His health was an experiment, and he cared for his body as for an instrument which he would make do the most work. He was sensitive to the slightest disturbance of his carefully determined routine; one day was like another. For thirty years, his servant said, he rose at the same minute, with no single exception. Friends were always invited to dinner, those whom he knew and loved; never less than three, nor more than nine, — "not fewer," he said, "than the Graces, nor more than the Muses." He was a brilliant conversationalist, at home in everything, — a man, as Hippel said, who could have written a "Critique of Cookery" as well as a "Critique of Reason." Friends many and dear he had in all classes of life, but chiefly practical business men.

Fichte said that what philosophy a man will have depends upon what kind of man he is; and, if space permitted, it would be profitable to paint a fuller picture of the simple independence and iron precision of the life of the great philosopher of freedom and of law. Kant died in 1804, at the age of eighty. "My friends," he said, "I do not fear death. If I were sure of being called away to-night, I could raise my hands to heaven and say, God be praised!" And at the last, "I have not yet lost my feeling for humanity."

It was not until Kant was nearly sixty years old that the first of that great series of books appeared which has made his name immortal. But he had previously published much which had drawn upon him the attention of the scientific world. In 1755 he published a remarkable essay on the "Theory of the Heavens," in which he distinctly anticipates Laplace's nebular hypothesis. This mechanical explanation of Nature, he says, does not exclude the teleological, but the two are bound up together. And we derive a stronger proof of the existence of God and a higher conception of divine operation when we see in Nature an orderly whole, adaptation and beauty the result of its own inherent laws, than when we look upon the general laws of Nature as in themselves productive only of disorder, while higher interests are only served by the special intervention of Deity.

In this same year, 1755, occurred the famous Lisbon earthquake, by which, in six minutes, sixty thousand persons perished, and which gave the mind of Europe a shock almost without parallel in history. From the days of the eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell to the days of the preachers who preached that Chicago "became a heap" because of its pre-eminence in Mammonism, there has never been any lack of those who interpret each sorrow and loss as an immediate token of Divine disfavor. But the way in which, from one end of Europe to the other, great masses of men were driven by the Lisbon earthquake, some into wild talk about Divine vengeance, and others into complete scepticism, is something astounding to whoever is not familiar with the views of Nature and of the methods of Divine operation which then prevailed. The young philosopher at Königsberg was besought for some expression of opinion which should help to moral composure, — and one index to the feeling of the time is the fact that what he wrote was printed and issued sheet by sheet, as rapidly as the manuscript left his hands. He knew of no disaster or caprice: he had simply to point out the natural place of the earthquake in the general order. He sharply criticised the narrowness which viewed the occurrence simply in its relation to the people of Lisbon. It was neither a misfortune nor a punishment, but a natural phenomenon standing in its place in a great series of causes and effects. The universe does not exist simply to give mankind a comfortable place; human happiness is not at all the sole and necessary object of things, — though it is not difficult to show (and Kant, faithful disciple of Leibnitz as he was, did not fail to make enough of this) the necessity of such occurrences to much that is beneficent, and especially to point out the higher moral purposes which they serve. Quite as important in their way are the essays, belonging to this same early period, on the "Diseases of the Head" and the "Dreams of a Clairvoyant," — essays which our own time, with all its pestiferous Spiritualism and what not, might read with profit.

The "Critique of Pure Reason" appeared in 1781, after long years of preparation. "It was David Hume," says Kant, "who woke me out of my dogmatic slumber, and gave my studies an entirely new direction. I was far from accepting Hume's conclusions. These were what they were because he conceived his problem only partially." Hume, carrying to its logical issue the Lockean empiricism, with its principle of the derivation of all ideas purely from sensation, had denied the absoluteness of the law of causality itself. We have no warrant, he said, to assert the existence of a causal relation between two successive events, but may only say that, so far as experience goes, *this* has always immediately followed *that* in time. Causality thus becomes another word for habit, — and of course there can be

no knowledge which transcends a high probability. This all sounds very familiar, for current thought is full of it, — though happily not quite so full as was the thought of ten years ago. Hume was no sceptic, — just as, properly speaking, there is no scientific scepticism whatever to-day, — but simply a positivist.

This, then, was the question with which the “Critique of Pure Reason” had to deal. Kant’s object was to demonstrate that Locke’s doctrine of the derivation of ideas from sensation alone — Hume’s fundamental presupposition — was untenable ; and this he does by showing that if sensation were our only source of knowledge, if the mind were indeed originally only a white tablet upon which experience should write, then any knowledge of things in *relations* would be impossible, — for sense delivers us isolated impressions, and only such. Not only would Hume be right in his denial of the causal relation, — but no relation or unification whatever in knowledge is conceivable under such conditions. Kant shows that even the perception of external things would be impossible except through the original possession by the mind of the intuitions of space and time. But sensuous perceptions are themselves entirely detached and unrelated, and constitute only one of the factors of experience ; no comprehension of the objects given in sensation, no unified and ordered knowledge, is possible except through the mind’s original, *a priori* powers of relating and combining the objects which sensation gives it. Such original powers of relation and combination — *e.g.*, of viewing things causally — must reside in the mind, antedating all experience ; experience *is* inconceivable without assuming them. The mind is not simply determinable, but determining ; not merely receptive, but spontaneous also. There must be a fundamental unity of self-consciousness, the mind must be one and the same, in order that consciousness of relations and change be possible, — the comparison of successive perceptions, which *is* experience, being possible only to something that is constant through the successions. These points once established, any purely sensational philosophy is of course impossible.

This, I say, was the question with which Kant had to deal in the “Critique of Pure Reason.” But it was not the only question. He had to deal, too, with the dogmatism which asserts the power of the mind to derive ideas from itself alone, independent of experience. This Kant denied as stoutly as the other. The *a priori* faculties of the mind are strictly *formal*, having no power to create the material of ideas, but simply to regulate the material given by experience. Every attempt to apply the categories of the understanding to what is supersensible, he maintains, can only end in disaster ; and no theoretical knowledge of what transcends experience is possible. This he seeks to show in discussions of the ideas of God, Freedom,

and Immortality; the objective existence of neither of which does he believe to be theoretically demonstrable, although all must necessarily be assumed as regulative principles, in order to any systematic unity of knowledge. Thus reason gives us positively the idea of some ultimate and necessary basis of experience; for the world is only a sum of phenomena, and this must always have its transcendental ground. But we cannot know how this ground of the world's unity is constituted; the idea serves us not for the knowledge of a Supreme Being, but only for the consideration of the world. Any application to it of the categories of the understanding brings it at once under terms which have no meaning save in the world of sense. The *consequences*, too, of employing the idea of a Supreme Being as a constitutive principle Kant believes to be prejudicial. The determination of the causes of what we see in Nature is made altogether too cheap and easy. "We are directed to refer such and such phenomena immediately to the unsearchable will and counsel of the Supreme Wisdom, when we ought to investigate their causes in the general laws of the mechanism of Nature. This is the vice of a lazy reason." But there is another vice bound up in this dogmatic treatment, — the vice of a perverted reason, which begins by making the principle of unity anthropomorphic, and then proceeds forcibly to *impose* aims or ends upon Nature. Says Kant: —

"It must be perfectly indifferent whether we say, when we have discovered the systematic unity of Nature, God has wisely willed it so, or, Nature has wisely arranged this. For it is nothing but the systematic unity, which reason requires as a basis for the investigation of Nature, that justifies the acceptance of the idea of a Supreme Intelligence as a regulative principle; and therefore, while in so far as we discover a necessary and systematic unity in Nature we have to attribute our success to the idea of a Supreme Being, — which becomes more valid the further we advance, — we can never overlook the laws of Nature, as it is in reference to these alone that the idea is employed."

"What can I know? — What ought I to do? — What may I hope?" — in these three questions, said Kant, all the interests of reason are centred. The hurried sketch which has been given hints at the character of his reply to the first question, — "the reply with which," to use his own carefully chosen words, "reason must content itself, and with which it ought to be content, *so long as it pays no regard to the practical*."

"So long as reason pays no regard to the practical,"¹ — that is, so long as the mind is viewed as a thinking power alone, — no objective demonstration can be given of the existence of God or of a future life; no *knowledge* is possible concerning what transcends experience. Why? Because the mind cannot think otherwise than in and through

¹ *Practical* is here used substantially in the sense of *active*.

the relation of causality; even in thinking itself, it cannot think itself otherwise than as already determined, be the ground of its determination what it may. To say that the consciousness of dependence is produced by the mind's own laws does not end the difficulty: and the difficulty can never be removed if the mind is viewed as a *mere* power of thinking or reflection.¹

But reason, says Kant, is not only intellect, but will; the mind is a power of action as well as of theoretical cognition. We are not simply determined by a given something, but by virtue of the will and its freedom we determine ourselves and our relations to the external world. To the establishment of these points Kant's second great work, the "Critique of Practical Reason," is devoted. The fact of the freedom of the will is attested by the moral law within us. The unconditioned *Thou shalt* — the "categorical imperative," as Kant calls it — exists in all men, and establishes the fact of man's freedom. An imperative practical law and freedom reciprocally point each other. "Thou canst," — so Schiller put it, — "thou canst, for thou shalt." If the moral law is universal, then all must be in a condition to obey it; the will must be dependent ultimately upon no natural causality, but must be free.

Right here is the kernel of the whole matter. Kant's whole ethical system is based upon the assumption that this categorical imperative, the consciousness of obligation to do right, is universal, and as immediate a fact of consciousness as any fact of sensation. It is fundamental to the very constitution of man's nature. It proves and justifies itself in experience: the disorders and multiplied miseries which ensue from its neglect are its everlasting safeguard, if it needed any safeguard. But it is internal, of the essence of the mind. This is what makes it *motive power*, — metaphysically, as antecedent to and independent of particular experiences as the categories of the understanding or the intuitions of time and space. The moral law is strictly formal; demands of all one and the same thing, — Thou shalt do that which thou believest right! Kant's own famous formulation of the fundamental law of the practical reason is, "So act that the maxim of thy will can always be valid as the principle of a universal legislation." The question for us always is, How would it be if all men should act upon my principle? Only that which can endure this question corresponds to the fundamental law of our own nature and of the nature of things. It is not for ethics to draw up a table of particular duties. Particular duties vary with the varying conditions of culture and

¹ I would call attention to an admirable brief exposition of Kant's system by Mr. Kroegeer, in the "Journal of Speculative Philosophy" for 1869, in which this point is discussed with great clearness. Mr. Kroegeer rightly observes that Jacobi, in declaring that all speculative reasoning must lead to Spinoza's results, was correct enough so far as he understood reason to signify merely the power of thinking.

position, and are for the *judgment* to determine with the best right it can get. *Conscience* has to deal with only one question, — Believing this to be right, shall I do it?

I should be happy if it were possible to incorporate in this paper passages from the "Critique of Practical Reason" sufficient to indicate to those who may be unfamiliar with the works of Kant its solid reasoning and lofty tone.¹ In the whole range of modern thought I know of nothing more severely grand than such chapters of this great work as that upon the *a priori* Spring of the Will. In the ancient churches of Rome, Germany, and England the people rise and stand with bowed heads to hear the words of the Gospel. The student of philosophy should bow the head in reverence as he reads the Ethics of Kant. The words are not spoken from the Olivet of modern philosophy indeed, but from its Sinai; but a system of thought which does not have its beginning at some Sinai has no true beginning.

The absolute moral law is the ground of immortality. The treatment of the soul under the forms of eternity publishes to the soul the fact of its eternal nature. Perfection is demanded; and this is possible only on the supposition of an infinite existence of the same rational person. This idea of progress as necessary to any rational belief in immortality makes shipwreck of the lazy notions which make heaven some fixed and easy payment for some present merit. "Naturally," says Kant, "one who has persevered up to the end of life in progress to the better, and this from genuine moral motives, may well have the comforting hope that even in an existence prolonged beyond this life he will continue steadfast in these principles; but he cannot have the certainty of this." Experience teaches that the rise from a life of sin to a truly moral and religious life, and the relapse from good and evil, occur alike under every possible condition; and the mere accident of death can work no arbitrary transposition of this law. Unwearying endeavor is the eternal condition of progress and of virtue. The association of the idea of happiness with the idea of virtue is indeed right and true. Both are true factors in any adequate definition of the highest good. Happiness depends on the harmony of nature with the will and end of man. But the moral law commands unconditionally, with no regard to the natural effects of obedience. There is no necessary connection between morality and proportionate happiness in beings dependent upon nature, not controlling it. Hence there must be a Supreme Cause containing the principle of this harmony. As surely as there is a moral law in us which requires the accomplishment of the highest good, just so surely is it necessary to believe in God. "The moral laws," says Kant, "could not be regarded as com-

¹ There is a faithful English translation of the "Critique of Practical Reason," by Mr. Abbott.

mands, did they not connect adequate consequences with their dictates. And this they could not do did they not reside in a necessary being, as the Supreme Good, which alone can render such a harmony possible." The belief in immortality and God is not the immediate motive to virtue ; but immortality and God are the infallible implications and presuppositions of the absolute moral law which is inherent in our nature.

Religion is thus based on morality by Kant ; it is "the recognition of all our *duties* as *divine commands*." An absolute moral law involves the existence of God ; morality leads necessarily to religion ; and the importance of religion consists entirely in its moral efficacy. From this standpoint Kant discusses Christianity and the questions involved in Christianity in his "Religion of Reason."

This work was published in 1793. Frederick the Great had then been dead seven years. Under his reign the persecution of Kant which followed would have been impossible. "My people shall say what they please," Frederick had said ; "and every man is free to be saved in the way which he chooses." But under Frederick's successor came a reaction, growing stiffer and stronger as the revolutionary movement in France grew fiercer. Just as we have seen Bismarck clasping hands with priestdom — Catholic and Protestant alike — for the sake of suppressing free thought, so Frederick William II. had recourse to a bigoted orthodoxy for protection against the threatening innovations of 1793. Kant's two great Critiques had already appeared, and the new philosophy was beginning to work mightily upon the scientific mind of Germany. No wonder that the Berlin censors began to ask themselves what they should do with Kant. While they were busy discussing the matter, the "Religion of Reason" appeared and created a great sensation. The year of the Reign of Terror was not a time when such a ministry as that of Frederick William II. was likely to look on such things with apathy ; and presently there came down to Kant at Königsberg a mandate from Frederick William afore-said, "by the grace of God King of Prussia," etc. :—

"Our highest person has long observed with great displeasure how you misuse your philosophy to the prejudice of many leading doctrines of the Holy Scriptures and of Christianity. We had thought better of you. We trust that you will not be guilty of similar proceedings in future, but dutifully apply your talents to the advancement of our desires. Otherwise unpleasant consequences will inevitably follow. Be moved by our grace," etc.

A militant man like Lessing, receiving such a mandate, would have followed up "Religion Within the Limits of Reason" with some stinging tract, and taken the consequences. But Kant, now an old man, was one to whose whole nature controversy was repugnant ; a man, moreover, whose deepest principles were opposed to any unnecessary

illegal proceeding. His sensitive nature was deeply wounded, but he remained silent. "It is base to renounce one's real convictions," he wrote upon his tablets; "one must say nothing which is not true, — but it is not always one's duty to say publicly all that one holds true." In 1798, after the accession of the more tolerant Frederick William III., he published an account of the whole affair, including a copy of his reply to the ministry, in the preface to his essay on the "Conflict of the Faculties," — a profound discussion of the necessity of freedom in education and the evils resulting to science from theological supervision. He wittily remarks in this essay, that, if it be conceded that philosophy is the handmaid of theology, the question still remains whether the handmaid follows her gracious lady, bearing her train, or goes before carrying the torch.

In the "Religion of Reason" Kant considers the relation between Christianity and his religion of morality and reason, and finds them in essential agreement. Even the doctrines of the Church, distortions though they seem to Kant, almost all have a deep basis of truth. The Church has its doctrine of Original Sin. Philosophy, too, compels us to posit, as the ground of the sin which does actually exist, a radical tendency to evil in human nature. But evil is not a thing of race. "Of all theories of the origin of moral evil," says Kant, "the most imperfect and unsatisfactory is that which figures it as descended to us by inheritance from our first parents." Evil has its ground in the will, and is involved in the very idea of man's freedom. "When reason awoke and entered upon its office," — this Kant develops with special interest in his essay on the "Conjectural Beginning of the History of Mankind," — "weak as it was, mingled with animality, evils must arise and, with more cultivated reason, vices which were totally foreign to the state of ignorance and therefore of innocence. The first step then out of this state was, on the moral side, a *fall*; on the physical side, a multitude of evils never known before were the consequences of this fall, therefore its punishment." Man's leaving Paradise was simply the transition from the rudeness of a merely animal creature, — from the go-cart of instinct to the guidance of reason, from nature to freedom. Only through this "fall" — a fall which belongs to the whole history of man — was a rise possible; only through the coming of sin into man's life could morality and virtue also come. The element of negativity, of contradiction and conflict, is essential to any idea of life and progress whatever; and in moral life this negative element is sin.

Christianity says to all men, "Ye must be born again;" and Orthodoxy has laid great stress upon this doctrine of a new birth, whatever superstitions and misconceptions it may have mixed up with it. Philosophy also teaches us, says Kant, the necessity of a thorough regen-

eration of the moral nature. The distinction between good and evil is one going to the very roots of our nature. Evil and sin are rooted in a fundamental perversion of our motives, in the subordination of the moral law to our self-love; and the restoration and supremacy of our original powers for good can come only through a *revolution* at the very centre of the heart.

Orthodoxy binds up the salvation of mankind with the person and life of Jesus, especially with his sacrificial death. This, as the Church looks at it, is untrue; yet the Church, according to Kant, only particularizes in Jesus that which is deeply true when made universal and spoken of mankind in its essence and idea. The ideal of moral perfection, the humanity which is well-pleasing to God, is the Son of God. So far as Jesus realized this ideal is he an embodiment of the Divine Son-ship. This is true of every man in proportion to his emancipation from self and his appropriation of the divine and universal life. The transition from the evil to the good, the change of heart, involves sacrifice and pain. These the *new man* willingly undergoes for the sake of the good, in the spirit of the Son of God; whereas the suffering properly belonged to the *old man*, the unregenerate man, as punishment for the evil that is in him. This is true of every man who fights with sin. If now we view as one this spirit of good which is struggling and suffering in the men of the race, seeing how this spirit alone is the truth of humanity, then it is true that the Son of God bears the sins of the world and redeems the race: but this Son of God is no one man alone. In all this there is, of course, much with which many readers will not agree; but every reader will be glad to consider the careful opinions of Kant upon subjects so important.

Kant, with his characteristic method of inwardness, deals primarily with the principles of atonement as realized in the individual heart. But if we transfer our view to society and history, we see in all a verification of the one great law. Every liberty which we enjoy has been bought by the death of martyrs; the bark of our civilization floats on the blood of humanity. Every element of our culture, every amenity of life, every privilege of the school, the press, the platform, every inspiration of art and literature, is a monument of the toil, the devotion, and the suffering of those true sons of God who through the ages of selfishness and oppression have been moved by high ideals, have known that they belonged to humanity and not to themselves, have laid hold of the life universal and have kept the faith.

The Church's supernaturalism does not, of course, appeal to Kant. Moral religion, he says, tends eventually to displace and dispense with all miraculous beliefs. Nothing compels the reason to adopt a miraculous explanation of things, and sensible people object to cultivating any practical belief in miracles; they count upon none in the business

of life. If any miracles are treated with tenderness they are those of the hazy days of yore ; "no *new* miracle can be permitted." But if the fact of miracles were to be allowed, Kant is unable to see how they could subserve any religious purpose. Shocking enough to him is the idea of making the moral law depend upon physical wonders for its authority ; and the appeal to miracles to make men obey the behests of duty which are primordially inscribed upon their hearts is a shifting of attention from the real issue to accidents, and only prolongs religious childhood. The hard-and-fast Protestant theory of miracles was peculiarly objectionable to Kant. "The Protestants," he said, "had succeeded in proving from the Scripture neither when miracles were to cease nor that they were to cease at all ; and the quibble that miraculous interposition, once necessary, is necessary no longer, is an altogether unseemly assumption of knowledge."

The whole theory of miracle is opposed to the principles of ethics. There is no virtue in satisfying human duties by superhuman powers. With special reference to the Church's doctrines concerning Christ, Kant says :—

"The supernatural hypothesis benefits us nothing, since the archetype of this phenomenon is to be found *in ourselves*. The Son of God cannot be recognized as such through any outward appearance, but only through his perfect accordance with the moral ideal which we have within ourselves. The advancement of Christ above natural human conditions rather limits than strengthens his influence. If he be represented as so far superhuman as, by a purity of will not earned but immutable and innate, to be above the possibility of lapse, then he would cease to be fitly proposed to us as an exemplar. Man might, in such event, say, Let there be given to me a thoroughly holy will, and every temptation to evil must of itself come to nought ; give me a perfect inward conviction that after a brief career on earth I shall by force of this connate holiness straightway enter the everlasting glories, then will I not only willingly but joyously endure all grief and pain however bitter, even up to the most contumelious death, seeing as I do, in near prospect, the uplifting, glorified result."

I do not see how the essentially unethical character of the miraculous theory could well be shown more strikingly than by the line of thought which Kant here suggests. Surely little argument should be necessary to prove that the character and life of Christ are a thousand times more precious, helpful, and sublime, if we look upon him as simply wholly faithful to the "light which lighteth every man," than if we look upon his virtues as born of a superhuman power which we do not share. And how spectacular, how unreal, and how shocking become the agonizing words of Gethsemane and Calvary, if upon this old theory of the Church we must view them as uttered with a clear comprehension that the suffering and darkness were but for the moment, and triumph and glory were just over the threshold ! Only by throwing away such theories as this, only by relegating every man

to the sphere of the universal moral law, can we save this richest legacy of history. The reign of law alone makes virtue possible, and ethics has no place for miracle.

The four great banes to rational religion in Kant's eyes are the *fanaticism* of supposed preternatural inward experiences, — works of grace; the *superstition* of belief in miracles; the *illuminism* which alleges a preternatural opening of the eyes and perception of things inaccessible to reason, — “the whimses of adepts,” as Kant puts it, “in search of the great secret;” and the *thaumaturgy* of endeavoring to act upon the supersensible, — sacramentarianism. Against the last Kant is severest. Pure, rational religion, he says, has for its minister every honest-minded person. But when “revelation” is put before religion, then belief in tenets whereof most can know nothing is represented as an immediate duty, and a mercenary, upstart worship is elevated to the rank of the alone saving faith. Half-learned men are compelled to profess belief in incomprehensible things, under penalty of being labelled irreligious. “A good memory is equipment enough for a good believer, although he may not so much as understand the words of the creed to which he is solemnly pledged. . . . It is the clerical superiors,” bursts forth Kant indignantly, “who will have to render an account for the abuses springing from this fictitious faith.”

To all religious delusions Kant opposes simply the moral principle. Everything which mankind fancies it can do over and above good moral conduct in order to make itself acceptable to God is false and empty worship. “This,” he says, “is what I lay down as an axiom. If mankind depart in the least from this principle, then superstition knows no bounds. There is no essential difference between the kinds of mechanical service which superstition devises. . . . Whether the devotee take his statutory walk to Loretto, to Palestine, or to church; whether he pronounce his forms of prayer by the lip, inscribe them upon flags to be unfurled and wafted by the winds, fire them from a blunderbuss, or, like the untutored Thibetians, whirl them heavenward from a wheel,” — is all one. “Betwixt a Tungusine Shaman and a European prelate [thus strongly does he express himself in one place], — or, if examples be preferred from the masses, between the rude Wogulite who as he rises from his couch places a bear's paw on his pate, ejaculating, ‘From this sudden death, good bear, deliver me,’ and the supra-subtle, sublimated puritan in Connecticut, — there is a great difference in the *fashion*, but none in the principle, of their belief.” The principle of both is, that in our relation to God we have to take account of something besides a pure heart and a good life; and such religion Kant declares to be idolatry.

The various self-deceptions apt to be encouraged by religious offices all spring from one source, — the inveterate desire to be able to con-

sider oneself a favorite of Heaven. It is easy and agreeable to be a favorite: it is hard to make oneself a good and faithful servant. Jesus declared the fruits of good works to be the test whereby each might try and know himself and others. And "the day has not yet come," says Kant, "when it was ever seen that those who deem themselves the signally favored and chosen of God excelled in any one point the man of plain natural honesty upon whom we can count in society, in business, or in distress. It is not the right way to begin with grace and thence descend to virtue, but to begin with virtue and rise to grace."¹

Thus Kant comes back ever and ever to the idea of morality as the only sound and true basis of religion. "He that doeth the will shall know the doctrine," — it is the old truth in a new form. To a good life, and to a good life only, God and eternity will be brought to light; and a good life consists in obedience to that absolute moral imperative, which is an immediate fact of consciousness. Sincere, faithful doing, — this is the key to knowing, and the door to infinite progress. The life which is rooted in virtue shall be bathed in the sunlight of heaven.

It seems to me that this is the doctrine for the time. It were easy enough for every critic to say what he would like to add or subtract. It were useful, perhaps, here to say something of the practical inspiration and motive power of the speculative view, which Kant places too much at the end of the religious process, but which is indeed — was, in his own case — the continual ground and light of the religious life. But no criticism should be allowed to divert attention from Kant's central principle, or to hinder its effectual working; and amidst the emasculated, jelly-fish religionism of so great sections of the American Church and the licentious or dyspeptic uneasiness of the advertisers for new religions and moralities, we should be thankful enough for centennials of the "Pure Reason," or anything else that may turn attention a little more to Kant's severe and searching gospel. This is not the first time that men have advertised for new religions. They have done it forever. They were doing it while Carlyle was writing "Past

¹ "Commencing with the doctrine of mankind's corruption," says Kant, in his criticism of the Church's system, "men have despaired of and emasculated the mind's elastic and undecaying energies for virtue, — placing the whole of religion in a principle of passive resignation, where all moral good is expected from above. Mankind is thus bereaved of all self-confidence and independence. Fretted with perpetual anxiety, men sigh and whine after preternatural assistance, and in this very self-abnegation (which is not humility) think they possess a means of recommending themselves to the favor of God."

Such is the outspoken tone of the "Religion of Reason" throughout. So free and anxious to recognize the real truth which lay in the cardinal Orthodox doctrines as to arouse the pique of the trifling free-thinkers of the Berlin School, Kant did not mince matters when he arraigned the real superstitions of the Church. He was the co-founder with Lessing of that deeper and philosophical German rationalism which has wrought so wonderful a revolution in the whole attitude of scholars in relation to the Bible, Christianity, and the religious development of mankind.

and Present ;” and small men were answering the advertisements. Some twelve or thirteen New Religions came to Cheyne Row itself, most of them without the postage paid, in a space of six months ; till Carlyle instructed the postman to introduce no more of them if the charge exceeded one penny. Small men, I say, were answering the advertisements, manufacturing patent supplies for the demand. What did the great man say meantime ? He, rooted and grounded in Kant, said what the great man has always said : —

“ He that has a soul unasphyxied will never want a religion ; he that has a soul asphyxied, reduced to a succedaneum for salt, will never find any religion, though you rose from the dead to preach him one. Men ask for a ‘ religion ’ as for a kind of Morrison’s Pill, which they have only to swallow once and all will be well. Brother ! I say there is not, was not, nor ever will be, in the wide circle of Nature, any Pill or Religion of that character. Thou needest no ‘ New Religion ; ’ nor art thou like to get any. Thou hast already more ‘ religions ’ than thou makest use of. This day thou knowest ten commanded duties, seest in thy mind ten things which should be done, for one that thou doest. *Do* one of them ; this of itself will show thee ten others which can and shall be done. ‘ But my future fate ? ’ Yes, thy future fate, indeed ! Thy future fate, while thou makest *it* the chief question, seems to me — extremely questionable ? Hast thou reflected, O serious reader, Advanced Liberal or other, that the one end, essence, use of all religion, past, present, and to come, was this only, — To keep that Moral Conscience or Inner Light of ours alive and shining ? All religion was here to remind us, better or worse, of what we already know better or worse, of the quite *infinite* difference there is between a Good man and a Bad ; to bid us love infinitely the one, abhor and avoid infinitely the other, — strive infinitely to *be* the one, and not to be the other.”

This too would be Kant’s answer to the advertisers for a new morality to-day. There is no new morality. There is only the one law of duty, which was from the beginning and will be to the end. It is not something without us, a scheme to be adopted or abjured. It is the law of our nature itself, and its first law. Violate it if we will, refuse to recognize it till we focus our half-dozen speculations, — we shall never succeed in making ourselves believe wrong right, because we can never unmake ourselves. Duty is altogether too fundamental in this world of men for the nature of things to leave it in our hands, subject to our caprice. Say, in your pseudo-earnest trifling, that if you cannot find a neat theory of social action in six parts, you will perhaps repudiate moral obligation ; still conscience, the eternal in you, speaks on and cannot be suppressed, and still the wheels roll on which crush the man who will not work together with the Power that makes for righteousness. Nature itself, God himself, is the everlasting guarantee of morality. Attend to conscience, with its one question and command, and manhood shall expand and vision open. Neglect it, ignore it, try machinery and schemes and pills instead, and it avouches the nobility and greatness of the humanity we stand for by letting us wither and darkness cover us.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

ROSCOE CONKLING.

GENERAL GRANT is reported to have said of Mr. Conkling : "I regard him as the greatest mind in public life, or that has been in public life since the beginning of the government. He has the advantage of having been trained from his very infancy. He had a father of unusual ability, who early taught him to reason, and corrected his errors. He has grown to great proportions. . . . He has true greatness and simplicity."

For a dozen years Mr. Conkling has been very generally spoken of in similar terms. The New York "World" used to be reminded by him of Burke. The New York "Herald" said of him : "You have all the qualities of Webster without his faults ; you have all the keenness of perception and sarcasm of Calhoun without his rashness ; you have all the stubborn, dogged persistence of Jackson without his obstinacy ; you have all the qualities which men may feel proud of in an American statesman." And the members of one wing of a great political party have been continually asserting that he was a great man. They have not emphasized any particular thing which Mr. Conkling has done, and they have never dwelt upon the great deeds, the great learning, or the great plans of their hero, as have the admirers of other great men. They have merely reiterated that he was a great man. This attitude of Mr. Conkling's friends seemed to me so striking and unusual, that a few years ago I undertook an examination of Mr. Conkling's life and works, for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, why he was a great man ; and if he was not a great man, what kind of a man he was.

I began by asking those of his admirers and friends whom I could reach why it was they thought he was a great man. Their answers, however, all resolved themselves into the proposition that Mr. Conkling was a great man — because he *was* a great man. It was not possible to obtain from any of these gentlemen, or from any other source, any specific enumeration of the evidences of Mr. Conkling's greatness. Thus disappointed, and proceeding on the presumption that a great personality in the field of public affairs must have found expression either through published works, in great parliamentary debates, in great forensic arguments, or in proposing or carrying great legislative measures ; I inquired for Mr. Conkling's work of librarians and book-sellers ; I examined in the "Congressional Globe" or "Record" every speech which he has delivered in the Senate, and also most of those delivered out of the Senate and reported elsewhere. I went over the

list of the laws he has proposed, and through the reports of the United States Supreme Court and of the New York Court of Appeals to find what cases he had argued. The results of these examinations I propose to give briefly in this paper.

Mr. Conkling's father was a member of Congress ; subsequently, from 1825 to 1852, United States District Judge, and in 1852 U. S. Minister to Mexico. He was the author of several legal works, two at least of which were for several years authorities ; and he is remembered as a stern and vigorous man, of singularly uncompromising rectitude. Roscoe Conkling was born in Albany, Oct. 28, 1829, and he will therefore be fifty-two years old this month. He was educated at the schools of Albany, in which city he also studied law, and in which he began to practice while he was still in his teens. He did not go to college, and his earlier education seems, measured by the standards of to-day, to have been somewhat meagre ; but these were deficiencies which were of much less relative importance at that time than they would be now. Soon after being admitted to the bar he removed to Utica, and when only twenty-one years of age was appointed District Attorney by Governor Fish. It is thus fair to assert that Mr. Conkling began his career under the most favorable auspices. His father was the United States Judge of the District in which he lived ; he enjoyed the favor of the Whig administration at Albany ; he had married the sister of Horatio Seymour, one of the recognized leaders of the Democratic party, and he had been gifted with every physical advantage. It is difficult to say what more a young lawyer, starting in a provincial town in that generation, could have asked for to insure success.

Having previously been Mayor of Utica, Mr. Conkling was in 1858 elected to Congress, and re-elected in 1860. In 1862 he failed, but was again elected and re-elected in 1864 and 1866. The first two terms were uneventful. It can only be said that Mr. Conkling then began to attract attention as a man of force. During his third term his aggressiveness and unwillingness to follow won for him a place in the front rank of his party, and invested him with some of the attributes of leadership. He came to be considered a rising man. During this session he served upon the Reconstruction Committee, at that time the most important in the House ; but he was not the author of any of the important measures which that committee proposed, although he gave to them a vigorous assent, and is therefore entitled to a partisan's share of whatever praise or blame now belongs to them. Mr. Conkling began during this session also to display prominently those singularities of manner and temper which have since become characteristic, and which at the time appeared greatly to irritate some

of his fellow-members, — one of whom, Mr. Blaine, made a vehement attack upon him, in the course of which he described him as a ridiculous turkey-cock, and thus laid the foundation for the subsequent feud between Mr. Conkling and himself.

In 1866, the term of Senator Ira Harris (whom Mr. Thurlow Weed described as having been "invented" by him as a means of escaping from the contest between Mr. Evarts and Mr. Greeley in the senatorial election of 1860) expired, and there was a deep feeling among the younger members of the Republican party that his successor should be chosen from their number. Mr. Conkling, an ardent republican, who had shown striking qualities, whose career had been so full of success, and who had not yet attained the years when a man is challenged to account for his use of success and for his failure to fulfil his early promises, was selected as their candidate. His canvass for the nomination was organized and mainly conducted by Mr. Ellis H. Roberts, then a member of the Assembly and editor of the "Utica Herald," who presented his name to the caucus, where it was admirably seconded by Mr. Andrew D. White. The caucus nomination was finally obtained for him by a majority of four, mainly through the influence of these two gentlemen, — though in the light of the disclosures at Albany last summer it is interesting to recall the fact that on the ballot preceding that by which Mr. Conkling was nominated there was one more ballot cast than there were persons present in the caucus; and the contemporaneous allegation that this was purposely done, in order to create delay by necessitating the ordering of another ballot, which was immediately done, and that during the interval thus obtained between this and the final ballot Mr. Hugh Hastings, who was upon the floor of the caucus, bought the two or three votes needed to nominate Mr. Conkling, is a coincidence worth recalling. Having secured the caucus nomination, Mr. Conkling's election followed as a matter of course. Since then he has been twice re-elected, and had served at the time of his resignation fourteen years.

Great things have been before the Senate in this time. Grave constitutional questions have been settled; part of the measures of reconstruction, and a great number of economic and administrative questions have been passed upon; and once we were confronted with a contest between two nearly equal parties for the possession of the chief executive, — a contest which had never before been settled by any people in any time except with bloodshed. There has been no other period in our history since the foundations of the government were laid, during which so many important purely political questions have been acted upon, and none other which was so well fitted to kindle all the ambition, and call forth all the resources, of any man who loved and sought to serve his country, as that during which Mr. Conkling

has been a senator. What part has he played during this time? He has served upon the most important committees of the Senate, and if not the leader, he has been one of the leaders of the dominant political party. He has enjoyed the prestige of a great reputation, he has had the largest opportunities for doing things, and he has been accredited with the possession of the greatest abilities. When, however, he became a party leader, his party was in an overwhelming majority; but from 1870 to 1876 its majority dwindled to the point of extinction, and as a party leader he has been completely inaccessible to ideas, and has shown the densest incapacity to apprehend new questions. The great opportunities which he has had, he has not improved. He is not the author of a single one of the important measures of his time. He has not identified himself with any of those measures, either in debate or in any other way, and none of them became laws through his influence. If, as his friends say, he possesses great abilities, he has not used them; and he has left nothing upon record which will serve as evidence to his children that they existed. Except his connection with the third-term movement he has done nothing which will attract the attention of posterity. His name is written with water upon a sheet of sand; but upon the permanent records of his time he has left no mark which will justify his career, his reputation, or the popular estimate of his talents. An examination of the things Mr. Conkling has done since he entered the Senate shows the basis for these judgments.

Considering first what has been put forward in his behalf we find that his admirers, in answer to inquiries recently made, have so far as appears, claimed for him the authorship of only three important laws. These are the present law governing the election of United States senators, the law confirming the titles of pre-emptors and settlers to lands along the lines of railroads claiming lands from the Government, and the trade-mark law. Of these, the latter was declared unconstitutional as soon as it got before the courts, and the others were amendments of old laws,—and he had nothing to do with proposing, or carrying, either the laws or the amendments. Great credit has been claimed for Mr. Conkling because he has not been corrupt in money matters; but those who thus praise him forget that it would have been utterly disgraceful for him to have done what they praise him for not doing, and that very few senators have ever been even accused of corruption. But while Mr. Conkling's record is thus, on the showing of his own friends, in a certain sense barren, it is not empty. He has in fact rendered some service, but it is of a perfectly commonplace character. There is nothing about him to suggest Burke unless it be his lack of the qualities which made Burke illustrious. His actual services as a proposer or forwarder of legislation might have been ren-

dered equally well by any one of fifty men who could be picked from the New York or Massachusetts legislature.

On the one hand he always opposed petty raids on the Treasury, and was particularly watchful in opposition to the claims which came up from the South in great numbers just after the war, and the litigation of which before the Court of Claims he strenuously opposed. He opposed the extremes of Mr. Sumner and Mr. Wilson in the debates on the fifteenth amendment, as well as the excessive conditions which were proposed on the re-admission of Virginia to the Union. He opposed the renewal of the income tax, and favored the abolition of the franking privilege. He opposed the salary grab, and once seriously endeavored to limit the amount of stationery to be furnished to each senator. He opposed a post-office telegraph bill, and has objected as he could to the annual steals in the river and harbor bills. He has manifested great interest in the laws regulating steamboat traffic, adding clauses which would increase the securities of travellers, and insisting that the same rights should be accorded to them against common carriers on water, as on land. He has invariably been on the right side of financial questions, though he has taken only an insignificant part in the discussions of them ; and indeed on Feb. 19, 1874, while Mr. Schurz was bearing the brunt of the battle for honest money with Mr. Morton and the other inflationists, he thus expressed himself : —

“ I deem it due to frankness not to neglect to add my word of warning against all schemes for wholesale issues of irredeemable paper money. Conscious of many things taught by the science of finance which I do not know, there is one thing which I think I do know, having learned it from the saddened and blackened annals of many epochs. Reason and experience convince me that we shall launch government and people on a sea without shore and a sea without bottom when we legislate the nation out upon a sea of irredeemable paper money.”

Mr. Conkling is also credited with having prepared a plan for the reorganization of the Federal judiciary, but he has not brought it forth ; and the one measure which he has supported in such a way as at all to correspond to his reputation was the electoral commission bill. Upon that bill he made an elaborate and very good speech. His share in the debates on other questions has usually consisted either of short speeches which were rather for the purpose of putting himself on record than for the purpose of making a contribution to the subject, or of a running fire of comments and questions which seemed to be for the purpose of getting information, and which often had the effect of making the subject under discussion clearer. The most of his remarks, however, have been upon points of order, procedure, and parliamentary law, in which he has manifested great interest.

On the other hand Mr. Conkling was hopelessly wrong in the dis-

cussion of the tenure of office acts at the beginning of General Grant's administration ; he was on the wrong side of Mr. Thurman's railroad bill in 1878 ; he opposed the increase of salaries of some of the Federal judges, apparently on the ground that " he had to work in vacation to be here — in the Senate — in term time ; " he was once instrumental in defeating a new law for taking the census, thereby compelling the census of 1870 to be taken under the old law, and he opposed the new law when it finally did pass ; and in so far as he treated them as political and not personal questions, he was hopelessly wrong in the debates on the use of troops in Louisiana, and the sale of arms to the French during the Franco-Prussian war.

Mr. Conkling is, however, to be judged as a legislator not so much by what he has advocated or opposed as by what he has treated with indifference, — and this category includes the most important questions of his time. These have taken no hold upon him. Tariff reform and our commercial relations with other countries ; methods of taxation ; the relations of corporations to the State and National governments ; the complete regulations of elections ; Chinese immigration ; and, although he has introduced several subsidy bills, the decline of American commerce, and the interests of the United States in Central America, — all these have no more vexed him than the passing shadow of a cloud. The tariff has, to be sure, been only once, or at most twice, before the Senate during his term of service ; but from a man in Mr. Conkling's position we had a right to expect an expression of his views on this subject elsewhere. On financial questions he has been indeed on the right side when they came to be voted on, but he has taken substantially no share in shaping the questions to be decided. In all the debates upon the inflation measures, refunding operations, and the monetization of silver, he took practically no part ; and New York, which has the largest interest in these questions, might in the discussion of them have been represented almost as well by a deaf mute as by Mr. Conkling. In the evils arising from the condition of the South he has been deeply interested, but rather as party weapons than as questions for his solution ; and it is an historical fact that those evils have diminished in proportion as the use of the remedies advocated by Mr. Conkling has been discontinued. Of the modern questions, civil-service reform is the only one which has impressed him. This he opposed when it appeared in the Senate, on the ground that it came from anti-administration senators. Subsequently he took the ground that no reform was needed, and he has repeatedly gone out of his way to assail and deride those who favored it. It was not until his letter of resignation that he manifested an appreciation of the nature of this question, possibly being quickened thereunto by the analogy between his own position toward President Garfield and

that which he had described as the position of the first civil-service reformers — Messrs. Sumner, Schurz, and Trumbull — toward President Grant, to whom, on Feb. 19, 1872, he referred as a senatorial ring or a senatorial cabal who had betrayed the Republican party, and sought to furnish campaign material to the Democrats “by disparaging and maligning the President of the United States.”

If, however, as some of Mr. Conkling's friends may insist, his legislative career is to be judged, not by the kinds of things with which he has busied himself, but by his effectiveness in accomplishing what he has undertaken, then in that case, his measure may be taken by ascertaining what proportion of the bills which he has introduced have become laws, and by comparing the result, which may be termed the percentage of success, with that of other Republican senators. Excluding from consideration bills granting pensions, removing the political disabilities of Southerners, and for the relief of individuals which come in great quantities from members of particular committees, and which are not therefore fair tests, it will be found that Mr. Conkling's percentage of success is lower than that of most of his colleagues. For example, in the fortieth and forty-first Congresses, covering the first four years of his senatorial service, only 5.87 per cent of the bills introduced by him became laws; while during the same period Mr. Sherman's percentage of success was 7.63, Mr. Edmund's, 11.11, and Mr. Anthony's, 23.5. In the forty-fourth Congress, covering the last part of General Grant's administration, during which time Mr. Conkling was a candidate for the Presidential nomination and his influence was greatest, his percentage of success was 15.38; while that of Mr. Edmunds was 26.66, and Mr. Anthony's, 38.¹ It would be tedious to examine every session in the same way, but it is believed that the relative proportions would be found to be unchanged. As a legislator, therefore, an examination of the things which Mr. Conkling has done and of the things which he has left unattempted certainly bears out the statement that his record is commonplace; and it certainly affords no basis for a belief that his is “the greatest mind that has been in public life since the beginning of the government.”

In other spheres of activity Mr. Conkling has made a similar record. Great men have often if not generally been authors, but to any inquiry for Mr. Conkling's writings or published works the answer is that he has no works, and that he has written nothing. Nor, as an orator, has he established his intellectual superiority. Perhaps in consequence of the doubts about it, his admirers have con-

¹ It should be urged in mitigation of Mr. Anthony's success as a legislator, that many of his bills came from the printing committee, and provided for the distribution of the proceedings of Congress on the death of a member.

stantly predicted a "great effort" which should settle the fact beyond cavil ; but it is a matter of common ridicule that that effort has now been postponed from time to time for upward of ten years. Of the speeches which he has delivered, and upon which, until the great effort is made, his reputation must rest, that on the electoral commission bill was a strong and respectable speech ; and that delivered at the last campaign at Terre Haute, and that nominating General Grant in the Chicago Convention were each admirable of their kind ; but they are his only speeches which bear the stamp of first-rate ability, although that on the admission of Senator Caldwell to the Senate was strong and sensible, and that on the use of troops in Louisiana was clear and adroit, and gave the "stalwarts" of that day reasons for the faith which was in them.

The striking peculiarity of all Mr. Conkling's speeches is their personal and merely transient nature. A discussion or denunciation of persons attracts him, and rouses his energy. Principles he does not grasp. He attacked President Johnson vehemently, but as the personal betrayer of the Republican party, and therefore as a bad man. He defended President Grant even more vehemently, but as an individual, and as the official head of the Republican party ; and he attacked those who differed from him in the same spirit as that in which he attacked President Johnson. His Cooper Union Speech in 1872, which was said to have been indeed a great effort, and to have pitched the key of the Republican canvass of that year, was devoted to extravagant personal praise of General Grant and extravagant personal abuse of Mr. Greeley. It was strong and bitter, but its style and standpoint were that of a man altogether on the common level. His set speech in the debate on the sale of arms to the French was of a similar character, and is filled with abuse of his opponents. Its effect is best described in a remark of an accomplished and distinguished Southerner, who after listening to the debate said : "I have seen in my time a great many defeats, — defeats on the battlefield, in the courts, in parliamentary bodies, and in society ; but I never saw any defeat which was so crushing as that suffered by Mr. Conkling in this debate at the hands of Mr. Schurz." His speech opening the campaign in New York last year was the occasion of a great political demonstration, but in itself it was disingenuous, illogical, and miscalculated for its purpose because, while it may have put some Republicans into a frame of mind where they would have eagerly voted twice, in so far as it made votes, they were votes for the Democratic candidate. It inflamed the faithful, but it repelled the wavering ; and Mr. Conkling had subsequently to forsake the ground he assumed in it, and to follow in the lines marked out by others. Beside the speeches made in or out of the Senate which have been

reported, there are several others made in executive session which have been described as great efforts, but of which we have only the hearsay newspaper reports. Nearly all, however, have related to the nomination of some individual to some office,—such as those on the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Merritt, or Judge Robertson to the collectorship of New York, in each of which cases the objection was made upon personal grounds, as being disagreeable to Mr. Conkling, or as an endeavor to “humiliate” or “insult” him in his own State.

Mr. Conkling can be conceded no higher place upon the strength of his speeches than on the character of his senatorial service. His speeches on the stump and in party conventions are more important than those which he has delivered in the Senate; yet only two or three of them are of the first rate, and they no more suffice to give him a place among the great men of the United States than the production of a much greater number of the same sort is sufficient to confer that honor upon Colonel Robert Ingersoll for instance. Many of Mr. Conkling's speeches manifest a great deal of strength and vigor, but it is the strength of force, unilluminated by intelligence. Any strongly passionate man, without any of Mr. Conkling's pretensions, might have made most of them. In a certain sense they are naked; there is a noticeable dearth of the allusions, of the fulness, and of the analogies which clothe and adorn the expressions of a well stored mind, and they lack in a much greater degree the reflective and general character which marks the productions of a ripe or a growing man. In consequence they are not enduring; they are suited only for an occasion; and when that has passed away, their interest has gone also. Even for the occasion Mr. Conkling deals only with the superficial and personal aspects of his subject: there is nothing luminous in his speeches; they will furnish no material for the historian; and hence also they proved, even though they were eagerly perused in search of the evidence of greatness, the dreariest reading imaginable. The intellectual poverty which characterizes them is strikingly shown in the constant repetition of the same quotations and phrases. The few Latin quotations especially are made to do hard service; and if Mr. Conkling had more phrases he would be open to his own charge of being “a phrase-monger.” A striking instance of this occurs in the speech nominating General Grant at Chicago,—the passage in which General Grant is described as “great by the arduous greatness of things done” having been coined eight years before, Dec. 21, 1870, in replying to Mr. Sumner. When Mr. Conkling undertakes, however, to remedy this meagreness of matter and style the result is disastrous. His allusions are the farthest fetched, his compounds of metaphors are often simply grotesque, and his rhetorical embellish-

ments, instead of appearing to be an exuberant natural outgrowth of his subject, remind one of the stuccoed ornamentations of an Italian villa of the most debased rococco period.

Mr. Conkling's claims to be considered a great lawyer are no better founded than the other pretensions which have been made for him. He entered political life too early, and he has been too deeply engrossed in its details to have had time to drink deeply at the fountains of the law, or to have built up any considerable legal practice. The great legal firms of his State do not know him as an adversary, and so far as can be judged by an observer, the most of his retainers have been before committees, or in the offices at Washington, or in other cases where his political position was supposed to give him a special influence with the tribunal. In the Supreme Court of the United States it appears from the reports that Mr. Conkling has had, since 1862, but six cases;¹ while during the same period Mr. Edmunds, who like him is a lawyer in politics, has had nineteen, and Mr. Garfield, whom we do not often think of as a lawyer at all, has had thirteen. Of Mr. Conkling's five cases, two were probably given to him because he was an influential politician, and without reference to his legal standing. The most important was *Bailey v. R. R. Co.*, which was brought for the recovery of internal revenue taxes paid under protest, in which he appeared for the New York Central Railroad Co., the plaintiff. Mr. Conkling was bitterly criticised for appearing in the Circuit Court in this case before a judge appointed only two or three months before, as was alleged, at his instance; and after having obtained judgment in the lower court his conduct of the case before the Supreme Court, where it was carried by the Government, brought down upon him much ridicule from members of the Supreme Court bar. He was very loud and confident in asserting that the judgment of the lower court was to be affirmed; but after the argument it appeared that he had failed to secure a single judge; that the judgment of the lower court was unanimously reserved; and in the opinion of the Court one of Mr. Conkling's main authorities was intimated to be an authority for the other side. After the decision, Mr. Conkling's behavior is described to have been quite outrageous and not consistent with the theory that he was a lawyer of experience; and his criticism of the judges appears to have been of the same sort which he lavishes upon delegates to a political convention who oppose him.

In the Court of Appeals of New York, it appears that Mr. Conkling has likewise had but five cases,² and two at least of these

¹ These are *Dexter v. Hall*, 15 Wallace, 9; *Bailey v. R. R. Company*, 22 Wallace, 624; *Stewart v. Sonneborn*, VIII. Otto, 189; *Ex parte R. R. Co.*, XI. Otto, 711; *Stewart v. Platt*, XI. Otto, 731; and *South Carolina Ex rel Douglass and Jackson R. Gaillard, County Treas., &c.*, which is not reported, the court being evenly divided.

² These are *Terpenning v. Skinner*, 29 N. Y. 505; *People v. Roper*, 35 N. Y. 629; *Norton v. Norton*, 55 N. Y. 660, and *In re Merriam*, and *People v. Dennison*, not yet reported.

may be called political. The first, *in re* Merriam, was one of an important class of assessment cases in which he appeared for the City of New York. This cause was to have been argued by one of the leaders of the Bar, under whose directions an elaborate brief was prepared; and when in consequence of his indisposition it became necessary to procure other counsel, the brief was given to Mr. Conkling. His argument was described by a prominent lawyer who heard it as "very strong;" but two others of the first rank are quoted as saying that the brief was fine, and that the portion of the argument not embraced in the brief was superfluous and gaseous. The second case, *People v. Dennison*, was a celebrated case against certain Canal contractors, in which Mr. Conkling was retained by the Attorney-General of New York, whose political relations with him have caused the retainer to be construed as an expression of the Attorney-General's political gratitude. Mr. Conkling's argument in that case can only be described as shocking rubbish. It is not mentioned by any lawyer except as a laughing stock, and two of repute who heard it said to the writer that "if it had been anybody else but Conkling the Court would have stopped him after the first fifteen minutes." The following extracts from a published stenographic report of this "argument" are commended to the attention of any who may doubt the impartiality of these judgments. They are the opening and closing sentences, with two others:—

"This case, may it please your Honors, seems to belong to the irony of fate. It is a travesty in politics and in jurisprudence. Its chief public lesson was taught to his disciples by one who lived five centuries before Mary's son walked under the palms of Palestine. China's profound student of man saw as plainly as you see the vast difference between a loud outcry — that was his phrase — a loud outcry of promise and a genuine fulfilment. The instance before us is full of this difference.

"Eight years ago, in the press, in the public assembly, at the fireside, at the kneading troughs, a loud outcry went forth, a voice of many tongues sounded an alarum. The State, it was said, was a prey to the robber. It was declared that robbers had seized upon our vast and costly public works; that lax and venial practices had uncovered the canals to thieves, and that obscene birds had swooped down to the harvest to gorge themselves on every side with plunder and spoliation. There was too much truth in it. . . .

"This, so far, is the bright beginning and the bitter end of a halcyon and vociferous proceeding. . . .

"It has been among the vicissitudes of this somewhat public litigation that the present law officer of the State has been buffeted with somewhat of lawlessness, and disregard both of truth and decorum. . . .

"But he [the present law officer of the State] has been made a mark for the arrow of many who have bended their bows at him. Yet so careful did he wish to be, that, exercising what I deem very bad judgment, as I must say, in his selection, he wanted to summon to his side some of his professional brethren, who might not only share with him the small modicum of responsibility that there might be, but

whose presence might defend him from the licentious and truthless insinuation that in some way or other he had been in sympathy with, or in lenity with the interests of, somebody concerned in this case. It was rather for this reason, and not in the presumptuous hope of being able materially to assist your Honors in understanding this case, that I came to his side, as I should have liked a professional brother to come to my side, had I been gibbeted for nothing at the cross-roads of public condemnation, in order that it might be fulfilled as should be spoken by somebody the prophet, that there is nothing so valuable, nothing so honest, nothing so void of offence in these times that it should not be dragged through the hurricane and the surfeit of mire and detestable accusation."

Two incidents of Mr. Conkling's legal career remain to be considered in disposing of the claims of his friends, that he is a great lawyer or a great man. The first, is his connection with the Phelps-Dodge affair in 1872.

In reply to a speech of Senator Bayard's last autumn, Mr. Conkling made a partial denial of any participation in the division of the plunder in this case, with which he is to be duly credited. It is however the fact, that Mr. Conkling was in close communication with those between whom the plunder was divided, at the time the division was being made, that they were his intimate political friends, and that he was supposed to have procured their offices for some of them. It has been positively stated, and widely believed also, that after the division of the plunder was made, Mr. Conkling received ten thousand dollars as counsel fee for his services to these gentlemen; and, up to this time, none of his denials have been made broad enough to cover the receipt of such a fee. As a counsel fee, this would have been an exorbitant sum. It was moreover unnecessary, because if these gentlemen who were public officers needed counsel, the regular law officers of the Government were at hand to furnish it. If these gentlemen, however, paid such a fee as individuals, Mr. Conkling, while a United States senator, is in the position of receiving an extravagant fee for unnecessary service from political vassals, — which is essentially the same thing as saying that Mr. Conkling accepted a gratuity from those whose offices had been procured through his influence, or, as Senator Bayard put it, as saying that he participated with them in the division of their plunder. However Mr. Conkling's connection with this transaction is described, it is a stain upon him. No man with a keen sense of professional honor, or with any sense of what was due to the position of a United States senator, would have any more taken such a fee than he would have grasped a bar of hot iron.

The second, an instance which is sometimes mentioned to show that Mr. Conkling is a great lawyer and also a great man is the fact that President Grant is reported to have offered him the chief-justice-ship. His refusal of this offer was highly creditable; but so far from being a tribute to Mr. Conkling's legal ability, the offer was avowedly

made as a reward for the campaign speech of 1872, at Cooper Union, which has been referred to ; and its reception by the legal profession is best described in an anecdote which is related of a very distinguished lawyer, who was asked at the time of the proposed appointment if he supposed Senator Conkling would accept the chief-justiceship. He answered "No;" and when asked for his reason said, "I suppose for the same reason that I would not accept the mission to China, because I do not understand the Chinese language."

Reviewing thus the record which Mr. Conkling has himself made of his achievements during a long public career, it appears that as a statesman he has not dealt with the great questions of state-craft ; that as a lawyer his legal services have not been sought in great legal causes ; that as an orator he has only once or twice reached the level of Tom Corwin and Colonel Ingersoll ; that while his party leadership was least disputed, his party steadily lost ground ; and that he has not written, or published, anything upon any subject. It may, of course, be true in spite of his record that Mr. Conkling is a great man, and that he does, as his friends say, possess great abilities. If so, he is unique ; because, except the fact of success, his career does not offer as do the careers of other great men any of the evidences of greatness. It would be invidious to compare Mr. Conkling with Jefferson, Hamilton, Marshall, Webster, or the rest who are confessedly pre-eminent ; but it is not unjust to compare him with others called great who have held from the same State the same trust which he resigned. If we compare him with Rufus King, DeWitt Clinton, Gouverneur Morris, Marcy, Van Buren, Silas Wright, General Dix, and Mr. Seward, we find that it is perfectly easy to specify the public services which each of those men rendered, as well as to enumerate the evidences of the abilities or qualities which made their followers believe them great ; that while they were alive their friends did in fact make such an enumeration, and that after their deaths, their biographers did likewise. We find also that such an enumeration as has been made in their cases, cannot be made in Mr. Conkling's case ; that they have left certain evidences of their abilities behind them, and that Mr. Conkling has not left similar evidences behind him ; that their great services can be pointed out, while it is the simple fact that Mr. Conkling's single substantial claim to the gratitude of his countrymen is the fact that he declined the chief-justiceship.

In making this comparison also, Mr. Conkling's intellectual meagreness is forced upon us anew. These men like most others of strong or full minds have been interested in extraneous matters, and they have displayed mental activity outside of their professions. Thus Rufus King was a philanthropist and an urbane, stately gentleman.

DeWitt Clinton had a taste for Natural History, and displayed in New York many of the qualities of a founder which recall Franklin's earlier years in Philadelphia. Gouverneur Morris was in the best sense, a man of the world ; he spoke the languages, and had travelled much. About the life of Silas Wright there is a great and genuine simplicity, which makes it read like that of one of Plutarch's men. Governor Dix had a pretty taste for the classics, and Governor Seward was full of fine enthusiasm for the eternal verities. Mr. Conkling has none of these qualities, and has done none of these things. He is not distinguished for simplicity, learning, or enthusiasm ; he is not a man of the world ; he knows no language but his own, and that only in such a way as to recall the remark made of his friend, our present minister to France, of whom it was said that "he was appointed to Paris instead of St. James because his mistakes in the use of the language would be less apparent in Paris." Occasionally one of Mr. Conkling's friends states that he has a profound knowledge of old English poetry, but the only evidence of this learning is a single quotation from the prologue to Sir Walter Raleigh's " Silent Lover ;" and unless there is some other proof it would be quite as appropriate to assert that he was a great sinologue because a few aphorisms of Confucius eke out his stock of quotations.

As a matter of fact, he is intellectually sterile, socially vulgar, and morally obtuse. He has not betrayed a spark of the general intellectual activity which has marked these other men ; and it is the literal truth that outside of politics he has made absolutely no figure in any field which can be described in these pages. He is a man of force, strong will, and colossal egotism ; of narrow mental horizon, definite, resolute purposes, and great indifference to whatever stands in the way of the accomplishment of them ; of large sustaining power, and great fidelity to those willing to be his tools. Had he been carefully educated, or had he supplied that deficiency through his own exertions, had he disciplined his will, and could he have been supplied with a stock of purposes, he might have become a man something like Thomas H. Benton ; but, as he is, he bears about the same relation to a great man or to a statesman that a fleece or a cotton ball bears to a completed garment : he is at best only a specimen of the raw material out of which a statesman might have been made.

It remains to say after all else has been said that for many years Mr. Conkling succeeded in holding a great position ; but in so far as that success is not now seen to have rested on a misapprehension, it is explicable by his connection with the spoils system, — into which there is not here space to enter, — and by the natural appearance of mediocrity on the surface of public life, as part of the reaction from the convulsions of the Rebellion, — and that success is rather a reproach to

his contemporaries than a tribute to him. It is, however, particularly to be regretted, because it has blinded the public to the true character of his influence, and dazzled a class of young men who sought political life sincerely eager to play an honorable part, and who have had their careers warped by allowing themselves, because they were dazzled, to become his tools and apologists. It is lamentable that his influence should be misunderstood, because, except a certain stimulus to endeavor which comes from the contemplation of any kind of success, that influence has been entirely bad. More than any other one man Mr. Conkling is responsible for the perfection of what is known as machine politics ; that is, the control of party organizations by men holding State or National offices as the reward of party services, the loss of identity between the party organizations and the voters comprising the party, and the consequent irresponsibility and shamelessness of the organization. Under this system we have in New York, for instance, what is practically an irresponsible governing class, salaried however by the people, and untrammelled by honorable traditions. The tendency of this system is to eliminate principles. It lowers the tone of public life, makes political science the art of acquiring political power, but excludes all conception of the use of power when acquired. It may be judged by its ripest fruit. The last New York legislature was the least adulterated product of the machine. The majority of its members were elected as pronounced adherents of the machine, and taken all together the members of this legislature make up perhaps the most contemptible body of men ever gathered into a similar assembly. Their performances after the resignation of Messrs. Conkling and Platt are too fresh to need mentioning, although it ought to be said that there can be no reasonable doubt but that if Guiteau's bullet had done the work he intended, both these gentlemen would have been re-elected by this same legislature. The election of Mr. Platt last winter is less recent, but not less interesting or edifying. There was absolutely no reason why Mr. Platt should be chosen to be a United States senator, and there were many reasons why he should not be. But neither at nor before his election was there a single serious word heard from the members of the legislature about his fitness for the position, or about the fitness of any of the other candidates. The question of fitness was omitted from consideration altogether. The election became an intrigue between individuals. The sole questions were of the relations of the candidates to Messrs. Cornell, Conkling, and Arthur, and of these gentlemen to each other. The whole transaction was humiliating. If this had been the golden time of the good Haroun Al Raschid, and if Mr. Platt had been a slave seeking preferment in the harem of the caliph, his election could not have been more the result of personal intrigue or have presented a more degrading spectacle.

Mr. Conkling has not, of course, created this state of things ; but he has identified himself with it, he has been foremost to defend it, and he has lent the whole of his influence to further it. When there has been a choice between the good and bad, he has chosen the bad. His politics have been personal. He has shed no light on the paths he has chosen. His utterances have not quickened our faith, rather lessened it. He has not, as did Webster and Clay and Sumner, kindled the zeal and ambition of the youth of his time to follow him in the service of a cause because it seemed to them worth serving. His influence has been selfish ; and if young men have followed him it was because he seemed to offer them fishes and loaves, or because they thought that his way, was the way to get on. Mr. Conkling is still a political factor, and it is to be anticipated that in the State of New York he will, notwithstanding his record, his character, and his influence, again come to the surface of politics. If he comes chastened by experience, he may perhaps redeem his career and do something to justify his friends ; but if he returns unchanged, it would be better that his life should not have been lived.

FREDERICK W. WHITRIDGE.

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VICTOR HUGO.

II.

VICTOR HUGO wrote his "Cromwell" in 1827. The Muses are all sisters. The great success of "Freischütz" was not without influence on the romantic movement. The music of Weber seemed romantic. Shakspeare was played in Paris by English actors: Miss Smithson, who played in "Romeo" and in "Othello," was so much admired that Berlioz offered her his hand; Eugène Delacroix, who was the romantic painter of the day, wrote to Hugo to propose himself: —

"Hamlet shows his hideous face. Othello prepares his pillow, destructive of all the dramatic actual police. Who knows? — King Lear is going to tear his eyes out before a French public. Could not the Academy declare that all such importations are incompatible with public morality? Adieu to her quiet!"

Hugo wrote "Cromwell" under these new influences; and the preface to the drama was a solemn declaration of war against the stiff classic imperial school. I call it imperial because it had preserved something of the dryness, of the coldness, of the false Roman style of Napoleon's time. The tragedies of Ducis, of Casimir Delavigne, make you think of the costumes of the tribunes, of the Caius and Gracchus of the French Revolution, of the unwieldy and heavy furniture which adorned the palaces where Napoleon lived, of the Egyptian sphinxes, — of all this false art of the beginning of the century, borrowed from Egypt and Rome, which had no true relations with the feelings or with the invention of the modern time.

In his preface to "Cromwell" Hugo explained the principles of the new literary school, to which belonged Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Madame de Staël, Goethe, Walter Scott. His generalizations seem

now almost infantine. Hugo distinguishes three phases in the history of mankind; each phase has a peculiar form of expression: to the first belongs the lyric ode,—it is the Biblical form; to the second belongs the epic poem,—it is the Homeric form; the modern times find their expression in the drama,—in the Shakspearian form. It is more interesting to hear him lay down the theory of the “ugly” as a necessary element of the drama:—

“A new form is developing in art. This form is the grotesque, the comic. And here I must emphasize; for we have thus marked the characteristic trait, the fundamental difference, which separates in our opinion modern art from antique art, the actual form from the dead form,—or, to use other words, more vague but more accredited, *romantic* literature from *classic* literature.”

This idea is developed at great length. Hugo shows that in the old times the tragic element was uppermost; and he describes the gradual invasion of the comic, the grotesque, the ugly in all the forms of art. The true proportion of the two elements is found in Shakspeare. “Shakspeare is the drama itself; and the drama which swells under the same blast the grotesque and the sublime, the terrible and the ridiculous, tragedy and comedy, is the proper form of the third era of poetry, of the actual literature.”

Hugo proceeds then to attack the old Aristotelic rules of unity of place, unity of time, and unity of plot; he claims unbounded liberty for the drama, and laughs at all the “custom-house officers” of thought and their barriers; he laughs at all the imitators of the ancients,—“O imitatores! servum pecus,” as the men who say to the poet, “Follow these models,” and add immediately, “These models are inimitable.” The only fountains of poetry are “nature and truth.” He adds, however (and here we come to the distinction between romanticism and the more modern realism and naturalism): “The truth of art can never be, as many have said, an absolute realism. Art cannot give the thing itself: the Cid speaks French in the play of Corneille, while the true Cid speaks Spanish; the Cid of Corneille speaks in verse,—the true Cid never spoke in verse. It must be recognized that the domain of art and the domain of nature are perfectly distinct. Nature and art are two things.” Hugo concedes to art the faculty of creation with the elements furnished by nature: art is not a mere copyist. The object of art, he says, is almost divine,—to resuscitate in history, to create in poetry.

Hugo goes so far as to say that the danger of art is “le commun” (the common); and he does not hesitate to say that the verse, the poetical form, seems to him one of the best means of preserving the drama from this invasion of the “vulgar.” He says also that “local coloring” is not the essential part of the new drama. “It is not at

the surface of the drama that the local color ought to be, but in the bottom of it, in the heart of it ;" — which means that local coloring in dress, in costumes, in furniture, is nothing if the sentiments, the passions, are not in harmony with the times.

Nothing can be more telling than his criticism of the French "Alexandrine" verse, and the classic and pedantic school of 1820. We can sympathize with the horror of Hugo for a school which produced a Legouv  , who, writing on the "merit of woman," says to a man, —

"Tombe au pied de le sexe    qui tu dois ta m  re ;"

who would not tolerate the "Ventre Saint Gris" of Henri IV. We must laugh with Hugo at poor Delille, who prided himself seriously on having in his lifetime described in Alexandrine verses twelve camels, four dogs, three horses (the horse of Job among them), six tigers, two cats, a chess-board, a trictrac, a billiard-table, several winters, many summers, an immense number of springs, fifty sunsets, and more sunrises. Hugo wants the verse to be more fluid, less imprisoned in immutable forms : he wishes the French to be correct, but he will not have it like a dead language, — it must be alive and accept all that life and its changes bring with it.

All this programme of the preface to "Cromwell" has been fulfilled ; and it is very interesting to see in what a short period of time the romantic reform has accomplished its object. The French language, which was at the beginning of the century like a mummy tied with holy bands, has taken life, and its transformations are so incessant, so rapid, that it is an idle work to prepare a dictionary ; the Aristotelic rules have been thrown to the fiends ; the drama has full possession of the stage, with all the mixture of elements which Hugo claimed as its privilege ; the sublime touches the ridiculous so perpetually that we do not know well where one begins and where the other ends ; our novels have become written dramas. Balzac has given us the "Human Comedy," and his actors are so full of life that it seems that they are still among us. Romanticism, born on the cold remains of the past, has blossomed in every direction, and it has finally produced these new literary forms which are called realism and naturalism. Hugo compared the drama to a body inspired by a soul : our naturalists think no more of the soul, — the body is enough for them ; they feel as much horror for idealism as Hugo felt in 1720 for the academical classics. Photography is the last word of the movement which began with the romantics ; the naturalists are contented with any photography ; they have no choice, the *cadaver* is as good as life ; they have no hopes, no aims, no object ; they rob nature of its garments, and are contented with walking in them as a child during the carnival. The bustle of human life and the struggle of nations, of

families, of men, interest them no more than the forms of some new species. They are naturalists and positivists.

The naturalists can easily triumph over the romantics when they point at the historical mistakes of such dramas as "Cromwell." I wonder what Thomas Carlyle would have thought of the Protector as he is delineated by Hugo, — of his puritans, his cavaliers, of his Thurloe, his Lambert, his Rochester? The dramas of Hugo which are purely historical, or pretend to be so, are much inferior to the dramas where the principal characters are mere types of human nature, such as "Hernani," "Ruy Blas," "Marion de Lorme;" there may be historical characters in these also, but they are secondary. In "Cromwell" Cromwell is everything, and we cannot but feel that he is not the real Cromwell.

The year 1829 may be considered as the zenith of Victor Hugo's career: immediately after "Cromwell," he wrote the "Orientales," "Marion de Lorme," and "Hernani." The "Orientales" are the best lyrical poems of Hugo; they are to the following poems what the flower is to the fruit: it is impossible not to enjoy their youth, — if I might say so, their novelty, their independence. There is nothing in all the French literature which is even analogous to these short poems; they remind you of the Spanish Romancero, of the Bible, and of Goethe: but in all their parts they have a tone, a rhythm, a *je ne sais quoi*, purely personal and original.

Hugo had had the plans of "Marion de Lorme" and of "Hernani" in his head since 1828; he hesitated which of the two he would write first; he decided for "Marion," and began to write it on the 1st June, 1829; the 24th June, after having written the whole night, he made the last verse. "Cromwell" had not been put on the stage, — it was too long; "Marion" had better proportions: so Hugo decided to try the stage, and read his piece before a select audience, — Balzac, the painter Delacroix, Alfred de Musset, Alexandre Dumas, Alfred de Vigny, Sainte Beuve, Villemain, Mérimée, Frédéric Soulié, and a few others. Taylor was director of the Théâtre Français, — he was in the audience; he asked Hugo to give him his piece; the directors of the Odéon, of the Porte St. Martin, made him offers; but the Théâtre Français had the preference. There was, however, an obstacle, — the fourth act, in which Louis XIII. appears and shows the troubles of his mind, his fear of Richelieu, his impatience of the rule of the terrible Cardinal. The censors pronounced against this exhibition of the king on the stage: they feared that France would recognize Charles X. in the king, governed by a priest.

Hugo went to see M. de Martignac, the Home Minister. He had never thought of alluding to the present time; his Royalist feelings were known; he was not an enemy of the Bourbons. M. de

Martignac reminded him of the effect produced by the "Marriage of Figaro," and insisted upon the interdiction of the play. Hugo asked the king for an audience: it was immediately granted. He was received by Charles X. at St. Cloud: "It seems," said the king, "that you are rather hard on my poor ancestor, Louis XIII. M. de Martignac tells me that there is a terrible act in your play." Hugo had brought with him a copy on vellum of the fourth act, — he gave it to the king. "Why only the fourth?" said the king; "I would have liked to read the whole."

The conversation went on. "Be easy, M. Hugo. I like your talent," said the king; "and if you are uneasy about Martignac —" he stopped there. The next day the Martignac cabinet fell. The successor of Martignac, M. de la Bourdonnaye, maintained, however, the interdiction, but wrote to Hugo to announce to him that the king gave him a new pension of 4,000 francs. Hugo refused the pension. He at once set to work, — and on the 1st October he read "Hernani" to the committee of the Théâtre Français. The piece was received by acclamation. Mlle. Mars accepted the part of Doña Sol, and Firmin the part of Hernani.

The repetitions of "Hernani" became an event. Mlle. Mars was already fifty years old; she had made her reputation under the classic régime, — she was a "classic." She did not like the part of Doña Sol. Alexandre Dumas in his memoirs has given curious details about her difficulties with Hugo. During the repetition Mlle. Mars stopped suddenly: "May I say a word to the author?" The author as usual was in a stall in the pit. Mlle. Mars came forward: "M. Hugo! where is M. Hugo?" — "Here I am." — "Thank you. Tell me, Sir, have I to say this verse, —

" 'Vous êtes mon lion, superbe et généreux' ?"

"Yes, Madame; Hernani says to you, —

" 'Hélas ! j'aime pourtant d'un amour bien profonde
Ne pleure pas, mourons plutôt ! Que n'ai j'un monde !
Je te le donnerais ! Je suis bien malheureux !'

"And you answer him, —

" 'Vous êtes mon lion, superbe et généreux !' "

"Do you like that, M. Hugo?" — "What? — 'vous êtes mon lion' ? That is what I wrote." — "Well," said Mlle. Mars, with a sigh, "it seems so odd to call Firmin 'my lion.'" Every day there was a difficulty about "mon lion;" once Mlle. Mars proposed to say "monseigneur."

The literary passion of the day was such that Hugo decided that there should be no *claque* on the first representation of "Hernani."

The *claque* was a collection of persons in the pit who were paid by the director or had their places for nothing, and who applauded with great force the passages marked by a sort of captain called the *chef de claque*. This captain of applauders was a great classic, a great admirer of Casimir Delavigne, — he had strong hands, but also strong prejudices. He did not admire “Hernani;” so Hugo determined to do without him, and to open the whole parterre to the free public.

The romantic youth of the time chose the Théâtre Français as a sort of battle-field. The young men were allowed to enter in the middle of the day, and they had the patience to wait for hours; they had brought provisions with them, and were finishing their dinner when the real public came. Mlle. Mars was horrified when she saw through the curtain the young romantics of the Latin Quarter, with their strange costumes, their long, dishevelled hair, their beards: “I have never played,” said she, “before such a public.” The great scene where Don Ruy de Gomez shows to Don Carlos the portraits of all his ancestors, had been parodied a few days before in a paper: it was the dangerous scene of the play, but the public bore it tolerably well. From that moment the play was saved. Immediately after the third act the bookseller Baudoin, who was in the theatre, went to Hugo and offered him 6,000 francs for the right of publishing the piece. Hugo said that they could settle this little affair the next day. The bookseller would hear of no delay: he had the money with him, and — as the conversation occurred in the street — he took Hugo to the tobacco shop which is opposite the theatre and made him sign the treaty on the spot. They ran back to the theatre. The fourth act was almost achieved; the great act of Mlle. Mars was now coming. She had so far been coldly received: she was a little *piquée*, and she played with unusual force in the great fifth act. Her success was overwhelming. Who could not feel the intense beauty of this fifth act? — the quiet of the night, the moonlight, the happiness of the two lovers, the sudden sound of the horn of Gomez, the terror of Hernani, the struggle between honor and love, between jealousy and chivalry, — all this end of “Hernani” is operatic in the best sense of the word. The poet plays upon the eternal, the most noble and sublime sentiments of mankind; and at times the situation becomes so grandiose that the verse rejects all the romantic impurities and becomes as pure as the Lamartinian or the Racinian verse.

“La lune tout à l’heure à l’horizon montait,
Tandis que tu parlais, sa lumière qui tremble
Et ta voix tous les deux m’allaient au cœur ensemble;
Je me sentais joyeux et calme, ô mon amant,
Et j’aurais bien voulu mourir en ce moment !”

Some of what I call the "impurities" of the romantic style explain the terrible battles which took place at the French theatre at the successive representations of "Hernani." It is undeniable that Hugo sometimes verges on the ridiculous. His nature is wanting in Roman ponderation; he is extravagant; and if he is, as I have shown, half Celtic and half Germanic, we can see why he has not that kind of *esprit* which would help him to avoid great faults of taste. Even now, after so many years, used as we are to all the excesses of grammar, of sentiment, of unreason in literature, *blasés* as we are, and utterly free of all the prejudices of the school of classics of 1830, we cannot hear some verses of "Hernani" without a smile, nor enjoy its extraordinary beauties without some momentary vexation. "Hernani" remains, however, as the greatest and most successful dramatic effort of our age. It has resplendent beauties; and the defects of the poet are reduced in it to a *minimum*. When I speak of his defects I do not only allude to his heavy and sometimes low wit, to the studied inaccuracies, to the false local coloring, — I mean chiefly the tendency which is shown in every drama of Hugo to ally, and, so to speak, to fuse, the beautiful and the ugly. The hero or the heroine must also be some *bad* character; the drama must be a rehabilitation. Sometimes the courtesan is rehabilitated; sometimes the buffoon; sometimes the valet. In "Hernani" it is simply the bandit; but the bandit is really a rebel; he is a prince in disguise, "Je suis Jean d'Aragon." "Hernani" does not shock us like "Ruy Blas," like "Marion de Lorme," like "Triboulet."

The dramas of Victor Hugo are *operatic* in the highest degree: I find no better word to express a succession of scenes where the efforts are simple, powerful, affecting. You will not find in this operatic drama any light, shadowy delineation of character. The words are fine, often very fine. But the words have not the supreme importance: each character works himself out in action as well as in expression; even in the *tedium* of the poor young Queen of Spain in "Ruy Blas" there is something physical rather than moral. We cannot wonder if "Rigoletto" sprang very naturally out of the "Roi s'amuse." You could not find any better libretto than "Lucrece Borgia." Victor Hugo has never attempted a drama placed in the conditions of modern life. He needs the fine, the gorgeous costumes of the past. His heroes cannot live in our vulgar black dresses. The realistic comedy, such as it is conceived by Dumas the son, has nothing to do with his drama. His Celtic nature drags him constantly out of naturalism. He is a poet. He delineates human types rather than human beings. His Don Carlos is not Charles V.: he is a type, the leader of men, who sacrifices love to ambition, the born ruler and emperor, —

"Le pays et l'empereur sont tout

L'empereur ; l'empereur ! être empereur !"

The famous monologue of Don Carlos before the tomb of Charlemagne is a long song of unbridled ambition. The characters of all these dramas remain in our minds as types ; their reality is the reality of the moralist, not of the physiologist. His lovers, his mothers, his tyrants, his courtiers, his brigands, live in the domain of phantasy. They have blood in their veins, but it is the blood of the gods of the Olympus ; they are men and women, but they are to ordinary men and women what the *genus* is to the *species*, — the genus contains all the species. These men or women are, so to speak, personified passions, unconscious, unreasoning, born by the fatal laws of nature, and verging almost on insanity. There is a touch of Celtic folly in all the heroes, in all the heroines. Hernani seems at times almost a lunatic. Is Blanche a free agent in "Le Roi s'amuse" when she offers herself in sacrifice to save the king, who has betrayed her ? All these types are either above or below human nature. This exaggeration is perhaps a necessity of the drama, — you must strike hard if you wish to make an impression. Hugo has the power to create a sort of atmosphere of terror, of heroism, of moral electricity (if the word could be used), in which our tired and worn-out senses can receive new impressions. He acts on the nerves as much as on the intellect ; and it is in that sense that his drama can be called operatic.

"Notre Dame de Paris" may also be called, by extension, operatic. It appeared immediately after "Hernani." It is in reality a drama, — a succession of "tableaux." There is no profound analysis of character, — nothing which can be compared to the fine delineations of a Balzac, a Mérimée, or a Stendhal. It is all on the surface. Quasimodo, Claude Frollo, Esmeralda, Phœbus, are living types. Hugo had promised this novel to a bookseller, and he worked at it night and day, when he was interrupted by the Revolution of 1830. The quarter — then deserted — where he lived at that time in the Champs Élysées became a camp. Hugo wrote an ode, which was his adieu to the old family of kings. The "Vendéen" spoke once more, —

"Oh ! laissez moi pleurer sur cette rose morte
Qui remporta l'exil et que l'exil emporte . . ."

He was no more a Jacobite. But he knew what gratitude meant ; and afterward, when the Duchesse de Berry had begun a rebellion in "the Vendée," and had been arrested in the place where she was concealed, on the denunciation of a traitor, he wrote the burning verses, "O l'Homme qui a livré une Femme." His political ideas were still embryonic ; his admiration floated between Napoleon and liberty. In the speech which he had made in court, when he brought an action

against the Théâtre Français on account of the interruption of the representations of "Le Roi s'amuse," he finished thus: "There has been in this century but one great man, Napoleon; and one great thing, liberty. We have no more the great man: let us try to have the great thing."

The plastic mind of Hugo had received all the influences which had brought on the revolution of 1830. He had himself become the favorite of the "Quartier Latin." He represented progress in literature. "Notre Dame de Paris" was finished after the revolution. Hugo turned deaf to the noise of the streets. He bought a large bottle of ink, and never stopped writing till the bottle was empty. The novel appeared on the 13th of February, — the day on which the Archbishopric of Paris was sacked by the mob. Hugo saw the books of the Archbishop thrown in the Seine, and he might have met on the quay M. Thiers, who witnessed this scene, smiling, and with a little stick in his hand. Notwithstanding the agitation of Paris, "Notre Dame" had an immense success, and eight editions appeared successively.

"Notre Dame de Paris" was useful in an artistic sense. It seemed as if Hugo had opened the eyes of France, and taught Paris and the provinces to respect the monuments of Gothic architecture. Under the influence of the classic school, Gothic art had fallen into contempt. The Roman arcades, the Greek columns, seemed to be the only tolerable forms of art. Hugo explained, manifested, the mystic beauty of the ogive, of the bold cathedrals: the admiration of the Gothic became one of the articles of the Romantic creed.

As a novel, I must confess that I find "Notre Dame" vastly inferior to the historical novels of Walter Scott. The story is meagre. The characters are too simple, too elementary. The drama is perpetually interrupted by long lectures, — such as "ceci tuera cela" ("printing will kill architecture"), — which are full of ponderous dogmatism, of artificial antithesis. I consider that Hugo is always inferior to himself when he writes in prose. "Notre Dame" is in prose. "Les Misérables" long afterward was also written in prose. It has the same defects as "Notre Dame." But, on the whole, "Les Misérables" is read with less fatigue. The characters are more interesting, more real, more human. We find in both the rehabilitation, the glorification even, of a victim of society. Quasimodo and Jean Valjean are brothers. They both represent the struggle of the poor, the weak, the ugly, the pariah, against the overwhelming forces of the world. Is Quasimodo true to nature? Is Jean Valjean possible? That is another question. And our modern realists may look without any interest on these children of the poet, who are mere types, mere exponents of a social theory. As a novelist, Hugo must, I believe,

be placed far behind Balzac. He never sees man except behind the prison bars of his imagination ; his lovers are between heaven and earth ; ridicule takes with him the form of the wildest caricature, — all, in short, is magnified, contorted, and unreal.

We return with pleasure to the poet and the dramatist. “*Les Feuilles d’Automne*” made its apparition immediately after “*Notre Dame de Paris*.” It marks a new poetical manner, which can be traced during the decade which separates 1830 and 1840 in “*Les Chants du Crépuscule*,” “*Les Voix Intérieures*,” and “*Les Rayons et les Ombres*.” This decade was probably the happiest part of the life of Victor Hugo. Fortune had smiled upon him. He felt like a general after the battle. He says in the preface to “*Feuilles d’Automne* :” “*Mine is not the poetry of tumult and noise : my verses are peaceful, such as everybody can make them or dream them, — home verses, verses of private life, verses of inner life.*” “*Les Feuilles d’Automne*” begins with the famous poem, —

“*Le siècle avait deux ans ! Rome remplaçait Sparte.*”

where Hugo gives the history of his early years. Well could he say then, —

“*Et je sais d’où je viens si j’ignore où je vais.*”

He did not know whither he was going : he was like a ship waiting for a fair wind, and meanwhile motionless on the ocean, —

“*Après avoir chanté j’écoute et je contemple
À l’Empereur tombé dressant dans l’ombre un temple,
Aimons la liberté pour ses fruits, pour ses fleurs,
Le trône pour son droit, le roi pour ses malheurs ;
Fidèle enfin au sang qu’on versa dans ma veine
Mon vieux père soldat, ma mère vendéenne.*”

The Germanic element was getting stronger in him, however ; his religion was beginning to assume the vague Pantheistic form ; he had written *Ἀνάγκη* on the first page of “*Notre Dame de Paris* :” fatality appeared to him as the unknown goddess which governs the world. The Celtic nature abhors fatality, — detests, ignores, denies facts ; the Germanic nature sees in everything the development of an irresistible and divine force. Is there not a true Pantheistic spirit in this (the poet is on a cliff ; he looks on the wide sea, and he hears two great voices mixing their concerts) : —

“*Frères, de ces deux voix étranges, inouïes,
Sans cesse renaissant, sans cesse évanouies,
Qu’écoute l’éternel durant l’éternité :
L’une disait ‘ Nature,’ et l’autre ‘ Humanité.’*”

The Pantheistic spirit has become quite uppermost in Hugo's third manner, which is marked by "Les Contemplations" and "La Légende des Siècles." We see its first appearance in the decade of 1830-40; we see the poet set his seal on "cette double mer du temps et de l'espace," — he is becoming philosophical. The masterpiece of "Les Feuilles d'Automne" is "Prier pour Tous." It may almost be called the masterpiece of Hugo's poetical work. The sentiment is exquisite: it has a truly catholic tenderness, a Christian purity. I can never read it without being affected, and without imagining myself under the dark vaults of some old cathedral, hearing the monotonous and grave sound of "Ora pro nobis."

How fine, how grave, is the beginning! —

"Ma fille, va prier ! Vois, la nuit est venue,
 Une planète d'or là-bas perce la nue ; —
 La brume des coteaux fait trembler le contour ;
 À peine un char lointain glisse dans l'ombre. Écoute !
 Tout rentre et se repose ; et l'arbre de la route
 Secoue au vent du soir la poussière du jour !
 Le crépuscule, suivant la nuit qui les voile
 Fait jaillir chaque étoile en ardente étincelle ;
 L'occident amincit sa frange de carmin ;
 La nuit de l'eau dans l'ombre argente la surface ;
 Sillons, sentiers, buissons, tout se mêle et s'efface ;
 Le passant inquiet doute de son chemin ;
 Le jour est pour le mal, la fatigue, et la haine.
 Prions !"

And the long prayer begins, — the litany of sorrows, the chorus of all the sufferers, who turn their eyes to heaven and ask for some rest. The prayer is at times grave, monotonous, and expressed in long hexameters; at times it becomes pressed, ardent, uneasy, and finds more impatient rhythms. What movement, for instance, there is in this : —

"Prie encore pour tous ceux qui passent
 Sur cette terre des vivants !
 Pour ceux dont les sentiers s'effacent
 À tous les flots, à tous les vents !
 Pour l'insensé qui met sa joie
 Dans l'éclat d'un manteau de soie,
 Dans la vitesse d'un cheval !
 Dans quiconque souffre et travaille,
 Qu'il s'en revienne ou qu'il s'en aille,
 Qu'il fasse le bien ou le mal."

Such strophes have wings, as it were; and there is nothing more admirable in Victor Hugo's verses than their dynamic force, if I may so express it. He has a thoroughly Pindaric sentiment of the rhythm.

There is a music in some of his verses which sometimes makes us forget their sense, and gives us a sort of mechanical pleasure.

"Les Feuilles d'Automne" marks the transition between the first and second manner; the nebulosity of the second manner becomes more marked in "Les Chants du Crépuscule." They are crepuscular, with a star shining here and there. One of the brightest stars is the short poem on the fallen woman, —

"Oh ! n'insultez jamais une femme qui tombe."

How poetical is the comparison of the sinner and the drop of rain, —

"Comme au bout d'une branche on voit étinceler
Une goutte de pluie où le ciel vient briller,
Qu'on secoue avec l'arbre et qui tremble et qui lutte,
Perle avant de tomber et fange après sa chute !"

Such verses, once read, are always remembered. The same cannot be said of many others, which are simply like the monotonous song that puts a child to sleep, like the moaning wind on the sea-shore.

In "Les Voix Intérieures" the Pantheist has not quite taken the place of the Christian. In the first poem Hugo sings the praise of the age; but he ends with this warning: —

"Mais parmi ces progrès dont notre âge se vante,
Dans tout ce grand éclat d'un siècle éblouissant,
Une chose, ô Jésus, un secret m'épouvante:
C'est l'écho de la voix qui va s'affaiblissant."

The "Vendéen" is not quite dead in the poet; and he sings at the news of the death of Charles X. in exile, in the beautiful poem "Sunt Lacrymæ Rerum," which contains the fine apostrophe to the silent guns of the Invalides. The guns are silent, but the poet will speak: —

"Vous vous taisez, mais moi, moi dont parfois le chant
Ne refuse à l'aurore et jamais au couchant . . .
Je ne me tairai pas."

The Pantheistic note is becoming louder and louder; the man loses himself more and more in Nature; the Muse is more descriptive, and less lyrical; the poet seems more impressed with the sense of the fatality of all things.

"Où vas-tu ? — vers la nuit noire,
Où vas-tu ? — vers le grand jour,
Toi ? — je cherche s'il faut croire,
Et toi ? — je vais à la gloire,
Et toi ? — je vais à l'amour,
Vous allez tous à la tombe"

The morbid feeling of pity for mankind, — for its vain struggles, its miseries, — which became afterwards a sort of Socialistic sentimentality, is also coming to be more marked, as well as the preference of the poet for the children, who are to him the flower, the spring, of humanity.

"Les Rayons et les Ombres" are in the same poetical vein. They appeared in 1840. One of the most striking poems of this series is "Tristesse d'Olympio." It is in the same sentiment as the famous piece of Musset, —

"J'espérais bien pleurer, mais je croyais souffrir."

Olympio, like Musset, returns to the scene of his first youth and love. How beautiful are the verses of Musset, —

"Fière est cette forêt dans sa beauté tranquille,
Et fier aussi mon cœur."

How fine also the strophes of Hugo! —

"Dieu nous prête un moment les prés et les fontaines,
Les grands bois frissonnants, les rocs profonds et sourds, . . .
Ceux que vous oubliez ne vous oublieront pas."

There are in "Les Rayons et les Ombres" four verses addressed to Louis Philippe. They have their history. Barbès and Blanqui had made an insurrection in 1839. Barbès had tried to incite some soldiers to revolt, and had shot their officer. He had been condemned to capital punishment. His sister knew Hugo, and begged him to ask for his pardon. The Court was in mourning for one of the daughters of Louis Philippe, Princess Mary of Wurtemberg; the Comte de Paris was just born. Hugo wrote these four lines: —

"Par votre ange envolée, ainsi qu'une colombe!
Par ce royal enfant, doux et frêle roseau!
Grâce encore une fois! grâce au nom de la tombe!
Grâce au nom du berceau!"

He took these verses to the Tuileries, and left them for the king at twelve o'clock at night. The king read them the next morning, and Barbès was saved.

During this decade of 1830-40 Victor Hugo not only wrote lyrical poems; he worked incessantly for the stage. This period is the time when he gave "Le Roi s'amuse," "Lucrece Borgia," "Marie Tudor," "Angelo, Tyran de Padoue," "Ruy Blas." With this last drama ends the dramatic cycle of our poet; and it may be remarked here that while the lyrical faculty seems inexhaustible in him, the dramatic effort was only of short duration. The drama requires a certain sort of vitality and movement which can perhaps be found

only in the maturity of life. We know the cruel epigram against poor old Corneille :—

“Après Agésilas !
Hélas !
Mais après Attila !
Holà !”

Racine's last tragedies, “*Athalie*” and “*Esther*,” are almost lyrical poems ; and after these two religious dramas he never wrote anything. Molière alone seems to have retained his great faculties to the end ; he even went on constantly progressing till death struck him on the stage. But Molière died comparatively young.

The triumphs of the stage are so complete, so inebriating, compared to the quiet victories of the lyrical poet, that we may well wonder why Hugo stopped so early in his dramatic career. Perhaps we can find the reason in the annoyances which the dramatist invariably finds in the somewhat vulgar society of directors, actors, and actresses. The representation of each of his dramas was for Hugo a sort of hand-to-hand fight. His conceptions were hardly well understood. A large part of the public was absolutely hostile to the romantic drama, and seized with the greatest alacrity all the words, the incidents, which could be ridiculed, with that keen sense of the ludicrous which is so truly Parisian. Hugo had quarrels with Harel, the director of the *Porte St. Martin* ; in “*Angelo*” he was obliged to soothe the quarrels of the two actresses, Mlle. Mars and Madame Dorval, who were at drawn daggers. During the repetitions of “*Angelo*,” Mlle. Mars told him that he ought to change the death of Catarina. “Poison—always poison,” said she ; “you always kill your heroines with poison. I do not like contortions ; give me something else.” Hugo answered seriously that Corneille had used poison in “*Rodogune*,”—that Shakspeare had used it in “*Romeo and Juliet*.”

It is perhaps to be regretted that Hugo abandoned the drama so early. His dramatic work is full of imperfections, but it has also great merits. He has created strange types, which will survive him ; he has created a sort of fantastic world which has not much to do with the real world, but in which there is an intensity of life and of passion which is truly marvellous. His local color is false, his historical portraits are caricatures ; but his actors are real men and women, and with something superhuman in them,—a constant tension, if I may use the word, towards the heroic, the impossible, the sublime. This effort, this radiation of the soul, this noble rising of the meanest, of the most despised creatures, is the chief characteristic of Hugo's dramatic as well as of his romantic work.

AUGUST LAUGEL.

MR. ATKINSON ON "THE SOLID SOUTH."

II.

BUT has the South brought to the public service of the country her full quota of talent? It has not been long since Mr. Atkinson's friends, the Abolitionists, fairly raved and hissed when they spoke of the undue proportion of leaders furnished by the South. When one examines the list of presidents from Washington to Lincoln, he finds that for two thirds of the golden period of American history the presidential chair was filled by a Southerner. When we turn to the records of Congress, every schoolboy knows that the three names which, since the Revolutionary fathers passed away, have stood highest were Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, — two of them Southerners. When we turn to the Supreme Court, none can dispute the palm with Marshall and Taney, both Southerners. If we ask who have led the armies, history begins with Washington to name "Old Hickory" in the war of 1812, and Scott and Taylor in Mexico. I do not forget that Mr. Atkinson is disposed to limit the comparison to the last fifty years. The trio of great statesmen whose names are forever linked together performed their chief services since that date (1830). But one can be named who doubtless meets even Mr. Atkinson's test of a "national statesman." He is probably ignorant of the fact that Abraham Lincoln was born in Kentucky, — both his father, Thomas Lincoln, and his mother Nancy Hanks, being natives of Virginia, commonly and justly termed "The Mother of States and of Statesmen." The national navy, from obvious reasons, owes most of its renown to the brave men of the North; and yet everybody is supposed to know that the American sailor whose name is destined to be best known, — the name which shall be murmured by every blue wave of the circling seas, — is that of the man who set the world upon a new path of investigation as to their physical geography. One may call him "Lieutenant" or "Commodore" as his fancy may choose; but the great world will simply say MAURY, — for that is enough.

But while the palm of superiority in the wide realm of literature is thus freely accorded to New England and the Middle States; while we feel both glad and proud of their poets, their historians, and their scholars, — yet there is one glorious art in which our countrymen generally acknowledge the South to be unrivalled. It is the gift of eloquent speech, which goes hand in hand with that administrative talent which the Southern people have shown from the first. Daniel Webster is not forgotten when it is claimed that the orators of the South have

hitherto excelled. Of the great men of 1776 none spoke like Patrick Henry. Clay carried the people by storm. In the pulpit none have swayed their audiences like Waddell, "the blind preacher," and Samuel Davies.

The evidence is plain that Mr. Atkinson is not as well versed in the history of Applied Science as he is in cotton statistics. He might find out, if he chose to take the trouble, that the medical discovery which ranks next after Jenner's great boon to suffering humanity was made by a Southerner. Next after vaccination comes *anæsthesia*. A great controversy has been waged as to which one of those rival claimants at the North first produced it; and a monument at Hartford ascribes it to Wells. But Dr. Sims of New York has demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt, that, two years at least before any other had applied nitrous oxide or ether to relieve painful operations, Dr. Long, of Athens, Ga., had first reasoned out the theory, and then proved its correctness. Not long ago physicians from all parts of the land gathered in Lexington, Ky., to do honor to the memory of the great benefactor to mankind who first dared to perform ovariotomy. A few days ago I saw the house in which this great achievement of surgery occurred, and on the marble shaft which commemorates it I read the name of McDOWELL, a Southerner. The next time Mr. Atkinson has occasion to be in New York, it might be well for him to relieve his mind of prejudices by a survey of the "New York Woman's Hospital;" and when he asks whose heart conceived and whose head planned that splendid temple of humanity and art, he will be told that it was Dr. J. Marion Sims, born in "The Waxhaw" county in South Carolina, where "Old Hickory" Jackson first saw the light, — the most famous surgeon in the world perhaps at this time, a discoverer in gynæcology whose name is forever linked with that great department of the healing art. If he will take the trouble to look up these data, he will be far better qualified to write on the topics discussed in his paper.

A word is demanded in reply to Mr. Atkinson's allegation, that "the so-called first families of Virginia resisted the establishment of common schools" (p. 200). This he uses as a support to his more general proposition, that the slaveholding body deliberately strove to limit education to the members of their own class. My friend Professor Shearer, of Clarksville, Tenn., having enjoyed in his youth the liberal provision made by Virginia for the education of deserving young men, kindly furnishes these data: —

"1. The early theory of Jefferson¹ and others was this: Make the university as good as possible, and the spirit of education will permeate the masses, in the end securing for them the highest possible attainments.

¹ Mr. A. is debarred from pleading that Jefferson's opinions were warped by devotion to slavery, inasmuch as he has him down on the record as opposed to it.

"2. The State provided liberally for the university from the start, in 1824 or 1825.

"3. The State provided boarding and tuition for a large number of worthy young men from the beginning, and required them to teach at least two years in the State, as a recognition of the favor.

"4. The State has of late years doubled the appropriations to the university and abolished tuition fees, so far as her young men are concerned.

"5. Virginia had from early times a provision for popular education. A commissioner of schools in every county (without salary) made out a list every year of the children of limited means (who were not paupers). These were invited and encouraged to enter the nearest private or neighborhood school, and the tuition was paid by the State.

"6. Virginians thus maintained the theory that the highest results were to be attained by private enterprise, and that the function of the State was simply to foster and not to manage.

"7. Conservative Virginians since the war have proposed that the public schools should be discontinued temporarily only, and that to avoid the dishonor of repudiation, into which the old State has been urged by a certain party."

How far this is from suppressing information among the masses every one can see at a glance. The results of the Jeffersonian theory of education were, that, in about thirty-five years preceding 1860, Virginia came to have among her white population the largest proportion of college-graduates of any State in the Union, — the largest in fact of any country in Christendom, not even Scotland being excepted. Everybody knows, of course, that numbers of her best men — those who rose to the highest positions in Church and State — came from the class who had received encouragement and pecuniary aid from their noble foster-mother.

In South Carolina a similar system was pursued. Aid was given by the State to all pupils in private schools unable to pay their tuition bills; and in the State college scholarships were given to young men of merit. Such young men were never allowed to miss the opportunity of the best education for want of the money. A few months since, as we rode together, Mr. Justice Haskell, of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, and I were talking of our school days and of the fortunes of our companions, when he made this remark to me: —

"One thing which I remember with most pleasure and pride about the old college is that I have never seen another place so completely free from the control of money or other artificial distinctions. You remember that the student who paid his boarding-bills and tuition by ringing the bell was always selected for his known worth. I never knew one who did not exercise a great influence in college. And do you not recall the fact that it was usual for those who held the free scholarships to become great favorites among the young men of rich parentage? They carried off a large proportion of the honors, and were elected by their fellows to a large number of the positions of honor in their gift."

The remark was perfectly true. As one known to be of limited means myself, I have a grateful recollection of the fact that the South

Carolina College was the purest instance of an ideal democracy that I ever knew. Two qualifications a youth must possess to be received as a citizen: he must be brave, and he must speak the truth. The last was absolutely imperative; and the lad who had been detected in falsehood in his college record was tabooed, ostracized, and compelled to leave. Beyond these limitations, I have no hesitation in saying that the poorer young men were the general favorites, held the highest places in the gift of the students, and were cheered and congratulated on all sides when they bore off the prizes, as they generally did. I can name dozens of the first citizens in South Carolina, — men in the front rank in all departments of life, — who came from this class of educated men. They supplied that "fresh blood" of which Mr. Atkinson imagines the South to have been sadly destitute.

The fact is that Mr. Atkinson's theory of Southern slavery necessarily leads him to belittle the whole nation; and it is not altogether by chance that he pays his respects so promiscuously to all sorts of vile creatures in the North, including the Supreme Court, because of the Dred Scott decision. When our critic once dons the war-paint, he is very far indeed from being "a respecter of persons." He deals out his shoulder-hits as liberally as Pat distributes the caresses of his shillalah after being a little exhilarated by frequent views into the depths of his canteen. Of course, any one can see that his wide-reaching execrations necessarily extend to the conduct of such men as Mr. Webster, for example. In his speech at Niblo's Saloon, in New York, March 15, 1837, Mr. Webster said: —

"Slavery already exists among us. The Constitution found it in the Union: it gave it solemn guaranties. To the full extent of these guaranties we are all bound in honor, in justice, and by the Constitution. All the stipulations contained in the Constitution in favor of the slaveholding States which are already in the Union ought to be fulfilled, — and so far as depends on me shall be fulfilled, — in the fulness of their spirit and to the exactness of their letter. Slavery as it exists in the States is beyond the reach of Congress. It is the concern of the States themselves. They have never submitted to Congress, and Congress has no rightful power over it."¹

In his speech at Buffalo, in 1851, he said: —

"At that time [the formation of the Federal government] slavery existed in the Southern States, entailed upon them in the time of the supremacy of British laws over us. There it was. It was obnoxious to the Middle and Eastern States, and honestly and seriously disliked, as the records of the country will show, by the Southern States themselves. Now, how was it to be dealt with? Were the Northern and Middle States to exclude from the government those States of the South which had produced a Washington, a Laurens, and other distinguished patriots

¹ Works, Boston edition, 1869, i. 356.

who had so truly served and so greatly honored the whole country? Were they to be excluded from the new government because they tolerated the institution of slavery? Your fathers and my fathers did not think so. . . . Their views of humanity led to no such result; and, of course, when the Constitution was framed and established, and adopted by you here in New York, and by New England, it contained an express provision of security to the persons who lived in the Southern States in regard to fugitives who owed them service, — that is to say, it was stipulated that the fugitive from service or labor should be restored to his master or owner if he escaped into a free State. . . . Now these are the words of the Constitution, fellow-citizens, which I have taken the pains to transcribe therefrom, so that he who runs may read: 'NO PERSON HELD TO SERVICE OR LABOR IN ONE STATE, UNDER THE LAWS THEREOF, ESCAPING INTO ANOTHER, SHALL, IN CONSEQUENCE OF ANY LAW OR REGULATION THEREIN, BE DISCHARGED FROM SUCH SERVICE OR LABOR, BUT SHALL BE DELIVERED UP ON CLAIM OF THE PARTY TO WHOM SUCH SERVICE OR LABOR MAY BE DUE.'

"Is there any mistake about that? Is there any forty-shilling attorney here to make a question of it? No. I will not disgrace my profession by supposing such a thing."¹

In his great speech of the 7th of March, 1850, — generally considered the masterpiece of his life, — the same sentiments are found.² He freely admits, — as, indeed, he was bound in all candor to do, — in discussing the moral grounds of slavery, that it was allowed under the Jewish Theocracy,³ and that it was not prohibited, at least directly, in the New Testament.⁴ He speaks of the South in a tone markedly in contrast with that of Mr. Atkinson: ⁵ —

"The South, upon the other side, having been accustomed to this relation between the two races all their lives from their birth, having been taught in general to treat the subjects of this bondage with care and kindness, and I believe, in general, feeling great kindness for them, have not taken the view of the subject which I have mentioned. There are thousands of religious men, with consciences as tender as any of their brethren at the North, who do not see the unlawfulness; and there are more thousands perhaps who, whatsoever they may think of it in its origin, and as a matter depending upon natural right, yet take things as they are, and, finding slavery to be an established relation of the society in which they live, can see no way in which, let their opinions on the abstract question be what they may, it is in the power of the present generation to relieve themselves from this relation. And candor obliges me to say that I believe they are just as conscientious, many of them, and the religious people all of them, as they are at the North who hold different opinions."

Whether Mr. Webster or Mr. Atkinson is to be regarded as nearer to the truth is a question, perhaps, which unprejudiced men will be inclined to settle according to their estimates of the respective abilities and opportunities of the two men. Possibly Mr. Atkinson would not greatly object, should a few lumps of the mud so freely dispensed by him happen to alight on the skirts of the great senator; for it is well

¹ Works, Boston edition, ii. 549, 550.

² Ibid. v. 324 *et seq.*

³ Ibid. v. 329.

⁴ Ibid. v. 330.

⁵ Ibid.

known that the extremists had little reverence for him ; and he, in turn, opposed and exposed what he conceived to be their inconsistencies and follies. He said : —

"In all such disputes there will sometimes be found men with whom everything is absolute, — absolutely wrong or absolutely right. They see the right clearly ; they think others ought so to see it ; and they are disposed to establish a broad line of distinction between what is right and what is wrong. They are not seldom willing to establish that line upon their own convictions of truth and justice, and are ready to mark and guard it by placing along it a series of dogmas, as lines of boundary on the earth's surface are marked by posts and stones. There are men who, with clear perceptions as they think of their own duty, do not see how too eager a pursuit of one duty may involve them in the violation of others, or how too warm an embracement of one truth may lead to the disregard of other truths equally important. As I heard it stated strongly not many days ago, 'These persons are disposed to mount upon some particular duty as upon a war-horse, and to drive furiously on and upon and over all other duties that may stand in the way.'"¹

It may have been, for aught that I know to the contrary, the inconvenience of such sharp thrusts which induced Mr. Atkinson's party, when they got control in Boston, to refuse to allow Mr. Webster to speak in Faneuil Hall ; though they claim — quite sincerely, no doubt — to be the special champions of "personal liberty" and free speech, deeming it very naughty in others to follow their example !

As to the alleged "barbarism of the ante-war period," — reaching not only to the extent, as would seem, of the "rudest tools," an absence of "organized industry," a great scarcity of villages, and even an appalling destitution of "country stores" (which last will remind readers in this region of the old proverb, "Go away from home, if you wish for news"), — I am free to confess the superior inventive genius of our Yankee cousins. It is hardly fair, however, to load us with contempt on that account, inasmuch as the rest of the civilized world confess the same. It would be hard to show that we are inferior to the Germans or French in this respect ; and yet Mr. Atkinson does not remember to give them a moral lecture on the subject. Indeed, so far as agricultural machinery is concerned, the rugged and rolling surface of our uplands, and much more the peculiarities of our chief staple, the cotton plant, do not allow as free use of labor-saving machinery as the more level lands of the Northwest and its small grains. Vast improvements have been introduced at the North since 1860 ; and when it is remembered that the war left the South utterly stripped of capital, it is unfair to taunt us as Mr. Atkinson does, — as usual, in the service of his theory. After all, the South gave to the North the chief inventor of agricultural machinery. Mr. Cyrus McCormick, of Chicago, is a Virginian.

But when it comes to saying that it was a part of our policy to

¹ Works, Boston edition, v. 331, 332.

refuse the exercise of the mechanic arts to slaves, the statement is absurdly false. The acquisition of a mechanical trade, so far from depreciating a slave's value, raised his price at the rate of fifty to one hundred per cent; and, as a consequence, every man who owned a boy of special intelligence was almost sure to apprentice him to a trade. In the village in South Carolina where the writer spent his boyhood, nearly all the mechanics were slaves. They were blacksmiths, house-carpenters, cabinet-makers, mill-wrights, brick-layers, shoe-makers, and tailors. Many of them "hired their own time," paying to their masters a stipulated percentage of their earnings, part of which assured them a home in old age and times of sickness. On their own share many of them lived comfortably, and gratified to the full a darkey's taste for dress. This was the custom throughout the entire South. Mr. Atkinson owes it to truth that he inform himself better before undertaking the rôle of a teacher.

And this brings me to the last point in his ferocious attack upon the South which I care to notice. It is of such a nature that it is not easy to control the indignant protest which rises to one's lips. He deliberately asserts over and over again, as a matter of unquestioned and unquestionable fact, — a fact known to him and to all who choose to know, — that it was the habit of the Southern slave-owner "to breed human live-stock," — to practise the social evil on his own premises, with a view to the enhanced price which might be obtained for "the quadroon daughter of the planter," — for the vilest purpose. His words do not seem to admit of the milder construction, that exceptional cases of such perversion existed; that monsters in human shape might occasionally have been found in the South to deal in a daughter's shame. That is true of a few parents, — monstrosities of iniquity, fiends in human shape, — in all countries. Mr. Atkinson may have heard of something, some one case perhaps (it may possibly be two), which deserved such a name as he gives to many, — to a social system in which it seems to be his intention to include thousands. With far better facilities for knowing than he can claim, I have never heard of any which would bear such a construction. Having diligently inquired among friends of the widest acquaintance, — far wider than Mr. Atkinson's or any foreigner's could possibly be, — I have been assured most positively that they have never known or heard of such a proceeding as he speaks of. Profligate and licentious men were and are in the South, of course, and, like their class in the North or elsewhere, they were ready to use their facilities with such women as fell within their reach. Occasionally a white man became the father of a mixed family, his own slave being the mother. But in following this course he sacrificed the respect of good men, being as much excluded from "good society" thereby as he would have been

for similar offences in the North or in England. But it is the testimony of my friends—and it is also my own observation—that such men generally exhibited traces of natural affection for their offspring. They frequently found means to provide for them by manumission, sometimes by sending them to a free State and having them educated. The monstrous course charged by Mr. A. I have never known; I cannot hear of it, save on his confident assertion. I do not question his belief in it just as he has written it down; for, as to the evils of slavery, he has the faith which removes mountains. He reminds me of a story told by the venerable Dr. Plumer (the scene I think was laid in Brooklyn) of a zealous disciple to whom an infidel put the hard question, as he supposed, "Do you claim to believe that a whale really swallowed Jonah? Don't you know that the gullet of a whale is too small to admit a man's hand, not to say his body?" "Believe it?" said the man of faith, without stopping to refute the erroneous liberty taken with the sacred text by the unwarrantable substitution of "whale" for "great fish,"—"believe it? Yes, I believe it; and if the Bible had said that a *herring* swallowed Jonah, I would believe that just as quick!" Against such faith, in Mr. Atkinson or the Brooklyn brother, the ordinary weapons of logical demonstration are only as chaff before the wind.

I found opportunity recently to communicate the substance of Mr. Atkinson's criticisms to Judge Hiram Warner, — a noble son of Massachusetts, who for about half a century has worn the judicial ermine without spot or smirch. A few months ago, to the great regret of the people of Georgia, he felt impelled to lay aside the office of chief-justice and to retire to the quiet of private life. Blessed old man! In the meek and holy faith which he learned at the knee of his mother in New England, — the faith of his Puritan ancestry, — he awaits the summons to stand before the Judge of all. Fixing his luminous eyes on my face, he said:—

"So far as Mr. Atkinson is concerned, I fear you will waste your words. His fixedness of opinion reminds me of Mr. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, who was in the House of Representatives when I was a member many years ago. He had taken occasion to say some bitter things about slavery in the South; whereupon I proposed that he should pay me a visit at my house in Merriwether County, Ga., in order to see for himself how happy and contented the slaves were. I was greatly amused, and instructed too, by his reply. 'I would not believe it,' he affirmed with great earnestness, 'even if I were to see it with my own eyes!'"

As to the charge that the men of influence at the South were unfriendly to poor young men of merit, and especially when they came from the North, he permits me to write:—

"I am a living refutation of that unjust statement. I came to Georgia a youth of seventeen years, and literally without a dollar (for, suffering shipwreck, I had

but forty-five cents left). Just so soon as I showed will to work, men came forward to take me by the hand, — men of all ranks, the richest as readily as the rest ; and from that hour to the present I have had all the friends that any man could ask. I was sent to the Legislature, — the youngest man in that body ; I was made judge of the Superior Court, — the youngest man on the bench ; and when the Supreme Court was formed, I was elected a justice, though Georgia had many native-born sons who were worthy of the honor and fitted for the duties. The public know very well that I have never been the man to suppress an honest conviction because it did not find favor with others. In my younger days I was perhaps too ready to assert my opinions and to meet opposition with too much energy."

But, discouraging as the task may be, I take occasion to say that Mr. Atkinson is allowing his prepossessions to make him the instrument of an atrocious calumny against his own countrymen. An honest man, as I have ever held him to be, will feel the pain of propagating such a calumny even against his worst foe. To speak so unwarrantably under a delusion — as I hold him to do in this instance — will bring a keen pang to such a man when it is made known to him. Even the bare suspicion that he has been unjust will arouse him to the duty of careful re-examination of all accessible facts ; and in case of error being discovered in the published opinion, truth and charity alike demand that the retraction be made equally public.

The North is indeed, in one aspect of the matter, as deeply interested in the correction of such errors as to slavery in the South as we are ; for only upon the supposition that slavery in America had proved the means of greatly elevating the negroes who came hither from the wilds of Africa the veriest savages, ignorant, superstitious, and filthy, — only upon this supposition can Northern statesmen justify their conduct in conferring the ballot upon five millions of Africans, and thus making them through the ballot-box co-rulers with white men. The only other supposable grounds for such an act are revenge on the prostrate South, or mere party tactics to perpetuate power. The action, then, of the North, if it is to be considered as in any sense enlightened statesmanship, is a vindication of the South from the charge of debasing the African slave. And from this point of view Mr. Lunt, of Boston, is fully sustained in the suggestion that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" — which upon the whole was the most effective attack upon the South, made as it was through the imagination and the emotions, after the manner of Judge Tourgee in later times — is itself to a great extent a vindication of Southern slavery from its own aspersions ; for such a character as Uncle Tom — a civilized man and a noble Christian as he is, so infinitely removed from his barbarian antecedents — stands forth upon Mrs. Stowe's fascinating pages a breathing evidence that slavery in the South has done wonders for the negro.

Among other benefits, there are multitudes of Christians at the

North who will be disposed to rank above all else the fact that so many were hopefully converted to God. Not far from half a million of them were communicants in 1865, when the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect. Upon this basis a great missionary work has been going on since, largely in the hands of Northern Christians ; so that not far from one million and a half are now communicants in various Christian churches ; *and thus more heathen have been Christianized in the South than by all the missionary efforts of the Protestant world elsewhere.* Great imperfections in many of them are, of course, admitted ; but, as Dr. Haygood says in his recent book, "Our Brother in Black," — "he who denies that under all this smoke there is not burning in many hearts the flame of genuine piety knows nothing of what he says." Willing to furnish some hints which, if properly followed out, lead to this conclusion, I submit the testimony which follows. It is from sources already known to Mr. Atkinson as being unimpeachable, — or else he can easily ascertain its trustworthiness if so inclined.

The following extract is taken from a letter written in 1822 by Major-General John A. Quitman to his father in the North. Born in New York, and a resident of the North, General Q. was a man of national reputation, a brave soldier, and an able civilian. Legal business having called him into Mississippi, he became the guest of a Southern planter, and thus wrote his impressions of Southern life, — seemingly not for the public eye at all, but only for his father's entertainment. Mr. Atkinson will find the letter in Mr. Lunt's "Origin of the Late War," page 465 : —

"This excellent lady is not rich, — merely independent ; but, by thrifty housewifery and a good dairy and garden, she contrives to dispense the most liberal hospitality. Her slaves appear to be in a manner free, yet are obedient and polite ; and the farm is well worked. With all her gayety of disposition and fondness for the young, she is truly pious ; and in her own apartments every night she has family prayers with her slaves, one or more of them being often called on to sing and pray. When a minister visits the house (which happens very frequently) prayers night and morning are always said ; and on these occasions the whole household and the guests assemble in the parlor — chairs are provided for the servants. They are married by a clergyman of their own color ; and a sumptuous supper is always prepared. On public holidays they have dinners equal to an Ohio barbecue ; and Christmas, for a week or ten days, is a protracted festival for the blacks. They are a happy, careless, unreflecting, good-natured race, who left to themselves would degenerate into drones or brutes, but subjected to wholesome restraint and stimulus become the best and most contented of laborers. They are strongly attached to 'ole massa' and 'ole missus ;' but their devotion to 'young massa' and 'young missus' amounts to enthusiasm. They have great family pride, and are the most arrant coxcombs and aristocrats in the world. At a wedding I witnessed here last Saturday evening, where some hundred and fifty negroes were assembled, many being invited guests, I heard a number of them addressed as governors, generals, judges, and doctors (the titles of their masters) ; and a spruce, tight-set darkey who waits

on me in town was called 'Major Quitman.' The 'colored ladies' are invariably Miss Joneses, Miss Smiths, or some such title. They are exceedingly pompous and ceremonious; gloved and highly perfumed. The 'gentlemen' sport canes, ruffles, and jewelry, wear boots and spurs, affect crape on their hats, and carry huge cigars. The belles wear gaudy colors, 'tote' their fans with the air of Spanish señoritas, and never stir out, though black as the ace of spades, without their parasols.¹ In short, these 'niggers' are the happiest people I have ever seen; and some of them in form, features, and movements are real sultanas. So far from being fed on 'salted cotton-seed,' as we used to believe in Ohio, they are oily, sleek, bountifully fed, well clothed, well taken care of, and one hears them at all times whistling and singing cheerily at their work.

"They have an extraordinary facility for sleeping. A negro is a great night-walker. He will, after laboring all day in the burning sun, walk ten miles to a frolic, or to see his 'Dinah,' and be at home and at his work by daylight the next morning. This would knock up a white man or an Indian. But a negro will sleep during the day, — sleep at his work, sleep on the carriage-box, sleep standing up; and I have often seen them sitting bareheaded in the sun on a high rail-fence sleeping as securely as though lying in bed. They never lose their equipoise, and will carry their cotton baskets, or their water vessels filled to the brim, poised on their heads, walking carelessly and at a rapid rate without spilling a drop. The very weight of such burdens would crush a white man's brains into apoplexy.

"Compared with the ague-smitten and suffering settlers that you and I have seen in Ohio, or the sickly and starved operatives we read of in factories and in mines, these Southern slaves are indeed to be envied. They are treated with great humanity and kindness."

Another eye-witness can be found in Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston. He embodied the impressions gained by a sojourn of three months at the South, in 1854, in a little volume entitled "The South Side View of Slavery." Mr. Atkinson needs hardly to be told that New England has not in this century given to the Christian ministry a purer heart or a more cultivated mind than his fellow-townsmen. As a scholarly preacher and a devotional writer, of a kindred spirit with Jonathan Edwards himself, Dr. Adams bids fair to live when we are forgotten. A loyal son of New England, he lived the creed of his Puritan ancestry, and died in their blessed faith. On page 9 of his little volume he thus speaks:—

"The last thing I did out of doors before leaving Boston was to sign the remonstrance of the New England clergymen against the extension of slavery into the contemplated territories of Nebraska and Kansas. I had assisted in framing that remonstrance. The last thing which I happened to do, late at night before I began my journey, was to provide something for a freed slave, on his way to Liberia, who was endeavoring to raise several thousand dollars to redeem his wife and children from bondage. My conversations relating to this slave and his family had filled me with new, but by no means strange, distress; and the thought of looking slavery in the face, of seeing the things which had so frequently disturbed my self-possession, was by no means pleasant. To the anticipation of all the afflictive

¹ The General, of course, alludes to occasions when they appear in full dress, and not while at work.

sights which I should behold there was added the old despair of seeing any way of relieving this fearful evil, while the unavailing desire to find it, excited by the actual sight of wrongs and woe, I feared would make my residence at the South painful. . . .

"We had been three days in a Southern steamer, and had sailed by Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and had seen no slave. The sight was yet in reserve. Curiosity, sympathy, pity, the whole assemblage of Northern fancies and feelings which gather together at the mention of a slave, were 'all hands on deck' as we entered the Savannah River. Climate now ceased to be the only object of interest connected with the South. There lay the rice plantations; but where were the slaves? Some feeling of dread was mingled with curiosity. Cowper's lines, learned and declaimed so often in boyhood, came to mind, —

'Oh for a lodge in some dark wilderness!' etc.,

'I would not have a slave to till my ground,' etc., —

with the poet's enumeration of horrors and cruelties. The anticipation of hearing those groans which three millions of our countrymen are represented in our Fourth of July orations, and which I had myself in such an oration many years ago represented, as sending up to heaven day and night, and the clanking of those chains which on such occasions are said to be mingling with John Adams's category of joyful noises forever to usher in the nation's birthday, and the confident expectation of seeing at the landing or in passing through the market-place a figure like the common touching vignette of a naked negro on one knee, with manacled hands raised imploringly, and saying, 'Am I not a man and brother?' had made the thought of reaching the South increasingly painful. . . .

"The steam-tug reached the landing, and the slaves were all about us. One thing immediately surprised me, — they were all in good humor, and some of them in a broad laugh. The delivery of every trunk from the tug to the wharf was the occasion of some hit or repartee, and every burden was borne with a jolly word, grimace, or motion. The lifting of one leg in laughing seemed as natural as a Frenchman's shrug. I asked one of them to place a trunk with a lot of baggage: it was done: up went the hand to the hat, — 'Anything more, please sir?' What a contrast, I involuntarily said to myself, to that troop at the Albany landing on our Western Railroad, and on those piles of boards, and on the roofs of those sheds, and at the piers in New York! I began to like these slaves. I began to laugh with them. It was irresistible. Who could have convinced me an hour before that slaves could have any other effect on me than to make me feel sad? One fellow, in all the hurry and bustle of landing us, could not help relating how, in jumping on board, his boot was caught between two planks, and 'pulled clean off,' and how 'dis ole feller went clean over into de wotter,' with a shout as though it were a merry adventure. One thing seemed clear, — they were not so much cowed down as I expected. Perhaps, however, they were a fortunate set. I rode away expecting soon to have some of my disagreeable anticipations verified. . . .

"A better looking, happier, more courteous set of people I had never seen than those colored men, women, and children whom I met the first few days of my stay in Savannah. It had a singular effect on my spirits. They all seemed glad to see me. I was tempted with some vain feelings, as though they meant to pay me some special respect. It was all the more grateful because for months sickness and death had covered almost everything, even the faces of friends at home, with sadness to my eye, and my spirits had drooped. But to be met and accosted with such extremely civil, benevolent looks, to see so many faces break into pleasant

smiles in going by, made one feel that he was not alone in the world, even in a land of strangers.

"How such unaffected politeness could have been learned under the lash I did not understand. It conflicted with my notions of slavery. I could not have dreamed that these people had been 'down-trodden,' 'their very manhood crushed out of them,' 'the galling yoke of slavery breaking every human feeling and reducing them to the level of brutes.' It was one of the pleasures of taking a walk to be greeted by all my colored friends. I felt that I had taken a whole new race of my fellow-men by the hand. I took care to notice each of them, and to get his full smile and salutation; many a time I would gladly have stopped and paid a good price for a certain 'good morning' courtesy and bow; it was worth more than gold; its charm consisted in its being unbought, unconstrained, for I was an entire stranger. Timidity, a feeling of necessity, the leer of obliged deference, I nowhere saw; but the artless, free, and easy manner which burdened spirits never wear. It was difficult to pass the colored people in the streets without a smile, awakened by the magnetism of their smiles. Let any one at the North afflicted with depression of spirits drop down among these negroes, walk these streets, form a passing acquaintance with some of them, and, unless he is a hopeless case, he will find himself in moods of cheerfulness never awakened surely by the countenances of the whites in any strange place. Involuntary servitude did not present itself to my eye or thoughts during the two weeks which I spent in Savannah, except as I read advertisements in the papers of slaves for sale.

"How the appearance of the colored people in villages and plantation districts would compare with that of city household servants was a question which was reserved for future observation. . . .

"If it be less romantic, it is more instructive, to see the fire department of a Southern city composed of colored men in their company uniforms parading, and in times of service working, with all the enthusiasm of Philadelphia or Boston firemen. Thus it is given to the colored population of some cities and towns of the South to protect the dwellings and stores of the city against fire, — the dwellings and property of men who, as slave-owners, are regarded by many at the North with feelings of commiseration, chiefly from being exposed, as we imagine, to the insurrectionary impulses of an oppressed people. To organize that people into a protective force, to give them the largest liberty at times when general consternation and confusion would afford them the best opportunities to execute seditious and murderous purposes, certainly gave me, as a Northerner, occasion to think that whatever is true theoretically, and whatever also may be practically true, with regard to slavery, the relations and feelings between the white and colored people at the South were not wholly as I had imagined them to be. These two instances of confidence and kindness gave me feelings of affection for the blacks and respect for their masters. Not a word had been said to me about slavery. My eyes taught me that some practical things in the system are wholly different from my anticipations. 'I saw it, and received instruction.' . . .

"To see slaves with broadcloth suits, well-fitting and nicely-ironed fine shirts, polished boots, gloves, umbrellas for sunshades, the best of hats, their young men with their blue coats and bright buttons, in the latest style, white Marseilles vests, white pantaloons, brooches in their shirt-bosoms, gold chains, elegant sticks, and some old men leaning on their ivory and silver-headed staves, as respectable in their attire as any who that day went to the house of God, was more than I was prepared to see. As to that group of them under the trees, had I been unseen, I would have followed my impulse to shake hands with the whole of them as a vent to my pleasure in seeing slaves with all the bearing of respectable, dignified, Chris-

tian gentlemen. As it was, I involuntarily lifted my hat to them, which was responded to by them with such smiles, uncovering of the head, and graceful salutations that, Scribe or Pharisee, I felt that I did love such greetings in the market-places from such people. . . .

"On seeing these men in their Sabbath attire, and feeling toward them as their whole appearance compelled me to do, I understood one thing which before was not explained. I had always noticed that Southerners seldom used the word *slaves* in private conversation. I supposed that it was conscience that made them change the word, as they had also omitted it in the Constitution of the United States. But I was soon unable to use the word myself in conversation, after seeing them in their Sabbath dress, and as my hearers, and in families, their appearance and condition in so great a proportion making the idea connected with the word *slave* incompatible with the impressions received from them. Let no one draw sweeping conclusions from these remarks, but wait till we have together seen and heard other things, and in the mean time only gather from what has been said that our fancies respecting the colored people at the South, as well as their masters, are not all of them probably correct.

"But the colored women in the streets on the Sabbath put my notions respecting the appearance of the slaves to utter discomfiture. . . . You do not see the tawdriness of color, the superfluity of yellow, the violations of taste in the dress of the colored women at the South to the degree which you observe in some other places. One reason, if not the chief, is, — they each have a mistress, a matron, or young lady, to advise and direct them, and to be responsible in the community for their good appearance. . . . The most surprising sight of all, as an evidence of real refinement and good taste, was here and there a simple straw bonnet with a plain white ribbon and a black silk dress. Such is the ordinary appearance of the women in a country town on the Sabbath, — and indeed in the cities Fashion hardly stretches her influence further. Mixed with these specimens of the putting on of apparel are seen, of course, very plain, humble clothing and turbans, and instances of great neglect in dress. It must be observed that these people, men and women, were country people, many of them plantation hands. The difference between them and city slaves was only superficial.

". . . Life on the cotton plantations is, in general, as severe with the colored people as agricultural life at the North. I have spent summers on farms, however, where the owners and their hands excited my sympathy by toils to which the slaves on many plantations are strangers. . . . Some planters allow their hands a certain portion of the soil for their own culture, and give them stated times to work it; some prefer to allow them out of the whole crop a percentage equal to such a distribution of the land; and some do nothing of the sort, — but their hearts are made of the Northern iron and steel. It is the common law, however, with all who regard public opinion at the South, to allow their hands certain privileges and exemptions, — such as a long rest in the middle of the day, early dismissal from the field at night, a half day occasionally, in addition to holidays (for which the colored people of all denominations are much indebted to the Episcopal Church, whose festivals they celebrate with the largest liberty).

"They raise poultry, swine, melons; keep bees, catch fish, peddle brooms and small articles of cabinet-making, and, if they please, lay up the money, or spend it on their wives and children, or waste it for things hurtful, if there are white traders desperate enough to defy the laws made for such cases, and which are apt to be most vigorously executed. Some slaves are owners of bank and railroad shares. A slave woman having had \$300 stolen from her by a white man, her master was questioned in court as to the probability of her having had so

much money. He said that he not unfrequently had borrowed fifty and a hundred dollars of her, and added that she was always very strict as to his promised time of payment.

"... It is sometimes asserted that killing a negro is considered a comparatively light offence at the South. In Georgia it is much safer to kill a white man than a negro; and if either is done in South Carolina, the law is exceedingly apt to be put in force. In Georgia I have witnessed a strong purpose to prevent the murderers of a negro from escaping justice. There can be no doubt that this disposition is on the increase. I was in Columbia, S. C., when the Law Court of Appeals pronounced sentence of death on two young white men for the murder of a negro who had driven them from his garden. Murderers of a white man surely could not have been addressed otherwise than thus by the judge: —

"You must remember with painful emotions the bloody tragedy of that peaceful Sabbath morning in which you were the principal actors.

"With a deadly weapon in your hand and a fatal purpose in your hearts, you went to Shadrack Johnson's humble dwelling, and, in the presence of his imploring wife and weeping children, committed the foul murder which your wicked hearts had conceived.

"It was in vain that you relied upon the evidence of your companions to excuse or to extenuate your offence. Previous threats, the preparation of a deadly weapon, the intention to commit a trespass upon his property, and the execution of your fatal purpose, authorized the jury to say that you are guilty.

"We are prepared to see levity and indiscretion in youth; but great crimes like this are generally the result of evil passions long indulged and of temptations unresisted.

"If in the morning of life you have become habitually reckless by frequent transgression, you must have lived without that moral training which impresses virtuous lessons on the youthful heart, — without that religious instruction which teaches God's commandment, "Thou shalt do no murder," and that if you keep not this law you shall surely die.

"You may flatter yourselves with the hope of a pardon. I am not authorized to say how far the governor may be induced to "temper justice with mercy;" but if this last hope shall fail you, you will be left to a fate more fearful than the death of the body! For such an event and for such a fate I would admonish you to prepare.'

"Not long since two men were convicted of worrying a negro with dogs, and killing him. They were confined in Charleston jail. The people of their own district meditated a rescue; but the governor, without changing the ordinary course of proceeding in such cases, conveyed them under military guard to the district where the murder was committed, and they were executed in sight of their neighbors."

I am permitted to record the substance of a conversation with my venerable friend, L. P. Grant, Esq., of Atlanta, one of the many good men given to the South by New England, — men whose virtues have made it impossible for thinking persons here to be betrayed by ignorance into such misconceptions of our Northern countrymen as Mr. Atkinson exhibits in his published opinions of us. Mr. G. is widely known in the North. The weight to be allowed his statements is easily determined: —

Q. — You were, I believe, born and reared in New England ?

A. — Yes, in Frankfort, Me. ; and I came South, in 1840, in my early manhood, finding employment in my profession at once, and growing up as I may say with the railroad system of the South.

Q. — You have read Mr. Atkinson's article in the 'International Review' ?

A. — I made the attempt, but could not finish. The writer showed himself to be so ignorant of the whole subject, so full of prejudice, and his language was so painfully harsh, that I could not bear to read it all.

Q. — You have for the past forty years had an extensive acquaintance with the labor system of the South as it existed in various States, — probably no man living has a more complete knowledge of it ?

A. — Yes, I suppose there is no presumption in admitting that probably no living man has a more complete and thorough acquaintance with it, before and since the war. My business as civil engineer and railroad builder necessarily brought me in the closest contact with it. I have at various times had thousands of slaves at work upon lines of railway, and I have seen multitudes of them at work for their masters in the fields through which I was engaged in building railways. I have necessarily been brought into close contact with all sorts of men ; and there is scarcely a phase of Southern life, especially as it existed in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, that has not passed under my eye.

Q. — What is your candid judgment as to the treatment of slaves by their masters and by the people of the South ?

A. — Unquestionably in the main it was kind and humane. Exceptional cases of severity and unkindness I have met ; but such men were always frowned upon by an indignant public sentiment. I have known instances in which the laws found on the statute-books, I believe, of all the States were enforced against the cruel taskmaster. The name of one such man occurs to me just now, whom I saw the other day. He was working out a contract on one of the roads with which I was connected in Southern Mississippi, where I suppose Mr. Atkinson would least expect such a public sentiment. But this man was harsh in his dealings with the slaves working in his employ, and he was warned to change his conduct or abide consequences which would be serious to himself. He had to yield.

"The condition of slaves who were largely employed before the war in the construction and repair of railroad track was not up to the average of their condition on the plantations, because of their separation from their families and the greater exposure incident to their migratory habits. But it was just about the same in this respect as that of hired laborers on railroads at the North. Only the slaves were better controlled, and there was far less drinking among them.

Q. — What do you think of the general condition of negro slaves in the South as compared with agricultural laborers elsewhere ?

A. — Slavery had its advantages and its disadvantages. The slave of course lacked the stimulus to high endeavor which the rewards of industry and ability offer to the free laborer. But, on the contrary, slaves as a class were exempt from the extremes of poverty and want to which the free laborer all the world over is liable, partly from disease, partly from vice, partly from want of sufficient foresight.

Q. — Did you ever discover any tendency among masters to practise such immorality as Mr. Atkinson asserts, with a view to obtaining higher prices for the offspring, that they in turn might be used for the vilest purposes ?

A. — Never in my life ! Nor was such a thing possible to any appreciable extent. I have occasionally seen women offered for sale when it seemed fair to infer that their personal attractions were taken into consideration by the parties. But a deliberate purpose to rear female offspring for the market and for the purpose

named is a depth of depravity that I never dreamed of. If such things had been done to any appreciable extent I should certainly have heard of it. But I have no hesitation in denying the possibility of anything like it. The moral sense of the Southern people would not have tolerated the thought of it, much less the reality. To assert it as a recognized custom is to calumniate the South most grossly.

"Q. — Did you meet with suspicion or unkindness in the South because of your Northern birth ?

"A. — Far, far from it. I have been met everywhere and by all classes with open-hearted confidence. In the forty years of my residence I cannot recall an incivility that was ever offered to me on that ground. Nor have I ever known a case of a man from the North being ostracized unless for such causes as would have excluded him from social privileges at the North or anywhere else. The people of the South have never been suspicious or vindictive ; it is not their nature to be so. For myself I can say that it has ever been and is now matter for surprise to me how they have honored and confided in me. They have always rated me beyond my deserts."

I append a note from Sidney Root, Esq., who in a few days visits Canada in the interests of the Cotton Exposition. He was selected to preside at the meeting addressed by Mr. Atkinson in October last. Mr. A. has every opportunity to know whether he is a competent and trustworthy witness. Extensively acquainted with men and customs in all parts of the United States and in Europe, where he has had rare opportunities for observation, Mr. Root finds himself able to blend the love of his native New England with that of his adopted home, the South. Loving all good men, it is his happiness to be loved by all who know him. Mr. Root authorizes me to add his emphatic protest against Mr. Atkinson's charge that Southern men bred up their own offspring to be sold into a life of sin and shame. Such brutality, he declares, was never heard of in the large area of the South which is known to him by personal observation. An isolated instance may have occurred, as similar perversions of parental instinct occur elsewhere, but not more frequently.

ATLANTA, June 4, 1881.

MY DEAR DOCTOR BOGGS, — I am obliged for your courteous favor of the 2d. Before receiving it, however, I had, with much surprise and regret, read the article of Mr. Atkinson in the March "International." I am surprised that so intelligent a man as Mr. Atkinson can believe the statements he makes, and I am sorry that at this time he finds it necessary to write as he does. Undoubtedly the writer is sincere and wants to do good, but the full information required for an understanding of his subject is in this article conspicuously absent.

Time is denied me to examine and refute in detail these singular assertions ; indeed, in this age of the world it ought to be unnecessary. True, many things remain to be done before the millennium dawns ; but in pressing forward the work of improvement, it is surely unnecessary to blacken the record of an honorable past : fidelity to the Fifth Commandment requires this much of us. In reply to your note I trust you will pardon me for writing somewhat freely, and for referring to my own experience. Born of good Puritan stock in Massachusetts, educated in Vermont, and having had a good deal of experience in America and England, I ought

by this time to know something of the world. When I left the excellent schools of New England, I supposed myself to be informed on nearly every subject. In the "irrepressible conflict" I felt sure the North was right and the South wrong. After years of life and observation I find I have learned many things,—as, for instance, that prejudice is not knowledge, and that human nature is about the same the world over. Coming to Georgia with crude but very decided opinions, I found myself received with entire cordiality. I resided many years in one of the largest planting districts of the State, and found many Northern people among the planters or engaged in mercantile business, one of whom represented the county for several years in the State Senate. The kindly attentions extended to Northern immigrants of character gave me the impression that they were considered somewhat in the light of guests, and treated accordingly.

In our not infrequent and often warm discussions I fail to recall any improper opposition to the free and full expression of opinion. Courtesy and respect commanded courtesy and respect. During the war I freely advocated gradual emancipation, and had the sympathy and support of many good men,—as the late Judge Wellborn, General R. E. Lee, the Confederate Commissioners Mason and Slidell, and others.

I trust the time will never come when I shall forfeit my best heritage—self-respect—by failing to remember with pride that I am a son of New England; but I should be false to my instincts if I acquiesced in unjust aspersions of the Southern ancestry of my children, who were among the gentlest and most lovable people I ever knew. In all candor I am free to say that I think the average of civilization in the South, as manifested by private and public virtue, social courtesy, commercial integrity, and faith in God and the Bible, is as high as I have found elsewhere. There was certainly wide room for improvement in the morals of the people both North and South; I cannot think, however, that the tone of morality was lower in the South than in the North. Vice took a different form and was manifested in a different way, but the average was about the same. In matters of religion, I believe the Southern Christians were warmer in devotion, sincerer in conviction, stronger in faith, and less given to *isms* than their brethren of the North.

In regard to the treatment of slaves in the old South, I admit that every incident related in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" may have occurred, and such things as Mr. Atkinson relates may have been true, though he was probably misinformed about the coarse and profane language attributed to Mr. Preston of South Carolina; but no incidents like those described came under my notice. I can easily believe that it may be necessary to whip bad people, white and black; but I never saw one whipped. The only blood-hounds I ever saw were at the North; and I doubt if in former times any could be found in the South, unless possibly those brought to Florida by the Government for use in the Seminole War.

Interest and instinct were alike opposed to the practice of the revolting barbarities mentioned. Violence and brutality there certainly was, but as a rule the treatment of slaves was considerate and humane. There must be now living in Georgia several thousand respectable men who have served on the grand juries of the State, to any one of whom I appeal as to whether they have known of an instance of cruelty to slaves, of failure to supply proper food or clothing, when adequate proof was furnished, that a bill of indictment did not follow! I remember few masters who objected to the enjoyment of customary holidays by their servants, or their free attendance upon divine service. In many instances masters built chapels and employed preachers when no church was in the neighborhood, and not unfrequently servants were collected on Sunday and instructed in the Bible by the master and his family. Indeed I have known many families where the household

servants were expected regularly to attend family worship. Much immorality undoubtedly existed ; but I know of no public sentiment which tolerated miscegenation or justified marital infidelity. It is of record that no case of divorce was known in South Carolina until after the war.

The evils of slavery — probably more damaging to white than to black — are freely admitted ; it is gone, and no one — "Bourbon" or otherwise — wants it restored. Amidst the wreck of a horrible war we are building up as best we may our new South. I think the good people of the North who know us will give us credit for a manly endeavor and a fair measure of success. But have we been just to the free colored people ? I do not say that all has been done for them that might have been done, but I do say that much more has been done than could have been expected. The State of Georgia supports a noble university for the colored people, and furnishes free education to 86,000 colored people. There lies before me a paper signed by forty of our best people, — including the Governor, four ex-governors, two bishops, several clergymen, the judges of the U. S. and State Courts, the municipality of Atlanta and others, — cordially endorsing our successful "Abyssinian Library" for the colored people. Of the "shot-gun policy" in the South I know nothing. I see no motive for it. My observation leads me to think that the colored man votes rather more freely than the white man. Immigration is almost universally desired in the South, — the universal Yankee who comes to aid in developing our magnificent resources being preferred ; but honest people, come from whence they may, will be entirely at home with us, and be as free to enjoy and express their opinions as they would be in Boston.

I can hardly suppose that Mr. Atkinson in his article intended to frame an indictment against a whole people ; I trust he is too much of a gentleman for that. And it would be equally indelicate for us to charge that there could have been no free speech in New England because Daniel Webster was once denied a hearing in Faneuil Hall, or to say now that the Northern people are assassins and free lovers because short-haired lunatics meet in New York and Chicago and rejoice over the murder of the emancipator of 25,000,000 serfs, or long-haired lunatics meet on the shore of Lake Pleasant, Mass., and solemnly resolve that marriage is slavery and must be abolished. There are people in the South, few I trust, who believe the Northern people are communists, infidels, slaves of capital, free lovers, abortionists ! You and I know better. It must be our purpose to encourage the good people of the South and North to become acquainted with each other, and I think they will like each other better.

Many things are annoying and discouraging, but it remains for us to go forward in the fear of God in the course we have marked out ; to treat the colored people justly, patiently, liberally ; to encourage the immigration of all respectable people ; to stimulate in a broad way the development of our physical resources ; to promote temperance, industry, and religion, and nought extenuate and nought set down in malice ; to cherish fraternal feelings for all our countrymen, and love for all our country !

I pray you to pardon this garrulous pen of mine, — it has run away with me.

Sincerely yours,

SIDNEY ROOT.

I shall introduce one more witness, — my friend and near neighbor, Rev. J. L. Rogers. A native of the North, he came as so many good and true men have done to make his home among us. Mr. Rogers has not been forgotten in his native country, for I had the pleasure of bearing kind messages from some of them to him not long since. Mr.

Atkinson can readily find out all that may be needed as to his trustworthiness; his opportunities for knowing the facts have been practically unlimited.

I may say in this connection that one reason why prejudices and errors have not been able to control the South permanently, as at the North, is found in the fact that such numbers of good Northern men have been constantly coming from the more densely populated regions to settle here. A friend has just called my attention to the fact that the towns and villages of the South are largely occupied by men of Northern birth and their immediate descendants. They have freely shared with the natives all offices of trust in Church and State. Knowing these men, we had no opportunity to imagine such horrible things about their kindred at the North. Another potent cause to alleviate prejudice has been the number of Southern youth who have been educated in the North, wholly or in part. The extent of this custom would hardly be surmised. As a simple illustration, I might be permitted to say that my father, my father-in-law, and five brothers-in-law, besides many near kindred, were so educated. And then many Southerners have been accustomed to seek relief from summer heat by visits to the North. This better knowledge on their part has plainly tended to prevent such bitterness as is frequently shown on the other side. A partisan press has indeed said hard things here as elsewhere. But the hatred and prejudice has never seemed to me to be so deeply seated in the average man's heart.

ATLANTA, March 31, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR.—In response to your inquiries as to my recollections of the state of society in Georgia prior to the war, I would say that my first acquaintance with Southern society was in the fall of 1846, when I came to Liberty County. Everything was of course novel and strange to me. The face of the country, in striking contrast with that which I had just left, was flat, monotonous, and altogether lacking in that variety and beauty presented by the alternating hills and valleys of Western Pennsylvania. The contrast in the climate also struck me very forcibly. Instead of the bleak, chilly autumnal winds which I had felt but a few days before, the warm, balmy atmosphere was so charming as to make me forget the monotony of the scenery; and the unaffected, sincere, and hearty welcome I met made me feel at once that I was among friends. Never have I met a people whose hospitality was more generous and sincere. I was thrown among a community of planters, far off from city influences. They were not generally men of large estates, but of moderate means, yet possessing enough to secure to almost every one the means of a liberal education and the enjoyment of ease and comfort in their homes. Unlike most communities, liberal education was the *rule* rather than the *exception*. And the moral status was not below the intellectual. The religious element so predominated as to rule and give tone to the whole society. The Presbyterian Church was the predominating one, and in fact it was emphatically a Presbyterian community. I frequently heard the remark, which I have no doubt was true, that at that time there was no other county in the United States of the same population that had given to the world half so many

ministers of the gospel. The intelligence, piety, and refinement of the people were such as to constitute a most charming state of society. And nowhere was social life enjoyed more purely or perfectly. The social gatherings so frequent at that day were characterized by that perfect ease of manners, delicate yet free intercourse, that nothing but the highest culture and truest refinement bestows. If civilization is to be estimated by the intelligence, virtue, and refined culture of the people, then there existed in that community the highest type of civilization.

During the two years spent in the county I had abundant opportunity to study the character and condition of the negro population. As a class they were contented and happy, well cared for and humanely treated. Cruelty to the negro was a stigma upon a man's character. There may have been cruel masters in the county, but I did not find them. There was in an adjoining county a man of wealth who was known to be a tyrant and to treat his negroes cruelly; on this account he lost caste, and was utterly ostracized by the better class of society. He was neither visited by them nor received in their families. In few countries has more attention been given to the religious instruction of the laboring classes than was bestowed upon the negroes of that county. The Rev. C. C. Jones, D.D., a distinguished Presbyterian divine, and one of the noblest philanthropists of his age, freely devoted the greater part of his active and laborious life to their instruction. At the same time there was a Baptist minister, Rev. Josiah Law, who with a like spirit of Christian philanthropy devoted his time to their instruction.

It had been the common impression in the North that the slaves were greatly oppressed by overwork. I found as a matter of fact, in that section at least, that whilst they did work by *tasks*, yet such were the tasks assigned them that it was a common thing for the more industrious hands to finish their day's work by 3 o'clock in the afternoon. I often saw them returning leisurely from their work before my own labors for the day were completed. How far this picture would apply to other portions of the South at that time I do not say. I can only say it is a true picture of Southern society as I first saw it, and as far as I had the opportunity of observing. For the past thirty years I have had an extended acquaintance with the Southern people, having lived among them in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, and everywhere have found them intelligent, kind-hearted, courteous, and refined to the highest degree, — certainly not excelled in these social virtues by the people of any country.

There has been much said of late years about the ostracism of Northern people. I freely admit that it has existed and does yet exist under certain circumstances. Unfortunately the North has been very often represented in the South by a class of men who had no recognition in good society among their own people, — men of low origin, rude manners, and corrupt principles, mere adventurers, who came to seek personal gain by any means, however disreputable or dishonest. While there were many honorable exceptions to this rule, yet so numerous was the class referred to, and so prominent and meddlesome were they in the social and political institutions of the communities in which they lived, that it is not at all strange that strong prejudices should have been engendered against them, and in the minds of many against the people of whom they were the accepted type and representatives. For all this class there was no place in the social circle, nor is there yet. Nor would there be in Northern society for such characters going into their midst from the South or anywhere else.

It is a fact susceptible of easy demonstration that the cry of ostracism comes almost exclusively from this class of people.

There are to-day many Northern gentlemen throughout the South occupying high positions in the pulpit, at the bar, in railroad and other companies, from whom

no complaint of ostracism has ever been heard, — simply because they were gentlemen at *home* and are gentlemen here, and are recognized and treated as such by the Southern people without any reference to the place of their nativity.

The whole truth on this matter of ostracism can be uttered in a word, — it is the result of personal *character and conduct*, and not dependent upon the place of a man's birth.

Very truly yours,

REV. WM. E. BOGGS.

J. L. ROGERS.

Mr. Lunt gives a singular confirmation to this vindication of the Southern planters from the atrocious charge of a horrible blending of greed and lust in their relations to their female slaves. It would be taxing our critic too much, I know, to suggest that Mr. Lunt's able discussion might be good reading for him. But at page 175 he says: "When the troops of the United States took possession of St. Helena, Port Royal, and finally of Beaufort in South Carolina, early in the war, Northern chaplains wrote home letters, which were published, expressing their surprise that they saw no mulattoes or children of mixed races in that quarter. The statement was grudgingly received by many who had held the idea of widely prevalent licentiousness in the Southern States." Now it is respectfully submitted that Mr. Atkinson can readily look up these letters in the files of Northern newspapers. He will find upon examination that criminal relations between the races existed for the most part in the towns and villages where loose characters are apt to be found, — where facilities were given to men other than the masters of the slaves so corrupted. No one wishes to deny the fact that the South holds its share of unprincipled men; but it remains to be proved that the sin of unchastity is more prevalent here than at the North. Facilities are afforded almost *ad libitum* by the relations in shops and manufacturing establishments there. I presume Mr. Atkinson will not deny that the facilities are used. Probably in no part of Christendom is the marriage tie held in higher repute than in the South. As to South Carolina, the record shows that the first divorce in that State was decreed by a judge of the Reconstruction period. So long as the government remained in the hands of the people who founded it, the law would not sanction a separation at all. And Mr. Lunt only speaks the truth when he suggests that the high-spirited dames of the South were not apt to submit meekly to a flagrant and shameless violation of their rights.

Mr. Atkinson's criticisms have led me into a prolonged discussion. My justification lies not only in the importance of the matters in dispute, but in the fact that he dealt in his paper for the most part in assertions concerning his own convictions. I have been compelled to submit ample proofs addressed to such as might not have other means of seeing our side. I am very far from asserting that we are all that

we should be. Slavery had its evils, growing, as I am bound to believe, not out of any inherent wrong in the relation itself, but out of the weaknesses of human nature. There are sad evils to be met and overcome by Christian humanity now, both at the North and at the South. Over against the gross ignorance of large elements of our population, white and black, may be set the great masses of the depraved and brutal gathered in Northern cities, the growing alienations between capitalists and laborers, and in New England itself the frightful statistics as to divorce and suppression of offspring to which attention has been called by Dr. Allen of Lowell, Mr. Dyke in his Tremont Temple lecture of January 26, and others equally able and equally conscientious. The statement has gone the rounds of the public prints, uncontradicted so far as I can learn, that these terrible evils have wrung from as gifted and devoted a son of New England as Professor Phelps, of Andover, the cry that domestic morality around him seems as low as it could be in Utah. It is needless to argue which set of evils is the greater. We perhaps may be considered as choosing, — each for himself, — by remaining where we are. But there is enough evil in either locality to keep us all humble, if we attend to our own duties. Surely the day has passed when mutual denunciations are in order. We of the South honor the honest convictions of the men who resisted our effort to set up a government of our own. We accept fully the legitimate results of our defeat. We have taken our places in the Union with an honest purpose to do our whole duty. The trial has been sufficiently severe without the gratuitous abuse which has been sometimes heaped upon us. Indeed there is fully as much need of a new North as of a new South. Nor are there wanting cheering indications of a consummation so devoutly to be desired. The ungracious epithets which have been so long hurled at our representatives in the national Congress seem no longer to be considered quite such effective weapons as they once were. The tone of the public journals is manifestly changing, as the new North grows weary of the old song. Not long since a military corps made up of young gentlemen who are Mr. Atkinson's neighbors were in New Orleans witnessing the pageant of Mardi Gras. Among other places visited by them was the Confederate Monument. The good spirit of the new North prompted them to join hands around the sad token of defeated valor, while they sung that exquisite hymn, —

"Nearer, my God, to thee."

The Wars of the Roses no longer stir partisan feelings in old England. Southron and Scot have for generations felt the same pride and the same pity as they read the immortal ballad of "Chevy Chase." And so the time is coming when the Blue and the Gray will blend in

harmony. The story of their conflict and of the bitter misunderstandings which led to it will be only another chapter in the philosophy of human nature. Accepting in good faith our defeat, honoring the sincere convictions of our late antagonists, working and praying for the good of the whole country, we of the South dare to abide the verdict of history as we reverently await the solemn decisions of the Last Day. We may have served our cause with abundant traces of human error, but of the justice of that cause we need have no doubt. If the men of the first Revolution were justifiable in separating from the mother country by force of arms, then was the South right, we humbly submit, in resuming the powers delegated by the original States to the Federal Government. Our fathers succeeded in their endeavor, and wear the wreath of victory. We failed like Poland, and like Poland have been loaded with opprobrium.

WM. E. BOGGS.

THE PLAYS OF M. OCTAVE FEUILLET.

AMONG the foremost of the French dealers in forbidden fruit, canned for export and domestic use, is M. Octave Feuillet, whose wares are well known to the public. His novels are the fine flower of the Byzantine literature of the second empire; they have been freely translated and widely read in this country. The "Romance of a Poor Young Man" has the choice distinction of being one of the few French novels harmless enough for perusal in young ladies' boarding-schools. The drama which M. Feuillet made from this novel, and of which a broadened and vulgarized version has been acted in America by Lester Wallack, is equally familiar. Two other of his plays — the "Tentation" (skilfully transmuted by Mr. Boucicault into "Led Astray") and the "Sphinx" — have been frequently shown to American play-goers. But the novels which have been translated into English, and the plays which have been acted in America are only a part of M. Feuillet's work, and they are not sufficient to give a fair idea of his qualities or his career.

Born in 1812, M. Octave Feuillet began to be known toward the end of the first half of the century as one of the assistants and imitators of Alexandre Dumas the elder, then in the full splendor of his most prodigal production. Just what share M. Feuillet may have had in any of the countless tales of his master it is impossible to say, nor how many bricks he may have made for the marvellous palace of "Monte Cristo." With M. Paul Bocage, another of Dumas's disci-

ples, M. Feuillel wrote a novel or two and several dramas, — including “Echec et Mat” (1846), “Palma, ou la nuit du Vendredi-Saint” (1847), and the “Vieillesse de Richelieu” (1848). These plays are rather ponderous dramas of the Dumas type, made on the model of “Angèle,” “Thérèse,” and “Richard Darlington.” Although commonplace and conventional, they are not without a certain cleverness; but they made no mark, and they have nothing salient or individual about them, and so call for no comment here. In these juvenile writings M. Feuillel was but feeling his way. Failing to find success, he abruptly changed front, and, ceasing to follow Dumas, he began to walk in the footsteps of Alfred de Musset. After the failure of one of his earliest plays, Musset had given up writing for the stage, while steadily putting forth pieces in dramatic form for the readers of the “Revue des Deux Mondes;” but without his knowledge certain of these plays were acted at the French theatre in St. Petersburg, and when the actress who had caused their performance returned from Russia to the Théâtre Français she brought Musset’s comedies with her. So, just about the time when M. Feuillel left off collaborating with M. Bocage, and began to look around for himself, Musset was having a series of unlooked-for successes on the stage. M. Feuillel came forward with comedies modelled on Musset’s, but different from these in one important particular: Musset’s heroes and heroines were a law unto themselves, — as much as to say that their loves not seldom were lawless. Now, M. Feuillel’s pair of lovers had been duly married by the mayor.

Here occasion serves to remark on the meagreness of subject to be found in nearly all French fiction nowadays, — in the novel as well as in the drama. The inexhaustible fertility and ingenuity of the French literary workmen may hide for a while the thinness of the theme which they have wrought; but sooner or later, in spite of all variety of enamel and all eccentricity of form, by which the cunning artificers seek to distract attention, we detect the poverty and scantiness of the material they are working. Just as most contemporary English fiction ends with the wedding bells, so most contemporary French fiction rings the changes on the one tune, — lawless love. Business, said Robert Macaire, is other people’s money; marriage, says most modern French fiction, is other people’s wives. To discuss why there is this tacit confession of a dearth of other subjects fit for fiction would take us too long and too far from the present text; but that the scarcity exists, even in the plays of the best French dramatists of our time, is beyond doubt. Of the dozen dramas of M. Alexandre Dumas *filz*, all, with perhaps a single exception, turn on adultery or illegitimacy; and one or the other of these subjects furnish forth half of M. Augier’s score or more of fine plays, and perhaps two thirds of

M. Sardou's clever catchpennies. It is not that these plays are all immoral, — on the contrary, M. Dumas nowadays always writes with a conscious moral aim, though it must be admitted his morality has a queer twist of its own ; M. Augier's manly comedies have the morality inherent in all healthy works ; and even M. Sardou affronts the proprieties far less than one might suppose. Still the fact remains that the majority of the dramas of these, the first three dramatists of our day, turn on the illicit relation of the sexes, as though that were the only theme capable and worthy of effective dramatic treatment. Of course, there are other themes. Pure love has its dramatic possibilities as well as impure love ; and love is only one of the passions. Though popular will demands that it enter into every play, it may be made subordinate to the development of any one of the other passions. Few of Shakspeare's plots spring from illicit love, or have anything to do with it. In the best English novels of this century we find absorbing interest and ample psychologic revelation, with the slightest, perhaps even a too slight, attention to the theme which is the staple of corresponding French fiction. Scott, Thackeray, George Eliot, and Hawthorne have used unlawful passion, but in proportion only, and not to the neglect of the other motives which move mankind. French feeling differs from ours ; and perhaps the playwrights merely dwell to excess on a topic to which their countrymen in general give an exaggerated attention. There is a curious passage in one of the later writings of M. Dumas, in which he discusses marital misfortune, and tells us that every man thinks of it constantly, laughing at his neighbor, and fearing for himself. The American husband (and the English husband also) does not devote his days and nights to speculations about his wife's fidelity.

To the French public, thus familiar with the most highflown and the least lawful passion, M. Feuillet gave a new thing : he offered it the old and ever-welcome exhibition of amorous adventure, dexterously veiled by a pretence of morality. French morality is at times rather humorous ; and in one of its freaks it chose to accept M. Feuillet's pseudo-delicacy and ultra-refinement, and to close its eyes to the falsity of his ethics. The public was tired of the stormy souls in irregular situations, seen in the stories of Hugo, Dumas, George Sand, Merimée, and Musset, and it was ready for a novelty. M. Feuillet took Musset for his model, turning his morality inside out. Musset's morality was easy, to say the least ; and M. Feuillet's was pretentiously paraded. His tender and glowing interiors were certified to contain only a duly married couple. Instead of the trio, — husband, wife, and lover, — almost universal in French literature, there was only a duo, in which the husband committed adultery with his own wife. It was an attempt to graft the roses and rap-

tures of vice on the lilies and languors of virtue. By giving conjugal endearments the externals of criminal passion, M. Feuillet managed to lower marriage to the level of vulgar gallantry, and to make the reconciliation of husband and wife as interesting as the chance intrigues of a courtesan. In these boudoir dramas he outraged the sacred secrecy of wedded life ; but so clever was his affectation of propriety that many respectable people did not look beneath the surface, and took him at his word. Then there were those who, having preached against the wickedness of the world, could not denounce so ingenious a writer when he declared himself their ally. Again, yet another class was pleased by these new plays, — the pretentious prudes ; for there are *précieuses ridicules* now as well as two hundred years ago, though there is no Molière to put them in the pillory. Fairness requires us to admit that perhaps the author was more sincere then than we now judge from a study of his work ; and if he believed in himself, why should not others believe in him ? Even those who detested him were not always sharp enough to see the underlying immodesty. One of these scoffingly nicknamed him the family Musset, — the “Musset des Familles,” — a slanting allusion to an eminently proper periodical publication called the “Musée des Familles.” But he failed to blind so keen an observer as Sainte-Beuve, as any one can see who reads the perfidious compliments, scattered through the study of M. Feuillet’s work, with which the great critic greeted “Sibylle” (a Roman Catholic *Tendenz-Roman*), — a “novel with a purpose,” written at the request of the devout and frivolous Empress, and published in 1863.

M. Feuillet followed in Musset’s footsteps, not only in the form of his new ventures, but also in the mode of putting them before the public. They appeared first in the “Revue des Deux Mondes,” and then in volumes called “Scènes et Comédies” and “Scènes et Proverbes ;” and, like Musset again, it was some little time before the plays thus printed and published were brought out at a regular play-house. Although there is everywhere in M. Feuillet’s work an odor of tuberoses, sweet and stifling, a few of these earlier little comedies are not open to the objection I have just urged ; and in such unpretentious and simple plays, as pretty as they are petty, M. Feuillet shows at his best. The “Village” is a touching little sketch of country life. The “Fée” is an amusing attempt to import some of the quaint mystery of fairy folk-lore into this matter-of-fact nineteenth century. The “Urne” is a lively reproduction (*pastiche* is the French word) of the comedy of Marivaux and his fellows. M. Feuillet has a distinct sense of the comedy of situation, and is not lacking in Gallic lightness, although his humor has no depth and his wit no edge. In all these little plays he appears to advantage ; he can handle two or three characters in the compass of a single act without

overstraining his powers. Even the "Cheveu Blanc," — a fine specimen of his new style of tickling the jaded palate of Parisians by a highly spiced dish, served with an insipid and enveloping moral sauce, — is more tolerable, because shorter, than his later and more ambitious attempts. Elegant trifling, grace, ease, and emptiness, and fine, unsubstantial talk about egotism, selfishness, and honor, — these are the characteristics of the "Scènes et Comédies ;" and it is in these that M. Feuillel excels.

The three more important plays of this period of M. Feuillel's career are the "Crise," "Dalila," and "Redemption," all of which passed through the "Revue des Deux Mondes" on their way to the stage, — the "Crise," for one, waiting from 1848, when it appeared in the magazine, until 1854 before it got itself acted in the theatre. Seriously considered, "Redemption" is an absurd play, puerile, or at least boyish, in motive and feeble even in construction ; for the prologue is useless, and the scenes are disjointed. "Dalila" is better and stronger in itself, and besides it is free from the childish endeavor to grapple with tiny hands at mighty problems which vex men's souls. In "Carnioli," too, there is a character of force and freshness. Of these three plays, however, the "Crise" is first in interest as it was in point of time. It is the earliest of the dramas in which M. Feuillel posed as the analyst of the feminine character, and as one who had spied out all its secrets and had a balm for all its wounds. The crisis from which the play takes its title is that eventful moment in life when, according to our author, even the most honest and worthy woman, having aforetime led a reputable and humdrum life, all of a sudden has a mad desire to go to the devil headlong : it is an alleged culminating point of the feminine curiosity of knowledge of good and evil. There are plays which criticise themselves : when the story is once told, no comment is called for. The "Crise" is one of these. In the four acts there are but three characters (save a servant or two) ; and these three characters are the eternal trio of French fiction, — husband, wife, and lover. For ten years the husband and the wife have lived happily together. To his oldest and best friend, who is also the family physician, the husband confides that of late his wife has changed ; she could not be in better health physically, but she is now, against her wont, at times restless, or irritable, or sentimental, or what not, as the whim seizes her. The doctor explains that this is the crisis in her life, — the epoch of maturity in woman, — when she longs for a bite of forbidden fruit. The husband asks for a prescription. The doctor explains that the only cure for this strange taste is for the husband to find a devoted friend who will lead the wife to the brink of the abyss, and when she shrinks back in horror she will long no more for the apples on the other side of the chasm. The husband

instantly beseeches the doctor to try this experiment on his wife, and the friend reluctantly (but off-hand) consents to pretend to be the lover. Husband and lover then draw up a code, under which the lover is, if possible, to seduce the wife, — pausing before any damage is done, so that the wife may be cured by an awful warning and a narrow escape. Time passes, and the lover makes headway. The husband finds his wife's private journal and brings it to the lover, and the two men read it together to see how the wife feels. In all this playing with fire the lover and the wife kindle a flame in their own hearts. At last a guilty appointment is made. Morally, at least, the sin is committed. Just in time the husband intervenes, and, talking in parables, threatens to deprive the wife of her children should she sin. This restless and sentimental woman, be it known, has two children. So effective are these parables of the husband's that the new love fades out of the wife's heart, and she falls on her husband's neck; and then the curtain falls also, leaving in doubt the fate of the unfortunate lover.

In 1858 M. Feuillel turned his novel, the "Romance of a Poor Young Man," into a play; and, for sufficiently obvious reasons, it is the most wholesome of his later dramas. The scene is skilfully chosen, the characters are sharply contrasted, and a dextrous use is made of our love for the heroic and self-sacrificing; so we see the play with pleasure in spite of its quick-tempered and disagreeable young woman, its high-toned and hot-headed young man, its preposterous old pirate, and its atmosphere of effeminate sentimentality. Two years later it was followed by the "Tentation," the first comedy which M. Feuillel had written directly for acting and not for reading; and its simpler and closer structure shows the benefit of the experience gained in transferring its predecessors from the pages of a magazine to the boards of a theatre. There is no need to dwell on the "Tentation," as it is as familiar to American audiences as the "Romance of a Poor Young Man," — Mr. Dion Boucicault having turned it into "Led Astray." Nothing better shows Mr. Boucicault's skill and knowledge of the temper of our play-going public than the tact and taste with which he changed the relationship of the objectionable pair of foreign adventurers. Mr. Boucicault's Irish soldier of fortune is a distinct character, with truly Irish wit and readiness, whereas M. Feuillel's foreigners were Frenchmen in disguise; and, oddly enough, M. Feuillel is fond of using foreigners to give color and comic variety to his groups. We find them not only in this play, but also in "Redemption," "Montjoye," and the "Sphinx." It is all the more odd that he should resort to this expedient for forcing a laugh when he has a flow of easy comedy all his own, which is nowhere shown to better advantage than in this very play. There is bright humor and charming comedy in the

courtship of the two young people ; and although the two old women are somewhat farcical, even they do their share in amusing. But the main intrigue of the play is again husband, wife, and lover ; and again the heroine is a lady of passionate aspirations and valetudinarian virtue ; and again, when everything tends toward irretrievable mishap, the dramatist intervenes, and gives a sharp twist to plot and people ; and after such a wrench the play cannot but end happily.

Any one of M. Feuille's plays might be called "On the Brink," and in very few of them is there an actual fall over the precipice. Here the author is lacking in intellectual seriousness ; he is always ready to drop logic through a trap in his trick table. "Consequences are un-pitying," says George Eliot ; but M. Feuille does not think so. However vicious any character may seem, we may be sure of his death-bed repentance, and that he will die in a state of grace and the odor of sanctity. Next to the uncleanness beneath the surface, this is M. Feuille's worst defect ; and nowhere has it done him more harm than in "Montjoye," a comedy in five acts, brought out in 1863, three years after the "Tentation." Taken altogether, this is perhaps M. Feuille's best play ; it is the only one of his serious pieces in which he has not mistaken violence for strength. Montjoye himself is the central figure of the picture, and indeed the only one ; for all the others are merely accessory, and devised to set off the protagonist. Montjoye is a man of velvet manner and iron will, — a man who aims at success, who believes that the end justifies the means, and who bends or breaks everything to attain his end. He is a character boldly projected, although not sufficiently justified, and at the finish not self-consistent. He softens into sentiment, and so makes an effect on the audience. In criticising M. Augier, M. Zola praises the final impenitence of Maître Guérin. This final impenitence is just what Montjoye lacks ; in real life such a man would die game.

The fact is, M. Feuille is no Frankenstein ; he never creates any being he cannot control, and he makes all his creatures do his bidding at the peril of their lives. He is rather a magician, who raises good and evil spirits at will ; or, to be more exact, he is a writer of fairy tales. The stories he tells are not true, and they could not happen anywhere outside of fairy land. In one of his "Scènes et Comédies" he ventured within the magic circle in a most mysterious little play called the "Fée," in which a benevolent and sprightly little fairy plays most charming and delightful pranks, — all of them, alas ! prosaically explained away before the curtain falls. Once granting that M. Feuille is a writer of fairy tales, and it is a matter of course to find the "Belle au Bois Dormant ;" and it is, perhaps, characteristic that this "Sleeping Beauty in the Wood" should be a drama rather than a comedy. The sleeping beauty is the last of a feudal line, declining

into poverty and representing the past. The young prince is the head of a factory, rising in riches and thus representing the future. The beauty has an impractical and reactionary brother, and the prince has a practical and progressive sister; so the play is provided with two pairs of lovers. So far is the fairy tale followed, that, when the young prince gets into the castle, the author puts the beauty to sleep off-hand that the prince may see her so. There is much cleverness in detail as there is ingenuity in the main situation. Here frankly face to face is the conflict of old and new, past and future, irrepressible and irreconcilable; and there is no end to it. Again, M. Feuillel shows his artistic weakness. His young prince is no true man of the nineteenth century, having to do with men and machinery, and master of himself at all events; he is no true man at all. When he cannot get the woman he loves, he breaks down and moons around and weeps saltless tears. How much better this is handled in one of our own novels! for in the "American" of Mr. Henry James, Jr., there is the same situation. When Christopher Newman determines to marry the high-born French woman who has charmed him with her quiet grace, he hesitates at no obstacle, he is baffled by nothing, he works out his own work, and he fights his own fight; and he bears everything before him by sheer force of Yankee grit and Yankee wit, until the doors of a convent clang to, and the woman he seeks is shut from him behind the walls of the Church,—the one thing against which all Yankee energy, ingenuity, and perseverance are vain.

All this time M. Feuillel was slowly outgrowing the imitation of Musset. In the "Romance of a Poor Young Man," in the "Tentation," in "Montjoye," and especially in the "Sleeping Beauty in the Wood," it is easy to see traces of Musset's manner; but, taken altogether, these plays are truly M. Feuillel's own, and not fiefs for which he must needs do homage. As the recollection of Alfred Musset was getting fainter, the influence of M. Alexandre Dumas *fils* was growing. Already, in "Dalila," one may see some sign of the "Dame aux Camélias" and of "Diane de Lys;" and surely the "Tentation" and "Montjoye" would not have been what they are had it not been for the "Demi-Monde" and the "Fils Naturel." The influence of M. Dumas upon M. Feuillel is the influence of a man of marked individuality and vigor upon a man of feeble fibre; and as time passed this influence became plainer and more emphatic. The author of the "Crise" seemed to tire of the nickname the MM. de Goncourt had tagged to him, and refused any longer to be the "Musset des Familles." Not content with charming and drawing tears, he wished to thrill and to shock his audience into admiration; and M. Dumas seemed to him the best model. But in trying to vie with M. Dumas, M. Feuillel was going against his natural gifts. As M. Charles Bigot said, in his admirable

study of the author of "Dalila," "In reality, what the graceful talent of M. Feuillet lacks is strength, and with strength all the qualities which go with it, — logic, simplicity, frankness." Now, these are just the qualities which M. Dumas has most abundantly. So when M. Feuillet tries to be strong, he is only violent; and when he seeks to show his muscles, he lets us see that he has only nerves, to use the neat figure of M. Claretie. "Julie," a drama in three acts, which M. Feuillet brought out in 1869, is plainly enough an attempt to imitate, if not to emulate, the "Supplice d'une Femme," of which M. Dumas is one of the authors, and the one to whom its success is due. But "Julie" has none of the concentrated passion and remorseless logic which make the "Supplice d'une Femme" so startling and successful; and whereas the "Supplice d'une Femme" seems dominated by a fate as inexorable as that which determined the destiny of the heroes of Greek drama, "Julie" has all the weakness of any copy, in which reliance is placed on carefully planned clap-traps rather than on the natural rush and expression of emotion. The "Supplice d'un Femme," although it is a high-strung play easy to turn into ridicule, has the accents of sincerity. "Julie" rings false. It was a play of a kind radically opposite to that which the author had hitherto produced; and even so ingenious a writer as M. Feuillet cannot change his skin in the twinkling of an eye. In his treatment of woman M. Dumas is severe and logical to the point of brutality. Hitherto M. Feuillet had been petting and illogical to the verge of mushiness, and it was no wonder that the author of "Julie" was greeted as a literary dandy who was affecting the intense. Of a truth, morality is not a garment which an author may don and doff at will: if it be good for anything, his morality is in him, deep down in him, and cannot be torn thence.

Still more violent and forcible-feeble than "Julie" is M. Feuillet's latest play, the "Sphinx," acted in 1874. It is hard to see in this ill-made and monstrous impossibility any trace of the neat workmanship and charming style of the family Musset. A vulgar and indigested drama like the "Sphinx" forces us to remember that the author of the "Romance of a Poor Young Man," and of the "Sleeping Beauty in the Wood," was first of all the author of melodramatic crudities like "Palma, ou la nuit du Vendredi-Saint."

Such success as the "Sphinx" had was due to external accident. With M. Feuillet's usual ingenuity, he had laid his weakest scene in one of the picturesque sites of which he is fond; and the moonlit marsh of the third act did nearly as much for the "Sphinx" as the ruined tower with its lissome coat of ivy did for the "Romance of a Poor Young Man." Again, the author was fortunate in having Mlle. Croizette and Mlle. Sara Bernhardt for his heroines. It was not the first

time that the talent and authority of the actress had done much for the author, as those willingly bore witness who saw Mme. Favart in "Julie" and Mme. Fargueil in "Dalila." It was rumored at the time that M. Feuillet had not intended any such naturalistic display of toxicological phenomena as Mlle. Croizette exhibited, and that the author objected to the "sensational" devices of the actress. If so, he was ungenerous; for it was her last dying speech and confession which gave the play all the originality it could boast. As to the taste of such an exhibition, opinion may differ; in this case, certainly, it was quite in keeping with the tone of the play. "It is always difficult," wrote Lamb to Godwin, "to get rid of a woman at the end of a tragedy. *Men* may fight and die. A woman must either take poison, *which is a nasty trick*; or go mad, which is not fit to be shown; or retire, which is poor, — only retiring is the most reputable."

"Julie" and the "Sphinx," however, are not really representative of M. Feuillet, save in minor detail; and they are artistically so inferior to his earlier plays that they seem the result of some strange freak. The best group of his dramatic works is that which includes the pieces produced between 1858 and 1865, — the "Romance of a Poor Young Man," the "Tentation," "Montjoye," and the "Sleeping Beauty." Although one can scarcely call these comedies strong plays, they are M. Feuillet's strongest, as they are his least offensive. They reveal his amiable talent in the most favorable light. Yet I am not sure whether some of his smaller plays, and in a painter's sense less "important," are not really better bits of work and of better workmanship. He lacks logic to construct your carefully considered edifice in five acts, and he has no breadth of style. In the space of one act he does not exhaust himself or the spectator; and he has ample marge and room enough to show off his grace, his ease, his ingenuity, his charm, and his caressing and effeminate touch. There is something feminine in the author of the "Sleeping Beauty." Sainte Beuve remarked that M. Feuillet excelled in the women's diaries, of which he is fond, as who should say he had been a woman himself. Sustained effort is not to be expected from a writer of feminine qualities, and this is perhaps why certain of these little comedies are of greater worth than their bigger brothers. A humorous fantasy like the "Fruit Défendu," in which, too, the humor, though not robust, is not at all what a woman could have written, or a clear-cut intaglio from life like the "Village," a little masterpiece, — these are worth not only all the "Julies" and "Sphinxes," but all the "Romances of Poor Young Men" and "Sleeping Beauties." On the other hand, also, in one act are both the "Cheveu Blanc" and "Le Pour et le Contre," the most disgusting of all his plays, in spite of their high polish and superficial decorum. To come across the "Village" in the series of M. Feuillet's plays is like

a vision of the country rising before you as you stand in the overladen air of a stifling ball-room. The "Village" is one of the author's few incursions into real life. Most of his plays have their scenes laid in a world of his own much pleasanter than this work-a-day world of ours. It is a world where youth, beauty, wit, riches, titles, and idleness abound, and where there is nothing poor, or mean, or painful. Especially is there nothing like self-sacrifice. Everything has a smooth surface and a fine finish. Everybody is happy, or will be before the curtain falls. What though the fair heroine suffer for a while for her fault, — in the end all will come right, as it always does in other fairy tales.

The want of variety in the scene is to be detected also in the actions and characters of M. Feuille's comedies, long and short. He has his favorite type of man and woman, and they reappear again and again. His men all wear dress-coats of correct cut, and white ties beyond reproach. By preference, they are men of the world, somewhat cynical, girding at society, but incapable of living out of the whirl and rush of passion; they are men

"Who tread with jaded step the weary mill,
Grind at the wheel, and call it 'Pleasure' still, —
Gay without mirth, fatigued without employ,
Slaves to the joyless phantom of a Joy."

This is his favorite hero; and his favorite heroine is like unto him, save that he has greater skill in drawing women. His heroine is listless, excited, nay, feverish at times, sickly in body and soul, moved by a secret and nameless unrest, born of idle luxury. She fancies herself abandoned and lonely. "Solitude," says Balzac, "is a vacuum; and Nature abhors a vacuum in morals as in physics." The wife in the "Crise" is hysteria personified; the heroine of the "Tentation" is no better, and there are a dozen like her. One feels like prescribing cold baths and outdoor exercise for all of them. "Virtue, however solid you may think it, has need of some encouragement and of some little support," says the heroine of "Le Pour et le Contre," — poor thing! And if her virtue is not propped and stayed, or if there come a thunder-storm, or if any other of a hundred and one accidents happen, the fragile virtue gets a fall, and there is nobody to blame.

In discussing M. Victorien Sardou, the final word is that his work is clever; so, in considering M. Octave Feuillet, the final word is that his works are unhealthy. To my mind, the author of the "Crise," of the "Cheveu Blanc," of the "Clef d'Or," and of "Le Pour et le Contre," is one of the most dangerous of modern French writers of fiction. His is an insidious immorality, parading itself in the livery of a militant virtue. His is a false art, and false art is pretty surely

immoral. Summed up, his teaching is that you can touch pitch and not be defiled so long as you wear ten-button kid gloves ; that you can play with fire and drop the torch so soon as the flame begins to scorch your hands ; that you may handle edged tools and get off scot free ; and that you can rush headlong at the precipice and pull up somehow and safely right on the brink. It would be a wholesome pleasure to know how sturdy and truly British Samuel Johnson, with his stalwart morality, would have given his opinion of M. Feuillet's ethics. Indeed, there is extant an American equivalent for this British judgment. I was re-reading M. Feuillet's productions to write these pages when Mr. Stedman published his fine criticism of Walt Whitman ; and the tricky humor, which is said to be an American characteristic, made me ask myself if a greater curiosity of literature could well be imagined than a criticism of M. Octave Feuillet, of the French Academy, novelist and dramatist, by Walt Whitman, American poet and essayist. But a poet has the gift of foreseeing our wants, and of satisfying them before we ask ; and so, when I took up "Leaves of Grass" to read it again through Mr. Stedman's spectacles, I found that Whitman had expressed his opinion of Feuillet, or what we may be sure would be his opinion did he care to consider the Frenchman. It is in "Chants Démocratiques" (284), and it is as follows : "They who piddle and patter here in collars and tailed coats — I am aware who they are — they are not worms or fleas." If this seem a harsh judgment, remember that the Frenchman has in excess the very qualities which the American most detests in literature, — sweetness, feudalism, the aristocratic atmosphere, a ladylike touch. If this seem a harsh judgment, let us turn to Mr. Stedman and try M. Feuillet by the test and standard which Mr. Stedman sets up to gauge Whitman ; and, though more courteously phrased, I doubt if the verdict will differ greatly from the suppositions quoted above from "Leaves of Grass." Here is what Mr. Stedman asks : "How far does the effort of a workman relate to what is fine and enduring ? And how far does he succeed in his effort ?"

J. BRANDER MATTHEWS.

THE PUNISHABILITY OF THE INSANE.

IN considering the question of the amenability of the insane to punishment for violations of law, it appears proper, in the beginning of the inquiry, that we should have clear ideas of the nature of crime. Unfortunately, we do not find among moralists, psychologists, and jurists that accordance of opinion which, in view of its importance, the subject requires.

Thus, the moralists contend that the essence of an act asserted to be criminal consists in the motives or intentions of the actor, and that when these are pure no crime has been committed. The man, for instance, who kills his sister for the purpose of saving her from dishonor, from the moral stand-point, so far from perpetrating a crime, in reality performs a meritorious action. The conspirator who demolishes a railway train in order that a Czar may be destroyed is believed by some persons to be a patriot worthy of all honor; and even though he wrecks the wrong train, and sacrifices a hundred innocent and non-tyrannical persons, he is held by many sincere individuals to be guiltless of crime because his intentions were good. But common-sense shows us that if we allow such an interpretation we place ourselves at the mercy of any erratic individuals who, with strong reformatory ideas which they think it their duty to carry out, stop at nothing in the way of accomplishing their good intentions. The admission of the plea of worthy motives would ere long produce an entire demolition of the structure of society, and relegate us to the reign of force and cunning. Beccaria saw this very clearly when he declared:—

“They err, therefore, who imagine that a crime is greater or less according to the intention of the person by whom it is committed; for this will depend on the actual impression of objects on the senses and on the previous disposition of the mind: both will vary in different persons at different times, according to the succession of ideas, passions, and circumstances. Upon that system it would be necessary to frame, not only a particular code for every individual, but a new penal law for every crime. Men often with the best intentions do the greatest injury to society, and with the worst do it the most essential service.”¹

It is a characteristic of humanity for men to think their own opinions better and more correct than those of their neighbors. As each individual has his mental organization for his guide, it is of course necessary that he should have confidence in its processes. Through

¹ An Essay on Crimes and Punishments. Translated from the Italian, with the Commentary of Voltaire, translated from the French. Fifth Edition. London: 1801. p. 25.

the quiet, almost unfelt, influence of the law under which he lives, it is rarely the case that he endeavors to carry out his own peculiar views by violence. Occasionally, however, some one of less evenly balanced mind, ambitious of notoriety, or thinking to render a great service to society, makes such an attempt, and then is always ready to plead the rectitude of his intentions in his defence, — a plea in which not unfrequently the press and the people do not hesitate to join. I once heard it gravely argued, by an intelligent and well-educated citizen, that a brutal ruffian who had murdered and robbed for years ought to be dealt with lightly, because his wife was a good woman, his children went to Sunday-school, and the father had done everything in his power for their support and elevation. Through the existence of such sentiments, even though the law may disregard the allegation of purity of motive, the people — represented by the jury — often view it with favor, and turn a malefactor loose to indulge still further in acts which, though they may strike him as being right and proper, are none the less crimes against society.

It seems to be highly necessary, therefore, that in regard to this point the nature of crime should be so clearly defined that error relative to its existence or extent should be impossible. If it is made by emotional moralists to consist in the motive or intention, there can rarely be any certainty in these matters, for a shrewd person may so cleverly conceal his real purpose as to make detection out of the question. In our relations to a higher power, the intention undoubtedly constitutes the sin; but sin is not necessarily crime, nor crime invariably sin.

Attempts, however, to make these identical were often made in former times, and are even yet occasionally indulged in by individuals of strong theological tendencies uncontrolled by common-sense. The Bible has not unfrequently been brought into court, and its commands enforced by the strong arm of the law. Charlemagne ordered that all those who infringed the ordinance of the Church relative to fasting in Lent should be put to death; and in Poland, any one who violated the rules in regard to abstinence enjoined by the Church had his or her teeth taken out. Children who had reached the age of eight years were obliged to keep Lent and other fasts.¹ Louis le Debonnaire of France decreed that all the orders of the Church should be maintained by the civil law throughout the whole kingdom.² The eating of meat on a Friday was, therefore, not only a sin, but was made a crime.

A law of England still exists (or did a short time since) prohibiting

¹ *Observations on the Influence of Religion upon the Health and Physical Welfare of Mankind.* By Amariah Brigham, M.D. Boston: 1835. p. 103.

² *Supplices, Prisons, et Grâce en France.* Par C. Desmazes. Paris: 1864. p. 23.

the eating of meat on fast days; but here the object was declared to be not so much a religious one, as to give aid and encouragement to the fisheries. In our own country there have been many laws expressly designed to carry out the mandates of the Bible, and some of these still exist,—as, for instance, the prohibition to open places of amusement, recreation, or instruction on Sundays; to keep a shop open, or to perform certain kinds of labor. Mahometan laws are almost always in the direction of enforcing the precepts of the Koran.

The absence of intention may very properly be urged as regards the actual perpetration of the act alleged to be criminal. Thus, a person who aims a gun at a bird, and kills a man concealed in the shrubbery, whom he did not know to be there and who had no business to be there, is guilty of no crime whatever, because there was no intention to kill the man. But in the commission of such an act there are certain well-defined provisions of law in force which may make it a crime. Thus, if there should be a law in existence prohibiting the killing of birds at the time the gun was discharged at them, the act would be a misdemeanor, and then the accidental killing of the man would be a crime. Such unintentional acts may be committed by the insane as well as by the sane. It is clear, therefore, that the motives by which an individual is governed should not be allowed to lessen the magnitude of his crime, and that no matter how pure these may have been, or how greatly individuals or even society at large may have been benefited, a violation of law ought not to go unpunished.

Certain medico-psychological writers contend that crime is impossible in an individual whose brain is in an unhealthy condition. Thus, Zacchias,¹ one of the earliest writers on medical jurisprudence, expresses the opinion that an epileptic should not be considered responsible for an act committed within three days before or after a fit has occurred; and Dr. Isaac Ray² declares that this is undoubtedly sound doctrine, so far as criminal acts are concerned. Plattner³ asserts that no epileptic is responsible, no matter when an alleged criminal act is perpetrated; and a like view is held by other writers who regard the subject only in its most superficial relations. Others again hold the opinion that the existence of any organic disease of the brain, even if there are no manifestations of mental disorder, is sufficient to relieve the subject from responsibility for crime, on the ground that such mental derangement *might* have existed and governed at the time the act was perpetrated. A person, according to this doctrine, who had once suffered from cerebral hemor-

¹ Quæstiones Medico-Legales. Cons. xiii., lib. 9.

² Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity. Fifth Edition. Boston: 1871. p. 477.

³ Quæstiones Med. For. p. 6.

rhage, causing apoplexy or paralysis, would be irresponsible for any act of violence he might commit.

The absurdity of such positions is too apparent to require a labored attempt at refutation. If once admitted, there would be no such thing as holding an individual responsible who had any disease capable for an instant of producing mental disturbance. In reality there is no disease of any part of the body which might not, for a moment, so derange the intracranial circulation of the blood, or so alter in other ways the normal mode of action of the brain, as to prompt to the commission of a terrible crime. A corn on the foot might, through a sharp and sudden twinge of pain, produce such a degree of mental excitement as to cause the subject to kill a person talking to him at the moment. Therefore, in accordance with the doctrine in question, any person with a corn on the foot ought to be held irresponsible for crime by reason of the potentiality of the corn. It is not sufficient in cases of the kind, or of those of brain disease, to show what *might* have happened. It must be clearly demonstrated that mental disturbance to the extent of causing absolute irresponsibility *did* result as a direct consequence of disease; and it is a matter of no consequence whether the primary disorder is in the brain or in some other organ or part of the body.

And still further it is contended by certain so-called advanced sociologists, that all crime is the result of inherent and overwhelming impulses and tendencies which cannot be resisted, and that criminals instead of being punished should be brought under the influence of reformatory measures of a moral, hygienic, or medical character, as the case may be. The plea, "I could not help it because my grandfather and my father and mother were habitual criminals," is one which these apologists would admit as being of extenuating force if urged truthfully by a murderer, especially if the murder has been peculiarly atrocious. To discuss the points involved in this theory would carry us further into the domains of theology and metaphysics than the occasion requires. If hereditary influence and predestination are allowed to modify the course of our systems of criminal jurisprudence, the courts might as well be closed, and every individual be told to take care of himself. But so long as laws continue to exist for the protection of society as their prime *raison d'être*, it is to be hoped that such alleged remote causes of crime as those referred to will not be permitted to exercise a determining influence with judges or jurors.

Beccaria¹ asserts that "crimes are only to be measured by the injury done to society." Crimes of the highest degree being those which immediately tend to the dissolution of society, and of the lowest those which consist of the smallest possible injury done to a private

¹ Op. cit. p. 25.

member ; laws being only a set of rules and regulations by which society agrees to be governed for its convenience and protection ; and there being no other safe guide as to the restraints and obligations of the individual members of society, — it follows that a crime consists wholly and exclusively of a violation of law. Any act not expressly prohibited by law is legal, and cannot constitute an offence against society. Experience may, however, demonstrate that a particular act heretofore allowed is in reality injurious to society, and then a law is enacted against it.

Laws do not always rest upon the principles of abstract justice. Every jurist knows that equity and law are very different, and that the one only governs when the other is silent. When necessity requires it, both law and equity are set aside, and brute force takes their place. This is especially the case during a state of war, when the public safety may require the suspension of the most sacred rights and privileges of individuals. *Inter arma silent leges* is a maxim expressing as much truth now as when Cicero first gave utterance to the words.

The chief object of punishment is the safety of society. The reformation of the individual who has violated the law is scarcely ever considered, even by the most civilized nations ; but certainly it ought to be kept in view, not only because the reformation of an evil doer aids in the protection of society by converting a bad person into a good one, but because the offender has a natural right to be reformed. Punishment is supposed to be conducive to the safety of society in two ways :—

1. By the effect which it has upon the offending individual by intimidating him, in causing him to suffer mental or physical pain as a sort of recompense he owes to society for his crime, or in placing him in such a condition that it will be impossible for him, for a limited period, or ever again, to break the law. This latter object is accomplished by imprisonment for various terms, or by taking his life.

2. By the example which is afforded to others who might feel inclined to commit crimes, but whose vicious propensities and inclinations are kept in check by the certainty or probability of the law taking hold of them should they pass the prescribed bounds.

In providing for its safety, society has almost invariably carried out the maxim of securing the greatest good to the greatest number, and has therefore to a great extent disregarded the natural rights of individual persons. For example, it is a precept of law that ignorance is no excuse ; but it is manifestly contrary to the principles of abstract justice to punish a person for the violation of a law the very existence of which is unknown to him. The plea of ignorance, however, being one which any offender could urge without the probability of his

knowledge being clearly shown, it is very wisely provided that the excuse in question should be disregarded. Safety to the lives and property of the majority is of greater importance to society than the life or liberty of any one individual; and hence the offender who might have known but did not know that he was breaking a law must take the penalty prescribed to his offence. The laws still in existence in some civilized countries, relative to attainder of blood for certain crimes, are likewise unjust to individuals who in accordance therewith are punished for a relationship wholly beyond their control; and, going higher, what can be more painful to our sense of abstract justice than the decree of the Almighty that "the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation"? Certainly, the only object of such a severe law looking to the punishment of innocent persons is to prevent the commission of sin by intimidating those who might not otherwise be restrained by penalties imposed on themselves alone.

Regarding the matter from the standpoint that all laws are for the protection of society, and that the principles of abstract justice, as between the offender and society, have no necessary place in jurisprudence, there seems to be no valid reason why, if the protection of society demands it, the insane should not be punished for violations of law, even though they be morally irresponsible for their acts by reason of delirium, dementia, morbid impulse, emotional insanity, or any other form of mental aberration. Justice is every way as imperatively required as a principle of right between man and the animals who minister to his wants as it is between one man and another. And yet we do not hesitate, regardless of its natural rights, to kill the hydrophobic dog which runs through the streets snapping at every one it meets. The rights of society to protection are far above those of the dog to life, and abstract justice does not enter for a moment into our minds in our consideration of how to deal with it.

In like manner, suppose the case of an insane man with a morbid impulse to kill every one he met, and who did actually commit many homicides in obedience to the force which urged him, would it not be entirely justifiable to kill this man if he could not be otherwise effectually prevented perpetrating his murderous deeds? Take the following case, which occurred about a month ago, and which was published among the current news of the day:—

"Christiana Taylor, an old negro woman who was arrested for the murder of a little boy and girl three and six years old respectively, to-day confessed that she committed the deed; she has heretofore denied all knowledge of the crime. 'I was going along the road,' she said; 'it was not God Almighty, but it was the Devil that put it into my head to kill them. I did it, not with the axe or the wash-board, but with a piece of wood as big as my arm and about eighteen inches long.

The children were running about the yard of the house. I struck the one with the long hair first, but I don't know how many times I hit her. I saw the axe in the wood-pile after hitting them with the stick. What I killed them for I don't know ; the Devil got into me so that I could not help doing it. I picked the stick up in the road.' ”

And this, which comes to us from Chicago while this paper is being written. A man named Neal, under the influence of a delirium, shot the man who was sleeping in the same room with him ; and then rushing into the street discharged his revolver with murderous effect at four other men, and was finally secured by a policeman, who however was obliged to fire three shots at him, one of which took effect in his neck.

Now the answer to the question above stated may be, “ No ; the humane and just course to pursue would be to put such people into lunatic asylums, and cure them.” To this I would reply, that in no very extensive search I have found sixty-eight cases on record as occurring in England alone, in which so called lunatics had committed homicides, been sent to asylums, discharged as cured, and had then perpetrated other murders. Very many more such cases have certainly taken place in this country. I admit that if the sequestration of a criminal lunatic could be accomplished with absolute certainty that he would never again be allowed to go at large, it would be a preferable mode of dealing with him ; but the difficulties of providing for this are so great that it can never, in any one case, be certainly predicted that the subject will pass the remainder of his life in seclusion from the outer world ; on the contrary, it is quite certain that he will, in a few years at most, be discharged, either through the influence of powerful friends, or because the superintendent of the asylum in which he is considered, or affects to consider, him cured.

In view of this we are almost disposed to agree with the English judge who is reported to have addressed a criminal in these words : “ You have been convicted of the crime of murder. It has been alleged in your defence that you were actuated by an irresistible impulse. This may be true ; but the law has an irresistible impulse to punish you, and it therefore becomes my duty to sentence you to be hanged.” Or with a distinguished French magistrate, who in reference to such lunatics said to Marc, an eminent alienist : “ These men are madmen ; but it is necessary to cure their mad acts in the *Place de Grève*.”

Besides, the influence of example is not lost on the insane, or those who are on the verge of mental alienation. Every medical officer of an asylum, or other physician who sees many cases of insanity, knows that lunatics are capable very generally of being influenced by rewards for good, or punishments for bad, conduct. Now there are many

persons passing through life scarcely suspected of insanity, but who, nevertheless, are the subjects of mental alienation. They only require an adequate existing cause to produce such a state of mental disturbance as to turn the scale decidedly, and urge them to the perpetration of some overt criminal act,—usually a murder. If these people are made to understand that they will be held legally responsible for their conduct, and punished if they are found guilty, they will make such efforts to control themselves as will probably prove successful.

Several cases of the kind have come under my observation. The following has such an apposite relation to the point under discussion that I cite it from another work.¹ The details are from a letter written me by a person in one of the Western States:—

“In ‘The New York Sun,’ of the 30th inst., I noticed the proceedings of the Medico-Legal Society, in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, on emotional insanity, etc., and I was impressed particularly with your remarks on Morbid Impulse. Some two weeks since, I was at work in my garden with a spade, and one of my little girl-children, just three years old, came in where I was, and I was suddenly seized with an impulse to kill the child with the spade that I was at work with; and in order to prevent my doing so I had to make her leave the garden. Now I love this child better than I do the apple of my eye, and why I was seized with that impulse I can’t say. Since that time I have been feeling strange, and I am afraid to trust myself with my own family, though I know perfectly well what I am doing, and only feel actuated by these impulses. I have consulted a physician, and he laughed at me. If you can suggest any remedy for these strange impulses, I will pay you what you charge, and will consider that you have done me a favor that will *cause me to bless your name forever*. I don’t consider that I am in danger of murdering any one just yet; but the idea of such a thing is horrible, and I fear it may grow on me unless remedied.”

Now here was a case in which some slight exciting circumstance, such as hearing, for instance, that another man had killed his child with a spade, would probably have overcome all the power of resistance which this man found it easy for him to exercise, and a murder would have been the consequence. Again, reflecting upon the situation, feeling that the impulse was one for which he could not consider himself responsible, knowing that an insane impulse leading to an apparently motiveless murder would be regarded as the strongest evidence of his lunacy, and deriving that strange satisfaction from the gratification of his morbid desire which all such people feel, it is in the highest degree probable that he would have ceased to resist, and that the child would have been killed.

I therefore in my reply called his attention to the admitted fact that he had his impulse under control; that he was able to reason calmly and intelligently in regard to it; that he had applied to me for advice, and that I urged him to place himself immediately under the

¹ A Treatise on the Diseases of the Nervous System. New York: 6th edition. p. 345.

restraint of an asylum till he should feel satisfied that the danger had entirely passed away. I further told him that if he disregarded this advice and finally yielded to his impulse, he would be fully as guilty of murder as though he had killed through deliberate malice, and that he ought to be just as surely executed as any other murderer. I never heard from him again, and hence do not know whether or not he followed the counsel I gave him ; but doubtless it had its proper effect upon him, and his little girl's life was saved.

It appears to be very evident, therefore, that a person aware of the existence of an impulse to commit crime, and which he fears he may not be able to resist, is bound to do everything in his power to render the accomplishment of his propensity impossible. It is his duty to place himself under restraint, or else so otherwise to order things that the crime toward which he feels himself urged cannot by any possibility be committed. Medically speaking he is insane, for his mind is acting in a manner different from that which is normal to him ; but, like many others much more deranged in their mental processes than he is, he has a measurable amount of self-restraint, and hence of responsibility. If he neglects the obvious duty to himself and society to which I have referred, he is morally and legally in no better position than the ruffian who feels an impulse to acquire other people's property, and accordingly murders the person most convenient for his purpose. He is certainly no fit subject for hyper-emotional and sympathetic manifestations.

Thus we see that an individual may be medically insane, and yet not a lunatic in a legal sense. His brain is diseased, either temporarily or permanently ; his mind is not in all respects normal in its action, — and yet he is responsible for his acts. Many of the insane are clearly irresponsible, and their punishment is demanded only by the imperative necessity which exists of securing the safety of society by preventing their committing criminal acts. This should be done in that way which experience shows is most conducive to the accomplishment of the end in view, even if it involves the taking of the life of the lunatic. But there are others, — people with morbid impulses, with delusions as to their mission as reformers, messengers of God, etc. ; with intense egotism and desire for notoriety, manifestly abnormal in character ; with tendencies toward the performance of eccentric and unusual acts ; with a total disregard for the restraints upon individual indulgence which a decent sense of the opinions of mankind requires ; of excessively developed passions, which lead them to the commission of various bestial crimes, — but who nevertheless show little or no want of intellectual power (indeed this is often above the average), who transact their every-day routine work with regularity and precision, and who reason logically and clearly on the

subject of their particular point of aberration. Such people are medically insane; their mental processes are radically different from those of mankind in general; there is some defect, inherent or acquired, in the organization of their nervous systems; and the medical expert who goes into court and testifies to the fact of their insanity is entirely justified, by the accumulated experience of those most competent to know, in so doing. They are insane from a medical standpoint, but they know right from wrong; they know legal acts from illegal ones; they are able at some time at least to control their propensities, and their delusions may be entirely without reference to the alleged criminal act they may have committed. Thus, the man who has the delusion that he is the President of the United States is clearly insane; and yet if he waylays a stage-coach and robs the passengers, he commits an act which has no necessary connection with his false belief, and for which he ought to be punished like any other highwayman. Likewise, the monomaniac who imagines that his hand is made of glass is as indubitably insane as the most raving lunatic in Bedlam. Let any one think how great must be the perversion of sensation, of perception, and of intellection, for such a delusion to become a fixed idea of any one's mind, and it will be impossible to avoid perceiving how thoroughly the brain of such a person is diseased. And yet he reasons correctly from the false premise of his glass hand; he takes the greatest care to avoid injury to it, and carries it in a stout leather case, so as the more effectually to guard against its being broken. If the effort is made to convince him, by reasoning, that his hand is not made of glass, and an appeal is taken to the fact that it has none of the peculiar qualities of glass, he replies that nothing is more unreliable than the senses; that they are constantly leading one into error; that nothing ever appears to be exactly as it is; and that you have no right to require him to form his ideas from your eyesight, or touch, or hearing. He is one of that most dangerous, in some of their relations, of all the insane,—a reasoning maniac. But he is just as capable of picking a pocket, or perpetrating a burglary, or committing an atrocious murder, and just as responsible for the violation of law, as the sanest criminal who ever stood in the prisoners' dock.

While a knowledge of right and wrong can never be properly regarded as a test of insanity, it is a test of responsibility: and by knowledge of right and wrong is not meant the moral knowledge that a particular act would be intrinsically right or wrong,—in other words, a sin,—but that it would be contrary to law. In reality, however, the individual may not even have this knowledge; but he must have, in order to make him responsible, the mental capacity to have it. For ignorance is no excuse, and the safety of society imperatively

requires that all should take means to make themselves acquainted with the laws of the land in which they live. Now any individual having the mental capacity to know that an act which he contemplates is contrary to law should be deemed legally responsible, and should suffer punishment. He possesses what Bain¹ calls "punishability." If he does not possess this capacity, then he ought not to be allowed to go at large, for he is a greater enemy to society than one who with evil intent has nevertheless sufficient reason to guide him. There is always less danger from a knave than a fool: and, moreover, one may become a useful member of society, while the other never can.

The question, therefore, in the case of a criminal should not be, "Is he insane?" but, "Is he responsible?" When this change is effected, we shall hear very little about disagreements between medical experts and jurists relative to who should and who should not be punished.

And again, no degree of insanity should absolve a criminal from the minimum amount of punishment that may be necessary to protect society against him and others like him. When there is less morbid sentimentality relative to the rights of certain kinds of lunatics who are no better than wild beasts, we shall have fewer outrages to record, and fewer monsters in human form to perpetrate them.

WILLIAM A. HAMMOND.

OUR EXPORTS OF BREADSTUFFS.

THE production of cereals in the United States has attained such enormous proportions, and the amount exported to foreign countries is so rapidly increasing, that the statistics of this trade, both past and present, are of absorbing interest to Europeans as well as to Americans. In all the ramifications of the world's commerce, the American grain-trade exerts a most potent influence. The United States now holds the vantage ground as the granary of the world, and while all newspaper readers are aware of the very large exportation of breadstuffs of late years, yet the statistics of this trade for former years are almost wholly unknown, as they can only be found in full among the old Government records at Washington.

Wheat was first sown in this country in 1602, on Cuttyhunk, one of the Elizabeth Islands, by Gosnold when he explored the coast. In Virginia, it appears that wheat was sown in 1611 for the first time, and from that date the cultivation of it increased quite rapidly, until

¹ *The Emotions and the Will*. Second edition. London: 1865. p. 520.

in 1648 it is recorded that there were several hundred acres of it; but after that year it fell into disrepute as settlers found that tobacco-raising was more profitable. In the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands wheat was cultivated at a very early date, and we find that in 1626 samples of this cereal were taken to Holland to show what could be raised in the new country. Of the crops grown by the early settlers, and upon which they chiefly relied for sustenance, were Indian corn, pumpkins, squashes, and potatoes; all of which were mostly new to them, as few Europeans had ever seen them cultivated. They soon learned, however, from the Indians the manner of cultivating them, and from this method there was but little change down to the opening of the present century. For corn, it was to dig small holes in the ground about four feet apart, put in a fish or two, drop the seed, — four or six grains, — and cover up. The Indians used for this purpose an instrument made of a large clam-shell; but the heavy mattock or grub-hoe was soon substituted for it by the colonists. In 1608 the James River settlers, under the instruction of the Indians, began to raise corn; and in three years thirty acres were devoted to its cultivation. When the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock, they found the Indians raising corn; and under the teachings of the Red Men the Pilgrims began to grow it in 1621, or thirteen years after the James River settlers had begun. Following the example of the Indians, the Pilgrims manured their lands with alewives, then called "shad." An early chronicler of the Pilgrims says: "According to the manner of the Indians we manured our ground with herring, or rather shad, which we had in great abundance and take with great ease at our doors;" and later, "You may see in one township a hundred acres together set with these fish, every acre taking a thousand of them; and an acre thus dressed will produce and yield so much corn as three acres without fish."

Rye and barley were also introduced and cultivated by the early settlers, and it soon became the almost universal practice to mix the meal of the former with Indian-corn meal in making bread; and while it is not positively known to have been the custom prior to 1648, yet it is believed to have been done as early as 1630, or eighteen years before any authentic record of it is found. Oats were introduced at the same time as rye, and were raised by Captain Gosnold on one of the Elizabeth Islands, on the southern coast of Massachusetts, as early as 1602. They were then, as at the present time, used principally as food for animals.

From these small beginnings, the production of the different cereals steadily increased; and at a comparatively early date this country not only raised enough grain for its own needs, but each year, with a few exceptions, had a surplus for foreign shipment. During the four years

1836, 1837, 1838, and 1839, the yield of wheat was very small, and it was necessary to import a considerable quantity from Europe to meet the deficiency in this country. In 1837 alone, over one hundred wheat and flour laden vessels arrived at the port of Baltimore from Europe, the bulk of the grain coming from Germany and Holland, although England sent us a few cargoes. The total exports of wheat — flour not included — from the United States during those four years was a little less than 125,000 bushels, and that was almost wholly shipped across the border line into Canada. We were still able, however, to export a small amount of flour; as there were some tropical countries for which a special quality of flour was made in the United States, and it was more profitable to export this, and then to import enough to make good the deficiency, than to sell that particular quality of flour in this country. The records of the export trade, prior to 1820–21, are rather incomplete; and, limited in space as an article of this character must be, it would scarcely be advisable to attempt to go back of that date. In fact the statistics of the trade from 1821 to 1881 cover about all that is of value pertaining to the subject. With the view of economizing space, the exports of wheat, flour, and corn from the United States, from 1821 to 1875, have been summed up into five-year periods, while the exports since 1875 are considered of sufficient value to merit their being given in full. The exports of wheat and flour from the United States, since 1820–21, have been according to the statistical table on p. 453.

The reader will observe that the figures show that the exports for the sixty-one years ended June 30, 1881, amounted to 1,108,039,283 bushels of wheat, and 144,777,381 barrels of flour, or a total of 1,818,666,995 bushels. For the six years ended June 30, 1881, the exports of wheat were 592,862,195 bushels, which was 77,700,000 bushels more than the combined exports for the preceding fifty-five years; while the exports of flour for the six years ended June 30, 1881, were 30,841,648 barrels, or over 80,000,000 barrels less than the exports for the preceding fifty-five years.

One of the most important facts brought into special prominence by the annexed exhibit is the large decrease in the relative proportion of flour shipped to foreign countries compared with the exports of wheat. During the five years ended 1825 the exports of flour and wheat combined were 18,878,410 bushels, of which 99.61 per cent was shipped in the form of flour. In the next five years the percentage of flour was 99.46, — a small decrease; and this was followed by 97.2 per cent for the five years ending 1835, and that in turn by 91.7, then by 91.1, and steadily on down without a single exception, till for the five years ended 1875 the proportion of flour was only 27.2. Taking each year after 1875, the falling-off in the percentage of flour exported continued

EXPORTS OF WHEAT AND FLOUR FROM THE UNITED STATES
(FLOUR REDUCED TO BUSHEL IN THE TOTAL).

Five fiscal years ended.	Wheat. Bushels.	Flour. Barrels.	Total Bushels.	Percentage of flour in total.
1825	72,874	4,451,384	18,878,410	99.61
1830	125,547	4,651,940	23,385,247	99.46
1835	614,145	5,241,964	26,823,965	97.2
1840	1,842,841	4,092,932	22,307,501	91.7
1845	2,946,861	6,274,697	34,320,346	91.1
1850	10,184,645	12,284,828	71,608,785	85.77
1855	16,446,955	13,149,518	82,194,545	79.9
1860	38,808,573	15,778,268	117,699,913	67.
1865	138,306,907	19,757,733	237,095,572	42.09
1870	81,808,364	11,454,785	139,082,289	41.2
1875	224,019,376	16,797,684	308,007,796	27.2
Total for 55 years.	515,177,088	113,935,733	1,081,404,369	52.6
1876	55,073,122	3,935,512	74,750,682	26.32
1877	40,325,611	3,343,665	57,043,936	29.30
1878	72,404,961	3,946,855	92,139,236	21.42
1879	122,353,936	5,629,714	147,687,649	17.1
1880	153,252,795	6,111,419	180,754,180	15.2
1881	149,451,770	7,874,483	184,886,943	19.2
Total for 6 years.	592,862,995	30,841,648	737,262,626	18.8
Grand total for 61 years.	1,108,039,283	144,777,381	1,818,666,995	35.8

steadily, with the one exception of 1877 down to 1880, during which year the percentage was 15.2, — the lowest figures in the history of the flour export-trade. The record for the last fiscal year shows that a halt has been called, and once more an effort has been made to induce the exports of flour to take an upward turn. The outlook for success in this direction is at present very good; but it will be well not to be too enthusiastic over the prospect, as many writers have lately been, who have judged simply by the large increase during the past eight or ten months, seemingly unaware of the fact that in former years much

larger gains have often been made, only to be succeeded by smaller exports in the following seasons. A few illustrations will show the force of this. In 1831 the exports of flour amounted to 1,806,529 barrels, while in 1832 the amount was only 864,919 barrels, and then the figures continued to decline, till in 1837 we exported but 318,719 barrels, or only one sixth of the amount reported seven years before. We again find that the exports in 1840 were 1,897,501 barrels, while four years later they were less than 1,000,000 barrels, and in 1847 the shipments of flour reached 4,382,496 barrels, and in 1848 dropped to 2,119,393 barrels, declined to 1,385,448 barrels in 1850, and gradually rose again to 4,022,386 bushels in 1854, only to fall back in the following year to 1,204,540, or a decrease of nearly three fourths. Thus the gains and losses have from year to year been playing somewhat of a see-saw game; first one goes up and the other goes down, and then down and up again. In 1862 the exports of flour were 4,882,033 barrels, which is but 1,300,000 barrels less than the exports of 1880. It is not intended to attempt to prove that the percentage of flour shipments will not increase during the next few years, but merely to show the fallacy of basing any predictions upon the increase made of late months. That the American milling trade is developing very rapidly admits of no question, and with this growth there will doubtless continue to be a steady gain in the amount of flour yearly put upon the European markets. One of the most potent causes of the growth of the export flour-trade which has been witnessed during the past twelve months is the improvement in the science of milling in this country. As our millers have adapted their flours to the wants of the old world, the demand has increased; and with the improvement in the making of flour, there will probably continue to be an increase in the amount consumed in Europe.

The value of the exports of wheat and flour from the United States since 1821, summed up in periods of five years, has been as set forth in the table on p. 455.

For the five years ended Sept. 30, 1825, the exports of wheat from the United States were valued at \$68,978, while the value of the flour exports was \$24,334,999. During the next five years, the exports of wheat increased nearly seventy-five per cent, while the exports of flour remained almost stationary, the gain being less than two per cent. In the succeeding five-year period, wheat exports again increased very largely, having nearly trebled during that time, while the value of the shipments of flour had fallen off over \$2,000,000; but still the value of the latter was \$27,231,952, against only \$1,817,067 as the value of the former. Between 1840 and 1860 the exports both of wheat and flour increased very largely; but the percentage of gain was much greater in the former than in the latter, and thus the proportion of

Five fiscal years ended.	WHEAT.		FLOUR.		Aggregate value.	Average value per bushel.
	Value.	Average value per bushel.	Value.	Average value per barrel.		
1825	\$68,978	\$0.94	\$24,334,999	\$5 46	\$24,403,977	\$1.29
1830	112,754	0.89	24,708,090	5.31	24,820,844	1.06
1835	737,365	1.20	29,347,649	5.59	30,085,014	1.13
1840	1,817,067	0.98	27,231,952	6.65	29,049,019	1.30
1845	2,900,785	.98	31,056,156	4.94	33,956,941	.98
1850	12,801,093	1.25	69,375,741	5.64	82,176,834	1.18
1855	21,864,762	1.39	75,775,220	5.76	97,639,982	1.18
1860	53,343,918	1.37	104,368,446	6.61	157,712,365	1.34
1865	178,470,444	1.29	133,356,875	6.74	311,827,319	1.31
1870	117,527,424	1.43	92,071,717	8.03	209,599,141	1.50
1875	296,540,060	1.32	114,401,066	6.86	410,941,126	1.33
Total for 55 years.	\$686,184,650	\$1.33	\$726,027,911	\$6.37	\$1,412,212,561	\$1.30
1876	\$68,382,899	\$1.24	\$24,433,470	\$6 20	\$92,816,369	\$1.24
1877	47,135,562	1.16	21,663,947	6.47	68,799,509	1.20
1878	96,872,016	1.33	25,092,826	6.35	121,964,842	1.32
1879	130,701,079	1.06	29,567,713	5.25	160,268,792	1.08
1880	190,546,305	1.24	35,333,197	5.88	225,879,502	1.24
1881	166,641,958	1.11	44,635,630	5.66	211,277,588	1.14
Total for 6 years.	\$700,279,819	\$1.18	\$180,726,783	\$5.85	\$881,006,602	\$1.19
Total for 61 years.	\$1,386,464,469	\$1.25	\$906,754,694	\$6.26	\$2,293,219,163	\$1.26

flour to wheat steadily declined. For the five years ending 1860, the exports of wheat were valued at \$53,343,918, and the exports of flour at \$104,368,446, or almost double the value of the wheat. During the five years ended 1865, which embraced the period of war, there was an enormous increase in the exports of breadstuffs from the United States; and then for the first time in the history of the country the exports of wheat exceeded in value the exports of flour. This period marked the important turning-point to which the wheat trade had

been tending for forty years or more; and since that date the value of the flour exports as compared with the wheat has been constantly increasing, although the record of the past year shows that the flour trade has made a small upward movement. During the five years 1861 to 1865, the exports of wheat were valued at \$178,420,444, which was about \$80,000,000 more than the exports for the preceding forty years combined. Between 1866 and 1870, the foreign movement of breadstuffs was greatly checked by the increased home consumption; and we find that during that period the value of the exports of wheat was \$117,527,424, or a decrease of over \$60,000,000 as compared with the preceding five years, while the value of the flour exports was \$92,071,717,—a falling off of \$41,000,000, the total decrease in the value of wheat and flour combined being considerably over \$100,000,000. The succeeding five years, however, covered a period of a very active export trade in breadstuffs, and the value of the foreign shipments of wheat footed up \$296,540,060, which was nearly \$1,000,000 more than the value for the preceding ten years. While wheat was gaining thus rapidly, flour was also increasing, but at a rather slow rate; and the value of the exports of it for the five years 1871-75, was \$114,401,066, which was only about \$22,000,000 greater than for the preceding five years. The highest average value for any five-year period, from 1821 to 1875, was for the five years ended 1870,—during which time the export value of wheat averaged \$1.43 per bushel and of flour \$8.03 per barrel, while the lowest figures were 89c. per bushel in 1830 for wheat, and \$4.94 per barrel for flour in 1845. For the fifty-five years 1821 to 1875, both inclusive, the total value of the exports of wheat was \$686,184,650, against for same time \$726,027,911 as the value of the flour exports, or \$40,000,000 in excess of wheat. The average value for the period was \$1.33 per bushel for wheat, and \$6.37 per barrel for flour. Beginning with 1876, it was deemed best to present in the foregoing tables the exports for each year instead of four five-year periods. In 1877 we find a considerable falling off in the exports both of wheat and flour as compared with the preceding year, but since that date each year has witnessed a large increase in the total quantity, although the value for 1880-81 was less than for 1879-80.

Summing up the exports for the six years ended June 30, 1881, it is seen that the total value of the wheat exported was \$700,279,819, or over \$519,500,000 more than the value of the flour exported; whereas for the preceding fifty-five years the flour exports exceeded in value the wheat exports of the same period by nearly \$40,000,000. The value of the wheat exports for the past six years was \$700,279,819 against \$686,184,650 for the fifty-five years ending 1875, being a difference in favor of the last six years of \$14,000,000;

while, comparing the exports of flour for the same two periods, the difference is \$545,300,000 in favor of the fifty-five years ending 1875. For the sixty-one years ended June 30, 1881, the value of the wheat exported from the United States was \$1,386,464,469 at an average of \$1.25 per bushel, and the value of the flour was \$906,754,694, the average price being \$6.26 per barrel, — making a grand total of the exports of wheat and flour combined for the sixty-one years \$2,293,219,163, of which about thirty-eight per cent is the value of the last six years, and nearly twenty per cent the value of 1880 and 1881 combined.

While the wheat crop of the United States has for many years attracted more attention than all other cereals combined, yet, peculiarly, it is of much less importance than the corn crop alone. From the thirty acres planted in corn by the James River settlers in 1611, and from which they gathered a few hundred bushels, this branch of American agriculture has steadily moved forward, until now nearly 52,000,000 acres are devoted to its cultivation, and the yield has annually, of late years, exceeded 1,500,000,000 bushels. The amount of corn exported in its natural state, as compared with the total yield, has always been very small, though lately the percentage of the crop shipped abroad has much increased; but the proportion exported in the form of bacon and other provisions is quite large.

The exports of corn and meal from the United States since 1821, with the value of the same, have been as shown in the table on p. 458. It will be seen by examining the figures in this table that there was no increase in the exports of corn between the five years ending 1825 and the similar period ending 1845; in fact the exports for the latter period were somewhat less than during the former. Between 1846 and 1850 there was, however, a very rapid gain in the outward movement; and the total for that time was 43,822,153 bushels, or about 29,000,000 bushels more than the exports for the preceding twenty-five years. From 1851 to 1855, the exports were 20,000,000 bushels less than for the preceding five-year period, and in the five years ending 1860 regained only 4,000,000 bushels of the decrease; between 1861 and 1865, however, the exports increased very largely and amounted to 52,612,028 bushels, but during the succeeding five years there was another falling off, although the loss was less than 500,000,000 bushels. During the five years ending 1875, the exports of corn loomed up into great importance, the total reaching 146,152,915 bushels, being but little less than the combined exports for the preceding twenty years. The total exports for the fifty-five years 1821 to 1875 were 356,356,552 bushels, valued at \$263,616,988, or an average of 74c. per bushel. For the first five years given in the succeeding table the average value of the corn exported was 53c. per bushel, and from

Five fiscal years ended.	CORN.			CORN MEAL.		
	Bushels.	Total value.	Average value per bushel.	Barrels.	Total value.	Average value per barrel.
1825	3,514,350	\$1,874,719,	\$0.53	761,406	\$2,177,118	\$2.86
1830	3,530,710	2,019,926	.57	783,408	2,404,371	3.07
1835	2,568,946	1,801,711	.70	817,383	2,731,077	3.34
1840	1,184,973	873,104	.73	843,930	2,471,215	4.11
1845	3,474,109	1,755,602	.50	1,132,749	2,037,021	2.68
1850	43,822,153	31,277,920	.71	2,493,700	8,984,252	3.60
1855	23,905,196	17,712,699	.74	1,121,456	4,147,318	3.69
1860	27,597,896	19,789,181	.71	1,291,342	4,917,515	3.80
1865	52,612,028	34,903,365	.66	1,176,607	5,323,270	4.52
1870	47,993,276	47,143,817	.98	1,355,024	7,345,448	5.42
1875	146,152,915	104,464,944	.71	1,604,053	6,461,588	4.02
Total 55 years.	356,356,552	\$263,616,988	\$0.74	13,381,058	\$51,000,193	\$3.81
1876	49,493,572	\$33,265,280	\$0.67	354,240	\$1,305,027	\$3.59
1877	70,860,983	41,621,245	.58	447,907	1,511,152	3.37
1878	85,461,898	48,030,358	.56	432,723	1,335,892	3.08
1879	86,295,252	40,655,120	.47	397,160	1,052,231	2.64
1880	98,169,877	53,298,247	.54	350,613	981,361	2.80
1881	91,250,050	50,414,898	.55	433,883	1,266,939	2.92
Total 6 years.	481,531,632	\$267,285,148	\$0.55	2,416,526	\$7,452,602	\$3.08
Grand to 161 years.	837,888,184	\$530,902,136	\$0.63	15,797,584	\$58,452,795	\$3.70

that point the price rose to 57c., 70c., and then 73c. per bushel ; but during the period 1841 to 1845 the value dropped to 50c. per bushel, — the lowest average between 1821 and 1877. The highest value was for the five years ending 1870, during which time the average export price was 98c. per bushel. The lowest value during either of the six years ending 1881 was 47c. per bushel, which is less than for any preceding time since 1821 ; while the highest value during either of the last named six years was 67c. per bushel in 1876, — the

general average for the six years being 55c. per bushel, or 19c. per bushel less than the average for the preceding fifty-five years. The total exports for the six years 1876 to 1881, both inclusive, were 481,531,632 bushels of corn, — which was 125,000,000 bushels more than the combined exports of the preceding fifty-five years; but the value for the last six years was not proportionately so great, as the average price was much lower. For the sixty-one years beginning with 1820–21 and ending with 1880–81, the exports of corn aggregated 837,888,184 bushels, valued at \$530,902,136, — or an average of 63c. per bushel, which are quite small figures when compared with the wheat exports. The exports of meal for the fifty-five years ended 1875 were 13,381,058 barrels, valued at \$51,000,193, — or an average of \$3.81 per barrel; and for the last six years the exports were 2,416,526 barrels meal valued at \$7,452,602, an average of \$3.08, — the combined totals for both periods being 15,797,584 barrels meal, worth \$58,452,795, or \$3.70 per barrel. The total exports of corn and meal, the latter reduced to bushels, for the sixty-one years ended June 30, 1881, were 901,078,520 bushels, and the value was \$589,354,931. The aggregate value of the exports of breadstuffs from the United States for the sixty-one years under review was as follows: —

Wheat	\$1,386,464,469
Flour	906,754,694
Corn	530,902,136
Meal	58,452,795
Other Breadstuffs	27,276,409
Total	<hr/> \$2,909,850,503

In examining the above aggregate for sixty-one years, it should be remembered that while the figures cover the whole period, yet the bulk of the trade has been done during the past ten years.

In connection with the exports of breadstuffs, it may be of interest to present a few statistics showing the yield of wheat and corn for a number of years, and also the foreign shipments for the same years, that we may gain some idea as to the proportion of wheat to the entire crop which we annually supply to feed the less favored nations of the old world, — as is done in the table on the following page.

In 1840 we produced a wheat crop of 84,823,272 bushels, of which 11,208,365 bushels were exported, leaving 73,615,807 bushels for home consumption. By 1850 we had increased our wheat yield to 100,485,944 bushels; and of this we shipped to foreign countries only 7,535,901 bushels or less than ten years before, and had left for domestic purposes 92,950,043 bushels. Ten years later, or in 1860, our wheat yield amounted to 173,104,924 bushels, of which we retained

QUANTITY OF WHEAT PRODUCED, EXPORTED, AND RETAINED FOR HOME CONSUMPTION DURING THE YEARS 1840, 1850, 1860, AND FROM 1867 TO 1881 INCLUSIVE.

Year ended.	Production. Bushels.	Exported. Bushels.	Retained for home consumption. Bushels.
Sept. 30, 1840	84,823,272	11,208,365	73,615,807
June 30, 1850	100,485,944	7,535,901	92,950,043
1860	173,104,924	17,213,133	156,981,791
1867	151,999,906	12,646,941	139,342,965
1868	212,441,400	26,323,014	186,118,486
1869	224,036,600	29,717,201	194,319,399
1870	260,146,900	53,900,780	206,246,120
1871	235,884,700	52,574,111	183,310,589
1872	230,722,400	38,995,755	191,726,645
1873	249,997,100	52,014,715	197,972,385
1874	281,254,700	91,510,398	189,744,302
1875	308,102,700	72,912,817	235,189,917
1876	292,136,000	74,750,682	227,385,318
1877	289,356,500	57,043,936	232,302,564
1878	364,194,146	93,139,296	271,054,850
1879	420,122,400	147,687,649	272,434,751
1880	448,756,630	180,754,180	268,001,450
1881	480,849,723	184,886,943	295,962,780

NOTE. — In the column of production, the amount placed opposite the fiscal year is the production of the preceding calendar year.

156,981,791 bushels, having exported 17,213,133 bushels; but in 1867 the production had decreased to 151,999,906 bushels, the exports to 12,646,941 bushels, and the amount used for seed and food purposes to 139,342,965 bushels. During each of the three succeeding years there was a steady increase in the yield, and also in the amount exported and in that for domestic use; but in 1871 and 1872 there was a small decline in the yield and exports, which was, however, quickly regained. The yield as well as the exports and consumption then fluctuated to some extent, although the tendency was constantly towards higher figures; and for the last year shown in the foregoing table the yield was over five times greater, the exports over sixteen times greater, and the amount retained for consumption nearly

four times greater than for 1840,—the first year appearing in the above exhibit. The exports have increased more rapidly than the production, comparing the figures of 1840 and 1880.

As a similar statement of the production and exportation of corn may prove of interest, the following is presented :—

QUANTITY OF INDIAN CORN PRODUCED, EXPORTED, AND RETAINED FOR CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE YEARS 1840, 1850, 1860, AND FROM 1867 TO 1881 INCLUSIVE.

Years ended.	Production. Bushels.	Exported. Bushels.	Retained for consumption. Bushels.
Sept. 30, 1840	377,531,875	574,279	376,957,596
June 30, 1850	592,071,104	6,595,092	585,476,012
1860	838,792,740	3,314,155	835,477,585
1867	867,946,295	14,889,823	853,056,472
1868	768,320,000	11,147,490	757,172,510
1869	906,527,000	7,047,197	899,480,803
1870	874,320,000	1,392,115	872,927,885
1871	1,094,255,000	9,826,309	1,084,428,691
1872	991,898,000	34,491,650	957,404,350
1873	1,092,719,000	38,541,930	1,054,177,070
1874	932,274,000	34,424,606	897,839,394
1875	850,148,500	28,858,420	821,290,080
1876	1,321,069,000	49,493,572	1,271,575,428
1877	1,283,827,000	70,860,983	1,212,966,017
1878	1,342,558,000	85,461,098	1,257,096,902
1879	1,388,218,750	86,296,252	1,301,922,498
1880	1,547,901,790	98,169,877	1,449,731,873
1881	1,507,536,040	91,250,050	1,416,285,990

NOTE. — In the column of "Production" the amount placed opposite the fiscal year is the production of the preceding calendar year. For example, the quantity stated in the column of "Production" opposite the fiscal year 1880 is the production of the calendar year 1879, as the exports of corn during the fiscal year 1880 were principally of the crop of the calendar year 1879.

In 1840 the total yield of corn was 377,531,875 bushels, of which less than 600,000 bushels were exported. Between 1840 and 1850 the corn crop increased to 592,071,104 bushels, and the exports during the latter year were 6,595,072 bushels, leaving for home consumption 585,476,012 bushels. During the period from 1860 to 1870, both years included, it will be seen by examining the preceding exhibit

that there was no material increase in the yield, while the exports were less for the last year of the period than for the first. In 1871, however, the corn crop for the first time was over 1,000,000,000 bushels, the exact figures being 1,094,255,000 bushels. Since that year, with a few exceptions, there has been a steady increase in the yield, the foreign exports, and the home consumption.

As briefly as possible the rise and progress of the export trade in breadstuffs has been summarized in the preceding pages. What the past has been all may now know; and if we are to judge the future by the light of the past, then the United States must ever hold a commanding position in the grain markets of the world.

RICHARD H. EDMONDS.

AN ACADIAN GOVERNOR.

SAMUEL VEITCH (or Vetch as he himself writes it) was born at Edinburgh, Dec. 9, 1668.¹ He was the third son of Mr. William Vetch, "a godly minister and a glorifier of God in the Grass Market," — who, as he relates, "falling in acquaintance with the godly families of Lanark, was induced to match with a young virgin in that town called Marion Fairly, who proved a wife of eminent piety."² This lady was descended from the "ancient family of the Fairlies of the house of Braid and related to Lord Lee's first wife, who was of that house and name." Mr. William Vetch was a minister of repute, whose place is fixed high in an age and in a struggle which admitted of none but strong competitors. Mrs. Vetch was worthy of association with her husband. Her piety was of that unaffected order which springs from humility, and of that enduring order which has its source in heroism. She was well fitted to have been happy as a loving wife and mother in a quiet home. But there was an innate strength in her which rose to the summit of stormy times. Her life-work, strong, high-principled, earnest, Christian, is recorded in the touching memoirs of the "Ladies of the Covenant." No woman of her day could ask for her efforts a nobler testimony than to be enrolled among those virtuous ladies who defied Prelacy, and revered the National and Solemn League Covenant.

¹ His father thus quaintly records the fact on the margin of the Family Bible: "Samuel, my third child, born on Wednesday, at Edinburgh, being the ninth day of December, 1668, and baptized the thirteenth by Mr. John Blackadar, a Minister in Galaway, etc." — *Memoir of Mr. William Vetch*, p. 259.

² *Ibid.* p. 22.

Little is known of the childhood of Samuel Vetch. A boyhood like his was not possible save in a day of blind political and religious persecution, more than met by a sustained religious exaltation. His baptism by Mr. John Blackadar on the 13th of December, when he was only four days old, is a side-light thoroughly in harmony with the traditional "lights" of the stock whence he sprang. Judged by his after life, Samuel must have been a boy of a fairly keen spirit. He might have had something to say for himself, if his parents had not had on their side so much to say, to do, and to suffer for themselves. His father was a splendid type of the brave, rather headstrong, fiery old Scottish Covenanter minister. He was a bold, and from accounts a powerful preacher, in an age of exceptionally bold and powerful preachers. He did not know what fear was. Unfortunately, he knew as little what prudence was. He was conscientious in an age when conscience meant proscription, and he was defiant when defiance meant treason. He befriended the head of a ducal, an almost princely, house when kindness to such meant the scaffold.¹

The result of all this was a too frequent overthrowing of the family altar. In one of the dispersions, in the dark days of James II., Mr. Vetch was obliged to flee to Holland, — "that hospitable retreat," as an admirer of the Covenant gratefully calls it, "of our persecuted forefathers." Like every fond mother, Mrs. Vetch was anxious to see her growing lads with their father. She hastened to send William and Samuel — then youths of sixteen or seventeen years of age — over to him to complete their education. In their tender boyhood she had dreamed, like every covenanting matron of the day, when her sons, in their turn, should expound sacred texts from "non-conforming pulpits."

¹ The following extracts from the Vetch Memoirs tell a curious story of ingratitude on the part of the heirs of that Argyle who was beheaded at the cross in Edinburgh. To have befriended a father, and put one's self out of pocket and in peril of life for his sake, should have proved a sacred claim to the recognition of his children and his children's children : —

"But though these things were represented to his son, the late Duke of Argyle, who gave Mr. Vetch many repeated promises to reimburse him, and an account only of his real outlayings there was left in his custody with a letter subjoined, which no doubt his executors found among his papers, yet never was there anything done; and Mr. Vetch may say that some of his children, to whom he has been very kind, gave him frowns and summons upon false grounds, and reproaches behind his back, instead of thanks.

"This I confess to the commendation of the suffering Earl, that, walking with him in Madam Smith's garden at Brentford, in an unexpected discourse he acknowledged to Mr. Vetch his great kindness in venturing over again his all in the world, yea his life, to serve him, who was never acquainted with him formerly; and that he not only resolved to give him a suitable reward in money, but he would give him a free farm, worth about four hundred merks per annum, lying near Campbeltown, as he remembers, disposed to him and his posterity forever, for that good service he had done him; and that it should be mentioned in the disposition, that his posterity might always show kindness to Mr. Vetch's posterity; and if Mr. Vetch had sought a bond of him, he, without doubt, had given him it. But he never dreamed of such a thing, thinking always they would live together afterwards and the thing would be done." — *Memoirs of Mr. William Vetch*, p. 154.

Her fond dreams never became realities. Samuel and his brother did not take over kindly to the Christian ministry. Their studies were fairly prosecuted there; but their hearts were more with the drum-beats of the camp than with the psalms of the Conventicles. We can read here the plaintive words of their mother: "My sons," she says, "whom I had kept at the college of Utrecht, were both for being soldiers, which troubled my spirit much." When the great Revolution was ripe, and when the Prince of Orange came with its ripeness, the brothers were among those who held commissions in his military family.

They do not appear to have stayed long at home. We soon hear of them as serving with credit in Flanders during the war with France which followed Louis' advocacy of the Stuarts. The Peace of Ryswick set the brothers free. They found themselves in England again, without an assured prospect of support. There must have been a certain freedom of blood in both Samuel and William. It is not strange, then, that they should have turned their thoughts at this time to the New World. That world was a vast repository whose treasures were unknown possibilities,—possibilities of fame, of conquest, of gold. The project of a Scottish colony to be settled among the "Dons" on the Isthmus of Darien was one likely, both in novelty and nationality, to attract them. Their stern old father and their gentle mother were then settled in peace, after so much storm at Dumfries, whither they went as to a temporary haven. The old mother may have wept tears in secret, which she was too loving to shed before her sons, at her disappointment in seeing them return, not godly ministers, but worldly soldiers. She grows even timid of herself: "I fear I have been too peremptory with God in desiring to have all my sons ministers." But the old covenanter was made of sterner stuff. He had some little influence still for the words he had spoken, the pangs he had borne, the perils he had hazarded for the Kirk. He chose to exercise it for his son Samuel, who was "a wise and thoughtful youth." Through him, Samuel was appointed one of the seven Councillors who were to constitute the local government of the "colony of Caledonia," as the proposed expedition chose to call itself.¹ As such he signed the Caledonia papers,—so famous among the much-promising, nothing-resulting documents of that day. History has made, and will continue to make, but little of the "colony of Caledonia." A certain earnestness supported the basis on which it first stood. That earnestness rested mainly on the deep purpose, the unselfish honesty, and the indomitable

¹ "William Vetch, Jr. had, with his brother Samuel, offered his services to the expedition. Besides obtaining the rank of captain of the forces, he had also received a commission to act as one of the Council, and had taken the oath of office. He was, however, prevented from going out with the first expedition."—*Memoirs of Mr. William Vetch*, p. 223.

heart of its originator, William Paterson. But even on such a basis, the scheme was as wild and fanciful a dream as ever was born of Plato's mythical Republic and More's impossible Utopia, and as ever, before its awakening, lured daring spirits to peril and to death. The inevitable end came, as it comes wherever adventurers outnumber men of principle. Three hundred gentlemen make too small a leaven for eight hundred rogues. Within eight months after the arrival of the expedition, open-eyed Darien children were wondering at the relics of New Caledonia. Before this, however, Paterson had gone to England to make his report to the Directors, and with the wild hope of securing assistance for the perishing colony. Captain Samuel Vetch accompanied him, but on the way stopped at New York. His brother William had joined the colony on the last partial relief expedition, but returning homeward after the crash, had died of fever at sea before reaching that town.

The Caledonia frenzy had lasted from Nov. 3, 1698 — the date of their arrival on the Isthmus — to June 23, 1699, when the last dreamer and the last rogue had left its shores forever. There is no record that Captain Samuel Vetch returned to England at this time, or took any further care in the lost chances of Darien. There is a record, however, that he went up the Hudson as far as Albany. In that village, then important by its nearness to the frontier, he soon became engaged in a lucrative trade with the Indians. It was in Albany that Captain Vetch formed an alliance which more than any other contributed to fix his mind upon those questions that were, by constant agitation, to lead to the final triumph of the English colonies on this continent. The young officer — he was only thirty years old — found an easy admission into the society of Albany. Albany at this time was, for the colony, the dispenser at once of trade and social honors. It was the stronghold of that "Knickerbockerism," — a name which survives, at this day, to represent for its descendants a social position at once honorable and substantial. In the family of one of these social magnates, Robert Livingstone, the young Englishman, found favor through his daughter Margaret. They were married during the Christmas holidays, Dec. 20, 1700.¹ Old Madam Vetch must have in her heart been made glad to learn that her daughter-in-law was a grandchild of the great non-conformist preacher, John Livingstone. Persecuted for his faith in Scotland, driven for his faith to Holland, gaining for his

¹ It may be in place to say here that the only fruit of this marriage was a girl, — Aleda, who was married to Samuel Bayard, a descendant of Nicholas Bayard, nephew and secretary to Governor Stuyvesant. From this source many distinguished families in this State and other States have sprung. Among those descended from another nephew of the Stuyvesant is Mrs. James Grant Wilson, who numbers among her treasures a large and heavy folio Bible, published in Dordrecht in 1690, the property of her ancestor, Petrus Bayard, who died in 1699.

faith a love and respect among strangers, dying for his faith away from home, but always in the harness of his Lord, — the famous, never-to-be-forgotten, holy "minister of Ancrum" must have seemed to her like an inspired saint in the days when sainthood was rare save through the trials of the proscribed Kirk, of which she and her husband had been tried and suffering champions.

While acquiring considerable wealth in his Indian trade, he had early become prominent in the councils of the colonial government. His judgment was greatly relied on. A certain aggressiveness derived from his father, and a certain thoughtful patience from his mother, made up a character equally valuable in offence and defence. A strong leaning to commerce, however, was at this time a distinguishing trait in Captain Vetch. His frontier trade had not been unproductive, and yet he saw better and surer receipts farther a-sea. He knew that wealth could be quickly obtained by closer communications with the French possessions, over which and the English colonies the Peace of Ryswick, then dying out in Europe, had thrown a delusive mantle. He therefore bought — in conjunction with, it is said, John Livingstone, a brother-in-law, and one Mr. Saffin — a vessel known as the sloop "Mary." The sloop "Mary" was lucky, and skimmed through Long Island Sound on many an outward voyage, and raced back home with cargoes which brought much coin to her owners' pockets. Old sailors shook their heads gravely. Luck was luck. But where was there ever such luck known as that of the sloop "Mary"? The revenue officers thumbed over trade laws, looked wise, but said nothing. One day, Nov. 23, 1710, the news reached them that the "Mary," all helpless and unmanned, had been hurled ashore at Montauk. The old sailors could find no special triumph here. Luck is luck; and "the luck of the 'Mary' had turned bad," — that was all. But the revenue officers, fresh from legislative reading, had swooped upon her decks, and read in her cargo of wine, brandy, and furs, that she had been too intimate with the Frenchman. Measures to punish the gallant sloop were taken at once. She was charged with violation of the British trade and navigation laws, which forbade all commerce between the colonies and the foreign plantations. The proof being conclusive, both she and her cargo were condemned. It does not appear that the owners suffered more than the mere loss involved in the question of what might have been the pecuniary benefit from a cargo which smacked too much of the St. Lawrence to be palatable among the officials of the Hudson. For herself, the sloop "Mary" has had her revenge. She still rides the seas, since, honored above most vessels, it is given to her to boast of a Journal which, being in print, is still read nearly two centuries after it was signed by her mate, good master John Maher.

It is just to the owners of the sloop "Mary" to say that they could in no way have suffered in reputation from her condemnation, since we find their chief, Captain Vetch, appointed, in 1705, by Governor Dudley of Massachusetts Bay, a Commissioner to Quebec. His mission was of moment, since, besides treating of an exchange of prisoners, it was no less than one to secure a treaty ; or, failing that, a truce between Canada and New England, to be kept while the mother countries were snarling and fighting at home. This had been through all the wars—more recently through King William's war—an ever-pressing question between the colonies of the rival nations. There never was a clearer delusion than a peaceful settlement between interests so warring and discordant. By race, Canadians were Frenchmen for the love of France. Politically, Canada was French so long as France could keep her so. She could become English only when England could by her arms make her and hold her so. Before his departure from Canada (where he remained several months), Captain Vetch devoted himself to the study of the topography and resources of the country. There were even those who said that, by intelligent and none too open observation, he learned more of Canadian weakness than was right for an Englishman, in time of war, to know. Perhaps Vetch gave some official color to this in a boast, which sounded strangely on the lips of a Commissioner, that he knew "more of Canada than the people who were living there." And perhaps, again, that king of minute historians, old Père Charlevoix, has given an additional tone here in declaring satirically that "*le sieur Vesche, en 1705, avoit sondé tous les passages difficiles du Fleuve S. Laurent, sous prétexte de venir à Quebec traiter de l'échange des Prisonniers.*" Whether Father Charlevoix may have supplemented Vetch, or Vetch have been maligned by that great historian, the French domination in Canada had always been, from the anxiety it excited, a subject worthy of the highest powers of the thinking men of New England. Before 1700, France had displayed greater wisdom than England in the treatment of her colonies. She had always looked to the conquest of the New World as a mother, eager for the success of her children, would have done. Her cordon of forts was a master-stroke in history. Starting from the Atlantic, along the great fresh-water lakes, down the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico, the idea lacked troops only to make it as formidable as it is memorable in the annals of what may be termed geographical statesmanship. On the other side, this assumption was like a red flag flaunted before a mad bull. England fought doggedly this armament against it, butting at the first onset like the bull, angrily, but for nearly three quarters of a century with as little sense.

Such was the state of affairs on the return of Captain Vetch from

his mission. He did not long remain at Boston.¹ Business, both private and public, called him to England in 1708. With the full authorization of the colony of New York he presented himself before the Queen. His enthusiasm, the soundness of his information, the facts he had to give, and the figures he had to show, commended him to Her Majesty. Anne, in her worst days, was never a bad judge of good men. She thought well of Colonel Vetch from the first. His manners and person were pleasing, and his marriage with a distinguished colonial family strengthened his claims to notice. He knew by experience the standing menace which French Canada was to Puritan Massachusetts and Anglo-Dutch New York. As a resident he could tell how the colonists trembled at the ever-recurring phantom of a French war. As a merchant, he could sum up the losses which their infant trade had suffered from the same phantom, driven from the frontier and frightened from the fishing banks. He could tell Anne how French greed had whetted the native fierceness of the Iroquois to more than savage cruelty, and how her subjects looked to her for sureness of protection. He proposed a general colonial war against Canada, and asked for the prompt and powerful co-operation of Government. He left nothing in doubt as to the cost, the expected assistance of men, of armament, of ships and sailors. He argued that if the Ministers acted upon the matter, they should do so with all the facts before them. His views were favorably received by the Queen. His arguments were thought sufficient to warrant the exercise of government action. Anne issued a proclamation to each of her "trusty and well-beloved" Governors in America, "moved thereto by certain proposals laid before us by our trusty and well-beloved Colonel Vetch," commanding the said Governor "to be assisting in this our expedition after the manner that the said Colonel Vetch shall, in our name, propose to you." Colonel Sir Francis Nicholson, a distinguished soldier and ex-Governor of Virginia, was associated as coadjutor of Colonel Vetch in the proposed expedition against Canada. Such present assistance as was included in a body of linesmen, some officers, a few bombardiers "fetched from the Tower," and a quantity of stores, was given. Pledges were made, — some to be redeemed immediately; others, later on; others still, never. In the last was included the sending shortly of a strong fleet to co-operate with the land forces. The fleet was not ready to accompany the Commissioners on their departure. The autumn of the year was about setting in; and the early winters in the latitude of Quebec necessitated a summer campaign. The non-departure of the

¹ "On returning to Boston [Vetch] was arrested, committed to prison on a charge of trading with the French and Indians, enemies to the government, and fined £200." — *Journal of the Voyage of the Sloop "Mary,"* p. xiv.

fleet was the first of a long and finally fatal series of disappointments. The second was the tardy departure from England of himself and Colonel Nicholson. This was bad, as nothing could be done until their arrival in the colonies. Her Majesty's ship "Dragon," Captain George Martin, was booked for a start in the first days of March. It was not until the 11th that the ship lay off Spithead. Other disappointments followed in quick succession. The "Dragon" met unfavorable gales. "For more than five weeks afterwards," reports Colonel Vetch in despair, "we had not one day fair wind." Captain Martin asked for change of original destination from New York to Boston, as being nearer. At this latter point, "shattered and overdue," the "Dragon" finally arrived on April 30.

All before this had been delay. Then began the revulsion against it. If Boston had been reached late, the new Commissioners were resolved to make up for the time lost. On landing, they waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and on the same night an express was sent post-haste with the letters from Her Majesty to the Governors of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. Colonel Vetch sketched a general plan of the campaign which had been agreed on between himself and Colonel Nicholson during the tedium of a sea voyage. He began with fixing the number of troops to be supplied by each colony. They were, with three months' provisions, to "be at Albany with all possible expedition sometime in the month of May; . . . besides all the Indians both of the Five Nations and others in amity with the Crown." He continues:—

"With this body of men it is resolved, by way of the lakes, to attack Montreal, whilst a squadron of men-of-war, with about 9,000 regular troops besides, at least 1,200 of their best men from New England and Rhode Island, with bomb vessels, a train of artillery and everything necessary, shall by sea attempt the reduction of Quebec, whose success (by God's blessing) I hope there will be no need to doubt; the which two places being reduced, all the others must of consequence fall into Her Majesty's hands, who hath given such orders for well garrisoning and fortifying the same places, when reduced in obedience, *that it shall never be in the power of the French to retake them.*"

Here was a very pretty plan on paper. How hard to carry it out on land and sea, let the fruitless wars before 1709 tell.

However, Colonel Vetch was free from forebodings. The next morning he was hard at work. "The Governor and Council," he says, "met, to whom we communicated H. M.'s instructions relating to the expedition against Canada and Newfoundland, which was received with all the *dutiful obedience* becoming good subjects, and all the marks of joy and thankfulness which became the objects of so great favors as these H. M. had been pleased to confer upon them."

But bad news from Newfoundland had met them on the very pier. St. John's had just fallen before the French. This new call was promptly met. That same day a fit person was sought to bring a reliable account of the real situation there. A Captain Pickering was found, who was master of a "fine brigantine and perfectly well knew all that country." Before sundown he had left the harbor. On the 2d of May Colonel Wanton arrived, commissioned by the Governor of Rhode Island to confer with the new Commissioners. His excellency himself would have come, he sent word, but "the yearly election of a governor happening to be that week he could not come in person." With what a howl of the Argus press this frank admission would have been received in these days! Surely, the tactics of officials seeking renomination are nearer to our days than to those of the Athenian democracy!

Colonel Wanton was at once despatched with instructions to Governor Cranston to make all necessary preparations before Colonel Vetch's arrival at Newport, which would be in a few days. Promptness took the place of delay. There was need of it. Spring had fairly set in. Already the French Indians were on the war-path, and the frontiers were uneasy. Both Colonel Vetch and Colonel Nicholson felt this keenly. On May 3 Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts Bay, and the Council met them in conference. This resulted, (1) In an immediate and general embargo being placed upon all shipping, save coasters, leaving the colonial ports, "until such time as enough was secured for the present expedition;" (2) In the placing of scouts all along the frontiers to prevent "either Indians or Christians carrying intelligence by land to the enemy;" (3) In arranging for the drilling of the troops to be used in conjunction with those who were to come from England; (4) In providing for the selection of officers of the proposed provincial forces; and (5) In organizing a fleet of flat-bottomed boats, capable of carrying twenty men each in case of attack. One point further the Council agreed on. Special barracks were ordered to be built on an island in Boston Harbor for any sick men from "the fleet that was to come from England." After which the dignitaries "signed an address to H. M. for her care of them."

"The fleet that was to come." This was the expectation which unnerved, while it strengthened, the coadjutors. More especially did its delayed arrival vex Colonel Vetch, upon whom rested the heavy burden of all the preliminaries of the proposed campaign. Thoroughly modest, he had never classed himself as a military leader. That position was frankly left by him to Colonel Nicholson, who had already seen service in the colonies. In itself, this choice was a wise one. The name of that officer was well known through their length and breadth. He was honored alike by the Cavaliers of Virginia (of

which province he had been a most efficient Governor) and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay ; by the Catholics of Maryland as by the Huguenots of Carolina. He had already been brought face to face with the Frenchmen, and had come out of the contest with credit to himself and advantage to the British arms. Above all, his was surely a name to conjure with, by the blazing council fires and in the distant wigwams of the Five Nations.

In the partition of responsibility, the onerous duty of convincing Governors and awing Assemblies fell upon Colonel Vetch. A serious as well as a tedious business this might have proved in 1709, had it not been for that feeling of loyalty which ran as strong under the colonial sense of freedom as a spring of living waters flows hidden underground. His duties, however, did not open auspiciously. He was on the eve of departure from Boston when an express reached him from New York. It announced the death of Lord Lovelace, the Governor of that colony. Nothing daunted by this bad news, Colonel Vetch, accompanied by Colonel Nicholson, set out from Boston, as had been designed, on May 12. Twelve days only had elapsed since Colonel Vetch's arrival in the country ; but hard work and intelligent effort had achieved gratifying results. His success in Boston was fairly a warrant for an equally favorable issue with the other governments. The premature death of Lord Lovelace, the noble successor of the ignoble Cornbury, threatened, however, to blast his hopes at the very outset. The dead governor had, in his official position, been known as an able advocate of English domination on this continent. The loss of such a man on the threshold of a war which might, if conducted with energy, change the political fortunes of the colonies, was no common one.

The party reached Rhode Island — in other words, Newport — on the night of May 13. On the next day the Governor and Council gave the Commissioners an account of their stewardship, which to the latter was very encouraging. To us it is clear that Rhode Island had in this war, as in another darker one a century and a half later, resolved not to be in the rear if matters passed beyond *pour parler*. The Governor and Council had been both active and provident ; they had not only taken care to provide the men, transports, and provisions, but they had made, without solicitation, due provision for payment of the troops, — an important consideration in those days of dependent and impecunious colonies. It was therefore with light spirits that the Commissioners left Newport for New Haven on the 16th, where they found the colony in a flutter at having just passed through the excitement of a yearly election. They failed to see Colonel Saltonstall, who had been re-elected governor. They received, however, a message from him that he would follow them to New

York, assuring them that he was getting everything in readiness in accordance with Her Majesty's orders. Reaching New York on the 18th, they found Lieut-Governor Ingoldsby ready to receive them. A council was summoned to meet them at Fort Anne on the 19th. The "Lower House" were sent for to join the Council. Each of the Commissioners addressed that body, giving them "a short account of the expedition designed, withal showing Her Majesty's great care and concern for their welfare in sparing both such a number of troops and so much money for their relief at a juncture when both men and money were so much wanted for carrying on the great affairs of Europe in which Her Majesty was so deeply engaged, . . . and withal recommended to them a hearty and expeditious compliance with Her Majesty's commands." To this gracious message our legislative ancestors responded graciously.

All these were sweet words; but Colonel Vetch knew well on occasion how to threaten. He had warned the governors, in his original letter of instructions, that any lukewarmness "would justly entail Her Majesty's royal displeasure and frowns upon your colony, and make you justly despair *forever hereafter* of any favor or assistance from the Crown, should your circumstances be never so deplorable."

The arrival of Governor Saltonstall of Connecticut and Lieut-Governor Gookin of Pennsylvania completed the gubernatorial circle. The advanced season made it time to begin business. The first act of the coming drama was "to fall upon modelling the land army which was now a-raising." But like many dramas on the mimic stage this first act was preceded by a prologue. What Colonel Vetch called a "right foundation for the said model" was the choice of a commander-in-chief. Such a choice was easily made; it was a question of many sponsors and one baptism. All signs pointed to Francis Nicholson. The assembled Governors, the Council, and the Assembly of the Province of New York unanimously requested him to take the command. Colonel Nicholson himself was willing to go as a volunteer by land, but modestly declined the honor offered to him. Enough was known of the man to make this abnegation of power, unless overborne by patriotic considerations, absolute. At this juncture, Colonel Vetch interfered. He declared it to be his opinion that the coming expedition could not go on unless Colonel Nicholson would consent to command it. In this view he was sustained by Colonel Peter Schuyler, — a brave officer and a high authority in colonial military matters, and wielding a special influence among the Indian allies. This was an attack by the storming party which Colonel Nicholson's previous experience had not fitted him to resist. At the call of country, Cin-cinnatus does not keep at the plow, and Putnam rides the plow-horse to battle. Colonel Nicholson accepted the post, but most reluctantly.

Colonel Schuyler received the second command, with authority to succeed to the chief in case of the death or inability of the commander-in-chief.

Only one more official conference remained. The Jerseys were to be propitiated. In this province, placed under the gubernatorial wing of New York, it was reported to Colonel Vetch that there had existed for some time "a great variance" between the Lieut.-Governor and the gentlemen of the Council and the Assembly. Colonel Vetch dreaded the effect of such a misunderstanding, certified documents to which had already reached Her Majesty's ears. He did not choose, however, to inquire too curiously into the details of the family quarrel. He resolved to proceed at once to Perth Amboy, where the Assembly was in session. The House of Commons was, as usual, "sent for." The Commissioners found the spell with which they had invoked the loyal Assembly of New York to be useless before the Commons of the Jerseys. Half of that body were Quakers, who, to all appeals to their patriotism and their love of martial glory, meekly presented the "napless vesture of humility." They were stubborn against the war, but they were loyal to Her Majesty — in their fashion. Each of the Commissioners addressed the House. They soothingly referred the peace-loving malcontents to the fair example set by "all the rest of the governments." After some argument a compromise was effected, the Quaker spirit in which was worldly enough to take refuge in what seems to have been very much of a trick. "For," as affirms Colonel Vetch, "the House resolved finally to raise £3,000 for Her Majesty's service for this present juncture, but *would not have it named for paying or raising soldiers*, this being against the *pretended principles* of the Quakers!" It would seem that in this instance Colonel Vetch's patriotism was more manifest than his charity. He hastened by the first packet-boat to urge warmly upon Lord Sunderland, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State, his opinion that it was "absolutely necessary that Her Majesty should send over an instruction to her several governments where such Quakers are, *to allow none to be of the Council or Assembly of these parts but such as qualify themselves by taking the oath appointed by the Act of Parliament.*" A spirit this which borrowed largely from the fierce old covenanting father of Pentland Hills and the Tolbooth. Its exercise was to be further tried by the Quakers of Pennsylvania, excelling their brothers of the Jerseys in numbers and far surpassing them in that submission which is defiance, and that antagonism which is meekness.

"There is no time to be lost" had exclaimed Colonel Vetch. That was his cry when the governors, having granted everything, delayed in fulfilling what they had granted. His activity was exhaustless. He urged that the quotas of the provinces should be at once raised,

and was careful to leave no question of what should be this quota : all this was clearly provided for at the outset. In his computations for final success he left out altogether the peace-loving Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. With the loyal aid of the Governments, "with Christians and Indians together," he figured that one army overland would number 3,000 men, and that another army by sea, from New England, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, with sailors, would make above 2,000, — giving an entire force of 5,000 men ; "so that in all human probability," as he writes, "nothing can occasion the design's miscarriage *save the too late coming* of the fleet." What Banquo was to Macbeth's feast, this delay of the fleet was to prove to the deceived servants of that well-meaning but careless majesty of Anne. They had hoped for the fleet, because they knew that it would bring, besides five regiments of regular troops and a full regiment of marines, "bomb-vessels, hospital ships, engineers, a train of artillery, and everything suitable." It was to have sailed "about the 10th of April directly for Boston." But the fleet had failed to sail with the "Dragon" on March 11, as provided. Would it sail a month later, on April 10, as prayed and fasted for? If the fleet should not come! Colonel Vetch felt that the co-operation of the land and sea forces was essential to the success of any expedition against the mocking Frenchman behind the Quebec ramparts. The dreary story, twenty years old, of the failure of Sir William Phips, rich in men-of-war but abandoned by the army, was still told around the winter fires in those rough cabins which more than once had brought forth strong sons and soldiers to redeem their land. Here was a picture of anger at baffled hopes, so intense as still to be rehearsed. Was Vetch destined to reverse the plates, and, having an army, to lack the fleet? That thought was wormwood.

To do them justice, the Colonies had not been slow to respond to the call of Anne. In the old Stuart days England had not always heard the "cuckoo cry" among her subjects in the New World. But in the days of a queen whose powers were built on the solid hearts of English-speaking men, a new loyalty had taken the place of the old mock loyalty. The activity of the Colonies kept pace with the enthusiasm of the Commissioners, — first of all, by a generosity in itself somewhat selfish, to which Whitehall, wholly selfish, responded but feebly, and only later on their assemblies furnished the funds. The rest was left to the people. Volunteers thronged the recruiting-booths. Some signed in old-fashioned script, — such as knew how ; others made their crucial marks. Fathers there were who had seen blood flow in the old heroic wars, and sons who were eager to eclipse their father's glory. Within a few days, the army which was to march against Montreal was being raised. It had been judged proper to throw out as far as Wood

Creek a force of observation consisting of five hundred picked men, carpenters, engineers, etc. Colonel Nicholson had, with his usual devotion to duty, expressed his intention to take command of the advance. Wood Creek was a convenient place for the embarkation of provisions and supplies on Lake Champlain, then the central point for the departure of troops on the road to Montreal. The advance guard was speedily organized; they were soon joined by a large body of Indian allies, and together they represented a force of between 2,000 and 2,500 men. The first tents were pitched on the 20th of May. The post itself was dangerous, and the men who set out to turn the wilderness into a fortified camp knew it. An army which was to support them in the rear had not yet been formed; an army, powerful and already under arms, was in their front. England called upon them to keep the line closed until she could open it with her strong battalions. Had Colonel Vetch's expedition against Canada made its stroke on the page of history, Wood Creek would have played to it the part which Point Isabel, later on, played to our triumphant campaign against Mexico. But the ink in which it is recorded is dim; and it is known to side-chroniclers only as the forlorn-hope of 1709. They worked well and bravely at Wood Creek, considering the grimness of the near future. On land, they built storehouses large enough to hold four or five months' provisions for 3,000 men; on water, they built *bataux* and canoes large enough to float such an army on the placid summer-waters of Lake Champlain. Then they rested and waited, — waited for an order from New York or Boston to advance on Montreal.

Having thus seen the Wood Creek family settled, and hoping everything from the influence of the commander-in-chief over the oft-tried and oft-tempted Five Nations, Colonel Vetch set out, June 29, on his return to Boston. On his arrival he found the three regiments forming the Massachusetts contingent prepared for service. Their proficiency in drill delighted him. He becomes enthusiastic. He goes so far as to declare in a letter to Lord Sutherland, that he can assure his lordship, "without the least boast, that they both do the marshal exercise and fire in platoons and batallion equal to most regiments in the service."¹ But even here, in the midst of a great contentment, — Wood Creek, the New England contingent, eager troops, and all right, — the shadow begins to creep in dark lines on the sunny dial. It is time that the fleet should be heard from. "The vast expense" to which the Governments have already been put alarm him; "all that they have now to do is to fast and pray for the

¹ Of the physical condition of the men Colonel Vetch expresses a gratifying opinion. According to his experience — that of a tried soldier in the wars of the Low Countries — "their bodies are better than those in Europe."

safe and sudden arrival of the fleet, for *which they have had two fast-days kept.*"

This tardiness of the fleet was, like that misty outline in Grimm's Tales, ready to turn into a destroying demon. It deranged plans already made; it paralyzed plans just set in motion. Even in the tried and trusty Puritanism of New England, sour looks had taken the place of pious fastings. They remembered how France was attempting to throw its anaconda coils, stretching from the sands of Biloxi to the rapids of Montmorency, around the English colonies; they spoke of Fort Frontenac curbing trade from Albany; they railed at Quebec and Port Royal sending out coasting privateers to swoop upon the trade of New England. Colonel Vetch heard all these complaints, and brooded over them. Especially did he brood over that "hornets' nest" Port Royal, and the pest it was. He was fond of calling it, in letters and conversation, "a little Dunkirk." In this he was not far wrong. Port Royal as dearly loved to pounce down upon the fishing smacks from Martha's Vineyard, as its saucy prototype of the German Sea did upon the heavily laden merchantmen bound to and from the Hague. Indeed, so sore was he on the score of this vexing little city that he declares, that, had he known that the fleet would have been so tardy, he would have taken the men-of-war then in Boston Harbor and the three regiments, and attacked the place, "which I doubt not," he adds bravely enough, "to have carried." This doubt was to be solved with flying colors only a few months later. But, for all that, Port Royal was to have no part in the British triumphs of 1709. Malplaquet, worthy of British valor anywhere, was to suffice for British glory everywhere.

Bad news, like that sourer sister *Atra Cura*, rides on the surest of black horses. It came this time from Commander-in-Chief Nicholson. It told how the brave men of Wood Creek were becoming discouraged. They yearned for action. They had built great storehouses capable of housing four or five months' provisions for 3,000 men; they had not numbered more than 2,000 men, and, after four months, had "eaten up all their provisions." The men's clothes were worn out; the cold weather, early in these latitudes, was already "beginning to set in." What is best for commander-in-chief, under these circumstances, to do? He dares not advise disbandment—that would lose England at once the frontier and the Five Nations, "who have so long been the barrier betwixt us and the French." But what shall he do? This query comes in time to sharpen the anxieties of Colonel Vetch. He might claim kinship with that king of France, whose soul had been "wrapped in dismal thinkings." More than once since his return to Boston had he allowed himself to ask the same sinister question. What should he do with the troops under his command

there, with the transports, with the whale-boats, with the flat-bottomed boats, with all the grand preparations made at so heavy an expense, — all for the reduction of Canada? Could he afford to disband these in the event of the non-arrival of the fleet? Dare he do so? And if he did not disband at Boston and at Wood Creek, who was to pay — the Colonies or the Crown — the cost of continuance?

To ease his doubts on this vital score he called a meeting, with Colonel Nicholson and himself, for October 2, 3, 4, of all the governors concerned, to be held at New London, as being the “most commodious and central place.” Before this he had received documents which were far from reassuring. The governors and colonial authorities, representing the over-taxed colonies, were growing restive; they by no means liked the silence of Whitehall. The Assembly at Newport was the first to resolve that —

“To us it seems almost impossible to do anything in that affair this winter; and therefore we all look at it as of necessity *to take off our forces* except your Honor hath further express from Her Majesty.”

Is there not a certain cunning here? Do not the grave assemblymen at Newport know that Her Majesty is not over-troubled about those men and vessels lying in wait at heavy charge during those bright summer-months sacred to Mars? To me it looks much that way. And here is Governor Dudley, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, writing September 8 to Colonel Vetch, throwing the coldest of iced water on the Canada scheme: —

“I therefore propose whether we may not lessen and *ease our charge by a present dismissing* of our attendant chaplain, doctor, and pilots (who may be restored if the service demands it), and some of our transports and hospital ships, — a lesser number being judged sufficient for enterprise to Port Royal, or other place on this side Canada river, if Her Majesty’s commands for the same arrive seasonably before the winter set in with bad weather.”¹

It was clear from these protests that the authorities were already chafing under the shabby returns made by the Queen to the generous outpourings of the colonial purse. If Canada was a standing menace to them, it was equally a standing check to British ambition in the two hemispheres. Indeed, Vetch himself had become so thoroughly imbued with the justness of the plea presented by his associates, that in a letter to Lord Sunderland, dated September 22, he could see no issue to the trouble other than the assumption by the Crown of all

¹ In the same document crops out a bit of the coming spirit of 1775: “It will be great satisfaction and encouragement to Her Majesty’s good subjects cheerfully to attend their duty and lay out themselves for the service, when they see a just case is taken to prevent all unnecessary expense of their money when the taxes are so heavy.” A just case! — mark you that!

future expenses for the maintenance of the troops already raised upon its express order.¹

About this time Her Majesty's ship "Guernsey" brought news that "that which hath so long delayed the fleet and expedition is General McKarty's not being exchanged."² Poorest of crusty-bread comfort this for our Vetch, just receiving a second message from Wood Creek. Bad news this, too. Officers send by their tried comrades, Major John Livingstone and John Schuyler, protests against the miscarriage of the expedition. They do not mean to give up a single mile, whether measured on land or by water,—not they. For "the honor of the country" they declare that "we may not lose the ground we have taken with so much charge and difficulty, especially since we are so far advanced against Canada." Brave words! If the officers at Wood Creek could have gripped for but a single half-hour the purse-strings held by Anne, Montreal and Quebec might have fallen before their ardent swords in 1709; and Wolfe and Montcalm might not have been, in 1759, recumbent figures covered with laurels on the broad tomb of history!

The responses of their various Excellencies to the convocation at New London brought their own vexation. The New England governors thought Newport more "central" than New London. Colonel Vetch must, after some reflection—or it may be after some pressure—have agreed with them, as we find Newport finally settled on. October 14 was the date at last selected,—one quite two weeks later than that originally fixed. In the interval, new and startling complaints had reached Boston from the advance. The early approach of winter had fairly disheartened the soldiers at Wood Creek. Added to this, the non-arrival of the fleet, talked of round blazing camp-fires, had cast upon the hearts of brave men darker shadows than those which the black woods threw by night upon the waters of Champlain. The Indians were the first to grow impatient. Brave in action, they were restive in inaction. Peace in camp was a paradox, the subtilty of which they failed to grasp; before that paradox, they flitted, according to their way, while the leaves were still falling. As by a signal of disintegration from some supreme power, the whites followed their Indian allies. Rumors of all sorts were not wanting to alarm those who remained. The French were swarming in their forts. The fierce and pitiless Iroquois with bloody tomahawk was on the war-path. The very waters they drank, it was darkly whispered,

¹ In a letter referring to a meeting of the governors, he says that he does so because "we having resolved upon what to do in the sad circumstances wherein we are left, and as it will be absolutely necessary that the forts upon the Lake be garrisoned all this winter, so I believe it will be expected *the Crown shall be at the charge of the same.*"

² Charlevoix seemed to think none too highly of this General McKarty. He refers to him as M. Macardi, and calls him a *Créature du Duc de Marlborough.*

had been poisoned. The rumor has not been deemed unworthy of a place in history. That there was a great, a paralyzing, mortality was certain. Charlevoix, who is generally accurate when he treats of matters proceeding from his side, finds the cause of these deaths in the *perfidie* of some few Iroquois who had joined the English forces, and were employed as hunters for the camp. He says:—

“ L'armée Angloise etant campée sur le bord d'une petite Riviere ; les Iroquois, qui passoient presque tout le tems à la chasse, s'aviserent d'y jeter toutes les peaux des Bêtes, qu'ils écorchoient, un peu au dessus du Camp ; et bientôt l'eau en fut toute infectée. Les Anglois, qui ne se défioient point de cette perfidie, continuerent à boire de cette eau, et elle en fit mourir un si grand nombre, qui le P. de Mareuil, et deux officiers, qui l'étoient allé prendre à Orange pour le conduire en Canada, ayant découvert les fosses où on avoit enterré les morts, jugerent que leur nombre montoit à plus de mille.” — *Charlevoix*, vol. ii. liv. xix. p. 339.

This is the only explanation of the mysterious disease at Wood Creek which seems to account for the extraordinary mortality. A thousand victims represent doubtless a large exaggeration of the worthy P. de Mareuil. But a far less number—one half, indeed—was sufficient to breed the panic which, blind and furious like all panics, followed. Before the trees were quite bare, as early as October 6, Colonel Nicholson personally reports that, “ whether by sickness, but mostly by desertion, there is not more than two hundred men left at the fort. We expect the enemy every moment.” Two hundred weary men out of two thousand eager souls when the leaves were young and green! No wonder that the expected “ enemy ” seemed so terrible.

It was only the other day, we all remember, that an assassin's bomb shattered an imperial carriage near by the frozen waters of the Neva. A second bomb a few moments later deluged the frozen road with the life-blood of the chief of the Romanoffs. Our dismal story from Wood Creek, just told, resembled the first bomb. The second bursts, in this history, through a certain missive, signed by the hand of Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which came by the “ Enterprize ” man-of-war, “ detached for that purpose,” and reaching the colleagues at Newport, October 12. It was first received by Governor Dudley, who had been at Roxbury for days waiting for it. At ten o'clock on the night of October 11 the Governor sits down to explain that he had just received a packet with “ my Lord Sunderland's mark on it,” which “ I expressed with all possible haste.” He remembers, too, his appointment with his fellow governors, and courteously hopes “ to wait upon the Congress on Friday evening.” There is nothing in the world to keep his excellency away save disappointment at the packet's contents. And what had my Lord Sunderland really said? If there could ever be conceived such a thing as a diplomatic extinguisher upon great designs, we might safely hold to be such his lordship's

despatches just now being read by Colonels Nicholson and Vetch at Newport. "The Queen," writes Whitehall, "having thought fit *on several considerations to lay aside at this time the designed expedition on Canada* and other places on the North Continent of America, and to employ in other services the forces that were appointed and ready for that purpose, I am commanded by Her Majesty," etc. So, with formal additions, each clause plunging a dagger deep into the hearts and aspirations of loyal subjects, by proxy, ran the screed of great Anne. The forces the Colonies had raised to join the promised army from England were to be disbanded, unless "the Governor of New England, Colonel Vetch, and Colonel Nicholson shall think it expedient for Her Majesty's service to make some attempt upon some of the enemy's places in Nova Scotia." Here was honey, very thin, mixed with a large measure of gall. Port Royal might be gained!—so much was the thinnest of honey; but Canada was lost for the year!—so much was the large measure of gall. A side order for an expedition during the winter, with such vessels as they had, for the recovery of the Bahamas, "for the security of Her Majesty's dominions in America, and of the trade of Her Majesty's subjects thither," only strikes us to-day as a comedy-part edged into a historical drama, worthy, in its scenes in two hemispheres, of the genius of Shakespeare. It was both amusing and natural that Her Majesty should have selected the winter season to enjoin upon "the Commander of Her Majesty's ships of war on the American coast" to follow the directions of the aggrieved Colonies. In truth, the logic of Whitehall was in its own selfish way irresistible. Winter was bad for warlike operations. Canada had too much winter of her own; the Bahama Islands had none, and smiled the year round over shining tropic seas on which there was always summer. Therefore, Whitehall through her tender care, would send no army to Canada, but would reserve her American fleet for the Islands.

The subtle element of deadliness in this cup of royal clemency was the delay itself,—the cold putting by of a work which had cost the Colonies so much blood and so much treasure. The outlook at the close of 1709 was indeed gloomy. The Colonies had more than fulfilled their share of public effort and private sacrifice. They had, when called on, raised to the full the quotas required of them. They had in one year, when the good of the Crown was to be consulted as well as their own, laid upon the altar of loyalty a sum exceeding £100,000. To fail in this was bitter enough in itself; but far more bitter was their just disappointment when they reflected how they had, in their eager patriotism, assisted the close-drawn strings of the proverbial New England purse. Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut had, through the three months' embargo laid by their own Assemblies upon their own

shipping, completed the Frenchman's work. In plain words, they had themselves choked to death the trade which had helped to make them rich.

To do it justice, the Congress at Newport did not yield without a struggle. If its struggle was couched in respectful resolutions, it was none the less a brave assertion of a body already preparing itself for freedom. If it prayed Anne to know that "there was all dutiful and cheerful obedience paid to your royal commands," it did not fail to place before her its right, as a representative body, to claim consideration for the heavy charges to which the Colonies had been put for eleven long years. If members submitted to the royal postponement of the expedition, they did not cease to urge its revival and "prosecution with effect the next year." If they deferred to the need of British soldiers in the Low Countries and on the Portuguese frontier, they did not, for that, hesitate to ask for British soldiers and British sailors to back them in Canada. Indeed, the response of the Congress of Governors to the Sunderland letter was, in every view, worthy of the freedom which had been cradled on Plymouth Rock. That body submitted an address to Her Majesty, touching as strongly upon their claims as upon their needs, and urging with so proud a humility the obligation imposed upon Royalty of reviving the expedition to Quebec the following spring, that, had Anne not been *éprise* with Europe, she would surely have been enthusiastic about America. After this, while reading a sharp lecture to the Colony of Connecticut for her lukewarmness, and advising an immediate advance upon Port Royal, the members of the Congress signed their names; and so ended a sitting which, summoned in anxiety, might, if it had been held in certainty, have forestalled history by nearly half a century.¹ It may be safely jotted down to the credit of the farmers of New York and the fishermen of Martha's Vineyard, that they grumbled but little, on land or sea, at what had pricked them so sharply.

What did Commissioner Vetch think of all this sorry ending to an expedition on which he had so thought, and for which he had so wrought? He leaves us in no manner of doubt that he was stricken, and sorely. His memoirs, now before me, are full of grievings. All his appeals to the Crown while in England, all his labors in America, might have been summed up before this in that bracing line which Shakspeare's Gloster hisses in the ear of Warwick, —

"Strike now, or else the iron cools!"

¹ This address was entrusted by the Congress to Colonel Nicholson, from whose influence with the Queen, and thorough knowledge of the peril of the Colonies, much was expected. In the early weeks of the winter of 1709 Nicholson left for England, on Her Majesty's ship "Dragon," accompanied by several gentlemen and representatives from each of the Five Nations.

It was his misfortune to see the iron growing cold, and the arm of action held back. Indeed, had our poet Holmes been alive in the days of good Queen Anne, the officers of the Crown, in their policy toward her colonies, might well have cried with him in chorus :—

“ Let us change the rule, —
Don't strike the iron till it's slightly cool.”

In his individual aspirations, Colonel Vetch had none the less reason for unhappiness. He had not been without hopes of his own, and by authority too, that on the reduction of Canada he would be left in the chief command of that country. He had freely yielded the military command to one whom he recognized as a more skilful soldier than himself. But he was not so poor a judge of his own merits as not to know his fitness for civil control over a colony after it had once fallen before a victorious army.

But even this Canada *fiasco* did not make him forget the Port Royal possibility. Returning to Boston, he endeavored to utilize Anne's instructions. He called a meeting of Governor Dudley and prominent citizens of that city, for October 18. That meeting culminated in a “*demand*” upon Captain George Martin, of Her Majesty's ship “*Dragon*,” for his services, and that of such other vessels as might be in the Government employ, for an immediate expedition against Port Royal. Captain Martin received this demand while rocking on the waters of Nantucket Sound. He is found to be far from pliant. This is by no means strange, as he holds in his treasure chest direct orders from the Lord High Admiral, just received from the “*Enterprise*” man-of-war, to proceed promptly to Newfoundland and *en route* to England. “*But*,” urges the Council, “Port Royal is in the road to Newfoundland. You need not do more than stop in the harbor for twenty-four hours. After that, Governor Subercase will swear that the whole fleet for England is arrived for their reduction. After *that* you may proceed on your way.” Captain Martin, after once more examining his orders from my Lord High Admiral, declines the demand. If we only knew the old sea-dog more intimately, we might fancy that he is fairly shaking his sides in his own snug cabin. Yet there is a certain sea-courtesy about him too. “I will adventure,” he says, “to stay *till Sunday* for what despatches ye are to send to the Queen, and then, God willing, for the first opportunity of weather, shall sail for England.” With this, Her Majesty's ships “*Dragon*” and “*Guernsey*,” with Colonel Nicholson and suite on board, sail away gaily, leaving Vetch and our New England governors dreary. History is full of fleets expected to come, but never coming. It seemed reserved for their Boston excellencies to learn that it is equally full of fleets expected to go, but never going.

The winter of 1709-10 opened sadly enough. The bad news from the advance came to say that Wood Creek had, as a strategic point, ceased to exist. All the canoes lying in it had been burned. All the forts built on its bank had been destroyed. The Frenchman and his Iroquois could stalk among the ruins and hold council fires, and plan murderous campaigns for the next spring in safety. There was nothing to remind them of the vanished foe save the tell-tale hillocks, of which, as we have seen, Père Charlevoix — never bitter, though always gossipy — discourses. I need do no more than point a finger here to the under-current sweeping through all this deep water. The Colonies complained, and with justice too, in their houses and their counting-rooms, of the little care that had been taken of their interests. England had never, in all her relations with her growing American infant, proved so tender a mother as France had shown herself to be with her own. She had had but to divert a score of strong men-of-war and a few thousand regular troops, and her dream of dominion beyond the St. Lawrence might have been realized. But the trouble with her was that she wore a Janus face. The face she cast upon the French, while sending to Lisbon a full-appointed fleet to sustain the perishing Portuguese on the frontier of Castile, was strong, helpful, defiant.¹ The face she turned upon the Frenchman quaffing his *petit vin* in the casemates of Quebec was weak, fitful, irresolute. In Europe, her allies had proved themselves never too earnest; in America, they were trustful to a fault and loyal unto death. So marked a contrast should surely have stirred her to a certain aggressiveness. But we have the authority of our own colonial annals for saying that it did not, at least at that time. After reading the real story, more than a century and a half later, we are safe in borrowing the spectacles of Downing Street, to gaze in amazement on this blunder of Whitehall.

One word may not be out of place here. If I have spoken at such length of Colonel Vetch up to the winter of 1709-10, it has been owing to the fact that his memoirs, from which I have freely drawn, and which I have found here and there corroborated from authentic sources, are in the main inedited history. No historical student has failed, at some time or other, to meet in his researches with great breaks in the chronicles of a busy age. Such breaks, owing to precisely this want of memoirs, either published or else available for publication, remain forever, like walled windows in a giant hall, blazing

¹ Charlevoix says on this point: "Ils (the refugees from Wood Creek) se rendirent à Manhatte, où ils apprirent en arrivant que les vaisseaux d'Angleterre destinés à faire le siège de Quebec, n'étoient point venus à Boston; qu'ils avoient été envoyés à Lisbonne, où le mauvais succès des armes Portugaises sur la Frontiere de la Castille au commencement de cette campagne, faisoit craindre que le Roy de Portugal, ne fût contraint de faire son accommodement avec l'Espagne, s'il n'étoit promptement secouru." — *Charlevoix*, vol. ii. liv. xix. p. 339.

on all sides with memorial lights. One of these walled windows is the abortive expedition against Canada in 1709. That window is dark, very dark to us, the descendants of those whose services rendered freely but uselessly lie unilluminated behind it.

The winter found the colonists not in the gentlest of moods. After having complained justly of the Crown's inaction, however, they set themselves to railing unjustly at the Crown's agent.¹ A little more, and their tongues would have been loosened against that agent's and their own royal mistress. They made Colonel Vetch the scape-goat of the atonement, — pouring upon his head alone the aggregate of the curses which should have been divided equally among others. They swore that Vetch had made them spend, all for nothing, the savings of years. They taunted him with their losses in treasure and in trade. What was more cruel and wholly inconsiderate, they hurled at him the phantom names of the fathers and sons who had died in vain on the frontier. Vetch bore all this abuse with dignity. No bitter words escaped him. Conscious of no offence, feeling that he had been, through all his unsuccessful efforts, as direct a representative of the colonial patriotism as the Schuylers and the Livingstons themselves, he retired to Rhode Island for the winter. He was still the type of action; and, while others were busy counting their losses, he was as zealously engaged in figuring the chances for a more fortunate blow in the coming spring. So the winter passed. A sort of under-arms policy was prudently observed by the colonial authorities in spite of all their depression. The spring of 1710 for which all had hoped, each in his fashion, opened with all its blossoms. The summer followed with all its flowers. Before its glory had ended, the drum had beat in Boston Harbor, and hostile anchors had been cast before the defences of Port Royal.

The cause for this renewed zeal was the return of Colonel Nicholson during the early summer, bringing with him this time our old friend the "Dragon," supplemented by the "Leonstaff," "Feversham," and the "Chester," men-of-war. A fleet meant an expedition; and, in their hopes, an expedition meant success.

Between Nicholson's departure for England and his return to America, however, the cards had somehow become mixed. A sort of "sea-change," not pre-pictured by Shakspeare, had come over their faces. What are the facts? Nicholson had left Boston as the military coadjutor of Vetch, on a mission well known to the Colonies, and by them generally understood as intended not to alter the existing

¹ Charlevoix seems to have caught some inkling of this, since, in referring to the destruction of the canoes and forces at Wood Creek, he adds that the English force at Wood Creek "s'étoit retiré avec beaucoup de confusion, en maudissant Vesche, qui étoit l'Auteur d'une si malheureuse Expédition." — *Charlevoix*, vol. ii. liv. xix. p. 337.

state of affairs, but to impart to it such increase of strength as the open and hearty co-operation of Government has always lent to a popular cause. He returned, bearing Her Majesty's royal commands to the respective New England governors to assist in the designed expedition, "in the manner Colonel Francis Nicholson should propose," etc. Virtually, this tended to displace Colonel Vetch from the active control over the preparations for the coming movement. The irregular ebb and flow of royal tides is proverbial. In this case, more than one year had passed with its fears, its stir, its efforts, its results. March, 1710, was not February, 1709. Who better than the newest arrival from the throne-room could represent its newest policy? He had been, in his own person, the last to bask in its radiance; he should for that reason be the last whose claims to reflect any portion of its glitter ought to be doubted. For the rest, no coquette, no classic flirt like Aspasia, no Parisian jilt like Ninon de l'Enclos, can play the game of capricious forgetfulness half so deftly as a queen regnant. One quarter belongs to the position; the rest, to the sex.

There was no harm, therefore, in this enlarged responsibility imposed upon Colonel Nicholson, as an additional mark of the confidence of his sovereign. There would be harm, and great harm, however, if, in assuming to give a record of his new administration for the information of contemporaries, he should ungenerously ascribe to his own unaided exertions what, in by far the larger part, belongs to another. Has he done so? In the "Nicholson Journal" — or at least that Journal which passes by his name, which was prepared, if not by him, from his private papers, which met his approval, and which was published with his consent, if not with his funds — I find the following statement: —

"In obedience to Her Majesty's said commands, the afore-named governors, with all manner of application and diligence, forthwith raised and furnished their respective quotas of good effective men, well clothed, being armed of Her Majesty's royal gift; with transports, provisions, stores of war, pilots, chaplains, surgeons, and all necessaries and utensils proper for the service, as *proposed by the general; who, with unwearied pains and diligence, pushed forward the preparations.*"

But one inference can be drawn from this. Colonel Nicholson has in a few weeks performed a task which Colonel Vetch had taken months in only attempting to do. We have recorded the facts as they grew; they bear directly against such a theory. The governors, called upon by Queen Anne through Nicholson, were, with the exception of the deceased Lord Lovelace, the same executives upon whom she had called through Vetch. The "all manner of application and diligence," for which they had been lauded, had really been

shown by them in raising and furnishing "their respective quotas of good effective men" in the summer and autumn of 1709; and the fruits were seen the next spring. The expedition organized in 1709 against Canada had fallen through. But no collapse of hope had followed the discouragement everywhere felt. The colonial troops raised at such cost, and amid such enthusiasm, had not disbanded. What they had done was only to stand on guard, as we have seen, in a peace-fashion, during the long winter months. They retired to their homes to talk over the Wood Creek horror and England's neglect, and in their patriotic dreams to grasp and flourish phantom weapons against their country's foes. As a mere record of the times, the spring of 1710 found the contingents, raised and equipped the preceding year, looking expectantly to their governors. It found the governors looking, in their turn, towards Colonel Vetch. The train had been laid, and laid well. It fell to Colonel Nicholson only to renew the powder and to give the fuse. If from June to September the colonial quotas, organized again into companies and battalions, were furnished, in response to this new call by their respective governors, well clothed and properly drilled, this result was mainly due to him who had during the previous year, "with unwearied pains and diligence, pushed forward the preparations." By our lights, that man was not Francis Nicholson, but Samuel Vetch. It was precisely the service done by Carnot for Bonaparte which Vetch had done for Nicholson. That service stands high in all wars, whether successful or unsuccessful. Its name is — Organization.

It is time to leave this question on one side. It may possibly have stirred a certain feeling between the two men who had been so closely identified in their interests, and who had worked with equal zeal and ability for the glory of the mother country and the safety of her colonies. If so, however, we can find no evidence of variance either in the Journal of Nicholson or in — what would have been more probable as being those of the injured party — the Memoirs of Vetch.

We come now to the result of all these successful preparations. The New Englanders grew once more cheerful. Boston Harbor was at once turned into a scene of feverish activity. Massachusetts contributed her provincial galley and twelve transports held in her pay. Connecticut furnished five; New Hampshire, two; Rhode Island, three. A tender and five English transports completed the fleet which set sail from Nantasket in Boston Bay, Monday, Sept. 18, 1710. Colonel Nicholson was commander-in-chief, and Colonel Vetch accompanied the expedition as adjutant-general. The troops consisted of one regiment of marines from

Europe, and four regiments of provincials.¹ They were raised in New England, but they were commissioned by the Queen, and armed at her expense.²

On the 24th it entered Port Royal River and anchored above Goat Island, without loss save that of one vessel and several men.³ On September 25 several of the officers, in accordance with the decision of a council of war held the previous night, were instructed to "go on shore to view the best places on both sides the river where to land our men and pitch our camp."⁴ Colonel Vetch, accompanied by Colonel Walton, Major Brown, Captain Southack, and Engineer Forbes, "landed with Colonel Walton's company of grenadiers, commanded by Captain Massarene, on the north side of the river at Spurs Point." Later in the day, an advance for position on the south and north sides was made, — "the whole army landing at four. Colonel Vetch, with the two battalions on the north side, drew up and marched with drums beating and colors flying to the camp he designed to take" (Spurs Point). The next day (September 26) the army advanced on the south side to within four hundred yards of the fort. From that day to September 30, a comparatively harmless interchange of shot and shell passed between the fort and the fleet. We note, by the way, a certain courteousness in this artillery duel. "This evening," gravely observes General Nicholson, "our bomb ship came up and saluted the fort with several shells: the fort answered with both shots and shells without execution." Meanwhile the English were landing their cannon with ever so much interruption from the French gunners, and strengthening their lines. On the 29th, "after dinner, two French officers with a drummer came out of the fort with a flag of truce, and brought our General a letter from Monsieur Subercase." This letter, politely written, was to ask as a favor of the English commander his protection in behalf of certain French women, "some of which are noble." These ladies were clearly not of the order of Jeanne d'Arc. "Sir," Governor Subercase takes occasion to explain, "they did all along flatter themselves that they could hear and bear the noise of your bombs without fear, but they now find themselves a *little mis-*

¹ Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, pp. 84-86.

² The entire expenses of New England for this expedition did not exceed £23,000. It is to the credit of the mother country that this amount was subsequently reimbursed by Parliament.

³ Charlevoix places the loss by the grounding of the "Cæsar" at the mouth of the river as high as forty persons. Haliburton, however, does not make it more than twenty-six. In this he is supported by General Nicholson, who in his *Journal* gives that number, including "Captain Tay, his pilot and a sailor, and twenty-three soldiers."

⁴ The extracts which appear in this portion of the narrative have been taken from Nicholson's *Journal*. No history, so far as I have seen, contains so many details of the reduction of Port Royal as that *Journal*.

taken." He presents also a plea in favor of a "few more of our ladies who are gone into the woods. Our Lieut.-Governor's lady is one of them."

This correspondence, begun in knightly pleading for distressed matrons and damosels, soon degenerated into special and none too learned pleading touching the rights of a certain flag of truce, supposed to have transgressed the "rules of war." General Nicholson detained this officer for not having given due notice of the approach of the flag, "it being most certain," he argued, "that he ought to have begun beating *so soon as he came out of the gate of your fort.*" Subercase retaliated by detaining Lieutenant Elliott, an English officer who bore to him the intelligence of this proceeding. A question among others which he put to this officer affords a curious proof in corroboration of Charlevoix's unvarying testimony to the deep impression which Colonel Vetch's exertions, during the previous year, for organizing an army against Canada had produced on the French leaders in America. It was not Nicholson, but Vetch, whom they had cursed as they heard the drum beat, and as echoes of war came fast and furious from the other side. Lieutenant Elliott reports an interview with M. Subercase:—

"The Governor asked how many English forces we had in the army, how many New England forces, and how many Indians; and further added he would not give up his government without resistance, and to tell *Colonel Vetch that he came of an indifferent errand, for he would still be governor.*"

An angry boast built on shaky foundations, as we now see it. Within less than a week the keys of the fort had been formally handed to the same Colonel Vetch. After all, however, this representative of Louis the Victorious, if a braggart, was a polished adversary. For we find him hobnobbing with his prisoner Elliott while his country's flag still waves above his head, and while the English are placing their great guns and Cohorn mortars in position to batter to the ground, the next day, its last remaining rampart. "The Governor of the fort," we learn, "drank the Queen's health; afterwards the French King's health." The Frenchman was clearly a courtly gentleman, who could not understand why war should of necessity imbrute hospitality.

The arrest of the French flag of truce provoked a spicy correspondence. The parties to the controversy were about equal. If the one could vaunt what Mercutio calls the "immortal passado," the other might not unfairly claim the honors of the "punto reverso." Sharp thrusts were given and taken. Matters looked bad for the continuance of esteem between the distinguished correspondents. "Give me leave to tell you, Sir," exclaims His Excellency hotly, "I've

served the King six-and-thirty years, but never saw any such thing as keeping back a flag of truce." What does the General reply to this reflection upon his knowledge of the rules of war? He believes that M. Subercase would imagine him "but little experienced in war, should I send him [the officer] to inform you what he has discovered by coming into the body of our encampment before he was blindfolded. Give me leave to tell you," adds the sturdy Briton haughtily, "that no man on earth has greater regard to principles of honor than myself, and shall take as much care as you to keep my promise sacred and inviolable."

Something there might have been in this letter which set the Governor to thinking. But far more was it the bad condition of the fort itself which led M. Subercase, in his reply, to express his readiness "to hold up both hands for capitulation."

Nothing could seem more satisfactory than this. Unfortunately, however, a hitch occurred on the very threshold. An imperative demand was made by the impatient Nicholson for the surrender of the fort. His peremptory tone displeased the Governor. While demurring, he suggested, "in order to avoid any effusion of blood," that two of the officers of each army should be retained by the commander of the other as hostages — all "that *I* may treat securely." This was acceded to by the General, who sent Colonel Robert Reading of the Marines, and Captain Thomas Matthews of H. M.'s ship "Chester," as "hostages for the performance of the articles of capitulation that shall be signed in." M. Subercase selected, on his side, M. Bonaventure, the King's Lieutenant, and M. Gontin, Commissary-General. This oiled the wheels of negotiation for a time. Once more the correspondence ran smooth. The articles of capitulation were signed October 2. The next day was passed in delivering the "New English" prisoners, seventeen in number, and in bringing in the wandering women and children out of the woods. "Several messages and compliments," we are told, passed between the commanders. Somehow, however, the "walk out of the fort" appeared to halt. On October 4, General Nicholson inquires through his "Major General" when M. Subercase "designed" to take that walk. The Frenchman fires up at this. He replies that, "by our treaty, it is not to be till to-morrow morning, — I having three days granted me by the articles, after the day they were signed." But he does not care to insist on his right. "He is willing to go out to-day." He must request, however, the presence of "M. Vetch, that he may resolve with him the most properest method of doing it." Coming from an enemy, this was not an ungraceful compliment to the man whose *grands projets* of invasion had for over a year been canvassed, wherever the golden lilies bloomed in America,

along with Marlborough's latest victory and the urgent appeals of Pontchartrain.

The capitulation came at last. It was in every sense honorable to the clemency of the conquerors. It spared the pride of their adversaries. That right so dear to the hearts of defeated garrisons, — of marching out with arms and baggage, and beating drums, and shrill fifings, and flying colors, — was accorded to them. The ceremonies were simple. Says the Journal : —

"The General ordered Major Abbot, with a detachment of 200 men, five captains, and eight subalterns, to go and take possession of the fort ; Captain Davison marched first at the head of 50 grenadiers, and Major Abbot, Captain Massareen, Captain Bartlett, Captain Adams, and Captain Lyon followed, each in his proper station. When we came to the gate, we opened into a line, and the General with Colonel Vetch on his right, and Sir Charles Hobby on his left hand, with the two hostages, Monsieur Bonaventure and Monsieur De Goutten, followed by all the field officers, and a great many others, advanced towards the fort. The French Governor met them half way on the bridge with our two hostages, the Hon. Colonel Reading and Captain Matthews attended by his officers, and complimented the General in these words : ' Sir, — I am very sorry for the misfortune of the King my master, in losing such a brave fort, and the territories adjoining, but count myself happy in falling into the hands of so noble and generous a General ; and now deliver up the keys of the fort, and all the magazines into your hands, hoping to give you a visit next spring.' Which keys the General immediately delivered to the Hon. Colonel Samuel Vetch, according to Her Majesty's instructions, to be Governor of the place, for which he had a commission for the same. . . . Our army marched into the fort, hoisted the Union flag, and drank the Queen's health, firing all the guns around the fort, as likewise did the men-of-war and other vessels in the river."

The day had seemed a holiday even to the retiring army. History, I am aware, insinuates a disaffection in their ranks, which may have seen in this enforced departure rather the humiliation of an unpopular commander than a triumph over themselves. Besides, the rapturous rumor ran through their lines that, by the second article of the capitulation, they were to see once more the "cornfields green and sunny vines" of their "pleasant land of France."

On October 13 the French troops (258 men of all arms), with their wives and children, and such of the inhabitants as chose to leave, to the number of 481, were ordered on board the transports which were to convey them to France. On the 19th, from the deck of H. M.'s ship "Falmouth," M. Subercase expresses his "full content and satisfaction" with all the arrangements made for the convenience of his garrison and himself. He is Sir Gawain to the end ! He will not fail to acquaint "the King of France of the great generosity shown to them all by the General." He will give himself the "honor to write to him in London." With these pretty words and with many bows, the dispossessed Governor is off, chewing his own special cud gloom-

ily, and debating how best, like a loyal gentleman, he might pay that promised "visit next spring."

While these parting ceremonies were going on, General Nicholson was already aboard H. M.'s frigate "Dragon," bound for Boston. From the 15th October to the 20th the "Dragon" and the transports had been making their slow way from Port Royal Basin to the Bull's Head. The next day the General and the main body of the victorious army were fairly on the sea. They made a good trip. On the 26th — five weeks and four days after their departure from Boston — they were in port. Boston received them with thankfulness. This feeling was, however, somewhat tempered with anxiety. Port Royal was muzzled — they swore to themselves — forever! But Quebec could still sweep in ruin upon their stricken trade. No bitterer thought could well come across the thrifty citizen as he waved, in his grave Puritan fashion, his hat in the air for Colonels Nicholson and Vetch, and for the conquering contingent of Massachusetts Bay.

We can see how little monumental is history, in reality, when we read *dessous les cartes* of this Port Royal expedition. Governor Subercase was liked neither by his own soldiers nor by the Acadians. Old Charlevoix, knowing all the French cards by heart, tells us with the positiveness of conviction, that, "si les Anglois avoient été instruits de ce qui se passoit au Port Royal, ils auroient pu s'épargner plus de la moitié des frais, qu'ils firent pour venir à bout de leur Entreprise." Ah, if Whitehall would only have been wise beyond Marlborough and Malplaquet! Or if Colonel Vetch had only known the unpopularity of Governor Subercase, how persuasive he might have been! The year of grace, 1709, with a few regiments of provincials, with a single bomb vessel and with Her Majesty's ship "Dragon" to escort them, might have sounded the note of victory and possession.

We have now Samuel Vetch, coming to Port Royal as adjutant-general, invested with the authority of the first English governor of the newly conquered Acadia. General Nicholson's initial step had been to issue a proclamation announcing the terms of the capitulation, and adding — as a special and graceful tribute to a queen who, if too easily deceived, had always been good-willed — that Port Royal was to be known thereafter as ANNAPOLIS ROYAL. Next in order was the sending by Governor Vetch of a delegation to the French Governor-General at Quebec, the Marquis de Vaudreuil. This delegation had been provided for by a council of war held before the General's departure. It was headed by Major Livingstone as the English representative, accompanied by the Baron Castine as that of Governor Subercase. The object of the commission was to announce that Acadia had fallen into the hands of the English; and that except

those within gun-shot of Annapolis, who had been included in the limitations of the surrender, its inhabitants were prisoners at discretion. Major Livingstone was specially charged with the threat of reprisals. The French had for years been accused — whether falsely or not is still a vexed question — with yielding overmuch to the bloodiest demands of their savage allies. To be a prisoner among the Iroquois was regarded in those days as involving certain torture and death. The penalty for non-compliance was clearly presented by Major Livingstone. If the Governor-General could not pledge protection for his prisoners, those newly made at Annapolis must suffer. A full exchange of prisoners was proposed as the only remedy, and, if refused, that hapless Acadia, already earning the sorrowful distinction of the "Flanders of the New World," would be given up to the English Indians; and the number of French victims would be counted, scalp by scalp, by that of the English languishing in the dungeons of Montreal and Quebec.

The reply of the Marquis to this mission was dignified, if unsatisfactory. The French Governor courteously twitted Governor Vetch with the slight knowledge he displayed of the laws of civilized warfare in believing that these could possibly permit him to use reprisals against the innocent inhabitants of Acadia. He expressed himself as having always been anxious to treat with kindness such English prisoners as had fallen into his hands, — and indeed had, at much expense, frequently saved them from the brutality of his savage allies. The Marquis protested further that nothing would please him better than to meet Governor Vetch half way. But there were certain formalities in the way of an immediate exchange. He must know how many prisoners to be exchanged were on either side. He was not master of the fate of such Englishmen as were in the possession of the Iroquois. Save these, as to whom he could promise nothing positive, he was willing to send his own prisoners to any spot indicated by the Governor, provided he was assured that he would find the French prisoners waiting for him there. This letter was taken charge of, on the part of Governor de Vaudreuil, by the Sieurs de Rouville and Dupuys.¹

The whole transaction, however, shows but a small modicum of good faith. At the very moment an exchange was being hinted at, De Vaudreuil was commissioning the Baron de S. Castine, who was then commander at Pantagoët, to proceed at once to Acadia, to consult secretly the French missionaries, to urge religion, to invoke patriotism, and to fire the heart of the Acadians by reminding them that the storms of liberty were to be preferred to the serenity of slavery.

¹ Charlevoix, vol. ii. liv. xix., pp. 348, 349. Haliburton, p. 87.

I have been referring at length to those points of the career of Governor Vetch which, while bearing directly upon great questions, I know to have been almost wholly ignored by those who have treated them. As a rule, good judges claim that they can catch the deft hand of each hidden workman in that Gobelin tapestry which from the front displays his share in the eloquent picture of harmonious threads. Their skill seems to have deserted them here, while treating the inchoate expedition of 1709-10; since neither the chief workman (Samuel Vetch) nor the historical picture which he more than any of them was instrumental in working has, strangely enough, not succeeded in catching the eyes of those men who, if they do not always make, at least find it an exalted province to collate and preserve history. The administration of Governor Vetch was one full of difficulties of that special kind which marks all abrupt transitions. A transition need not be necessarily violent. But that which essayed to turn the Acadians of 1710 from one set of ideas, born in habit, to another set of ideas, born of compulsion, was peculiarly hazardous. The new Governor found confronting him at the outset a sentiment of hatred, which it was made his duty to merge into a sentiment of loyalty. He found men who, loving France and its mild authority, were to be persuaded — or, failing persuasion, to be dragooned — into loving England and its harsh authority. Far beyond this in difficulty did he find the necessity of dealing with men who were Catholics, and to whose faith that toleration of which England boasts promised a sure protection. But this was precisely the rock, hidden at the high tide of his political fortunes, on which the son of the old Roundhead minister and the gentle lady of the Covenant, his mother, unknowingly foundered. His entire policy towards the religion of the conquered was marked by prejudice narrowed into injustice. It smacked too deeply of the grimness of his earliest traditions even to approach statesmanship. He hunted the priests as schoolboys hunt rats, — with the same eager desire to catch, and the same brutal desire to torture. It may be a measure of justice to add that he had reasons of his own for this display of sectarian spite. He dreads the influence of the “malign priests who are numerous among the people,” — as he says when writing to Lord Dartmouth, who had succeeded Lord Sunderland in the portfolio of the Foreign Office, — “and whom *I cannot catch save one* sent to Boston, and who threaten them with their ecclesiastical vengeance.” There is one black robe in particular who bears the obnoxious name of Priest Felix.¹ Whether

¹ Writing to Captain Blackmore of the Brigantine “Betty,” Governor Vetch says that “if you can without any noise or suspicion seize the priest Felix, or any other priests that may be there, you are to cause do it; but with all precaution, that none of your people be surprised.”

he be the "one sent to Boston" or not is none too clear from the gubernatorial memoirs.

The fact is, Governor Vetch found his new charge a big puzzle-box. It had its turns and twists and cranks, its problems unsolvable to ingenuity, its lock defying skill. The lock of this political box — its greatest puzzle, indeed — was represented by the existence of an alien population grown strong since the Ryswick Peace. History records with more impressiveness than usual one solemn truth: No conqueror can hope, within a single generation, successfully to interpret any population whose tongue is strange to his own lips. Nor is this to be wondered at. The Tower of Babel has crumbled away into ruins invisible to master-nations, whose armies would gladly swarm to redeem its smallest stone on the spot whereon it fell; but flying pieces of polyglot confusion still survive from it, to build up any number of modern towers of discord. What are Alsace and Lorraine, after all, but two of these towers? Bismarck, with all his legions, is no nearer to conciliating their builders than he was in 1872. With his nine years he has had no more success than Vetch with his three years. The inference needs only to be stated. A strange tongue is stronger than the pen of which Bulwer wrote: it is mightier than the conqueror's sword. Power to be supreme needs the voice of the conquered. All the troubles of Vetch's administration are to be ascribed to that difference in language which made him harsh, and that difference in faith which made him bitter. These were from the beginning his secret foes; and from the hour of his arrival among them he became their open foe.

Outside of these checks, I may justly commend the Governor for meeting his great responsibility with prudence, considerable shrewdness, and tireless vigilance. Minor troubles, more vexing often than major ones, stared him in the face. The very forts which had become the stronghold of England's power in that region were found, after the surrender, to be honeycombed and worthless. The winter was beginning to stretch out in that dreary length which appears so vast in our northern latitudes. Rumors born of the time and of French shame at having been outgeneralled came swift and strong to Annapolis Royal. Brought by the sea, they warned him that De Vaudreuil's gay young Frenchmen, and the painted Iroquois camping amid snow and ice, were polishing their swords and whetting their tomahawks for a decisive campaign — if made murderous, *tant pis* — in the spring. Had the new Governor of Annapolis been sure of his own garrison, he would have laughed at all these doings and all these threats. But he was far from being ready to lean on the fidelity of his small army, upon whom with himself had fallen the charge of defending the British interests in Nova Scotia. It did not tend to

reassure him when he learned, as a fact, that M. de Pontchartrain, Louis' wily Minister for Foreign Affairs, had been moved to write a very urgent letter to M. de Beauharnois,¹ Intendant of Rochelle and Rochefort, which, if faithfully attended to, would make the British holding of Acadia a simple winter-warming. France was awaking, though slowly, to the importance of the province which had been wrenched from her. Whether she had awakened too late or not depended wholly upon whether Anne would recognize the real value of her new conquest, or whether Louis would make extraordinary efforts to recover that which his servants had so easily lost. On his side, Governor Vetch understood the *morale* of the situation perfectly. He reviewed his little force. As originally left by General Nicholson, its number was barely respectable. What could 200 marines and 250 volunteers do against M. le Comte de Pontchartrain's challenge, if the glove was once thrown down for battle? Nothing, as he soon found when he unearthed the Catholic priests at their "devilish work," as he terms it, among his own garrison. He began to see that Religion had more backbone than Loyalty. The ranks of his British guards, largely recruited then as now from war-loving Irishmen, were being seduced by the priests whom they revered. Rome's "awful circle" still cast its shining shadow around them, and they allowed themselves—unconscious traitors to their Queen, but conscious loyalists to their Church—to be hurried off to Canada and Placentia.

I am sorry to summon the reader, as a result of all this, to stand at the next muster-roll at Annapolis Royal. Death by sickness mostly, and desertions many and swift, had made the garrison small. Old Charlevoix cannot help stretching a little, and he puts the number fit for service at 150. Vetch is more accurate; he rates it at something beyond 250,—a number clearly far short of that which he declared to be "absolutely necessary in so frontier and exposed a garrison as this is until the reduction of Canada and Placentia." These names rode despotically his dreams, as that of Port Royal had ridden them in 1709. With Quebec and Placentia in the hands of the French, a garrison of less than five hundred steady troops, recognizing the importance of the post and strong before the wiles of Rome, would have been powerless before the first resolute assault.

Taken altogether, this was a sorry exhibit, which the Governor strove his best to correct. Failing to catch as many Papist priests as

¹ "Je vous ai fait assez connoître, lui dit-il, combien il est important de reprendre ce Poste (le Port Royal) avant que les Ennemis y soient solidement établis. La conservation de toute l'Amerique Septentrionale, et commerce des Pêches le demandent également: ce sont deux objets, qui me touchent vivement, et je ne puis trop les exciter (le Gouverneur Général, et l'Intendant de la Nouvelle France) à les envisager avec les mêmes yeux." — *Charlevoix*, vol. ii. liv. xx. p. 363.

he wanted, he gave Dartmouth the strongest proofs why it would be impossible for him to hold the new province, unless Her Majesty could first insure him a sufficient force both to garrison the forts and to reduce the malcontents, fuming and plotting beyond the limits within gunshot of Annapolis. Worse than desertion among the privates came, later on, dissensions among the officers themselves. The Provincial troops, in the beginning, had largely joined the expedition as independent companies. This, of course, soon created an excess of officers to a deficit of men. It resulted in a number of commissions that, in a subsequent consolidation of the companies into regiments, must prove to be superfluous. To meet this question, — always a prominent bone to pick in depleted garrisons, — Governor Vetch forwarded a special report to Lord Dartmouth. No man then living could appreciate better than himself, at its proper value, the fatality of the spell exercised by discord over the champions of a cause; for he had seen its power practically tested in the rise and collapse of the Caledonian colony. Writing frankly of the danger to the Royal authority, and urging his own personal responsibility, vast to *him* in connection with a volcanic colony which had for years been a battle-ground for contending armies, he finally proposed to his lordship that "Her Majesty's instructions may be as *particular as possible, or entirely discretionary, — but much rather the first.*" I dare say from this that the Governor had all along uncomfortably felt his own weakness. Like Wallenstein, he had doubted himself. A man born under the droppings of Nonconforming pulpits, and reared under the dark shadows of proscription, is scarcely to be expected either to adopt or, if adopting, to hold a proper medium between severity and moderation, when the religious question enters as a disturbing element into that political one which should be all-absorbing.

Having performed a duty which he believed to be right, Governor Vetch rested; waiting for that response from Whitehall which was to aid him in framing a coherent government, in harmonizing a hostile race, in drawing to one central authority diverging interests, — in making, in short, two languages, long pressed down by the leaden words of War, co-speakers in the golden phrases of Peace.

His appeals to London were without effect. Great Britain, between 1710–13, was in a famous broil. She had had since 1698 her hands full of her continental wars. She had won shining victories, which bore on their blazing shields imperishable names. But she could not count on the battles already gained, for the honors of treaties remain with none save the last won. Waterloo and Quatre Bras wipe out Jena and Marengo; the Hundred Days avenge the Capets. To make matters worse for Vetch, Englishmen at home cared but little for the

wants of the colonies, — a far vaguer term, by the way, then than now, — when fruit was to be plucked in the Low Countries, and laurels were to be gathered from France. During the three years of his administration the European complications twined and twisted like a serpent's coil, until, tired of writhing, they demanded a rest, — the torpor of ambition. During this time Governor Vetch received support only from the colonists, — principally from Anne's faithful, self-sacrificing subjects in Massachusetts Bay and New York. As may be inferred, such support was slight.

The Treaty of Utrecht finally came to settle, for a time, the problem which had so long brought armies face to face on both sides of the Atlantic. It was signed April 11, 1713. The settlement in Europe was in its very nature transitory. In America, however, it held a firmer grip on what it had gained. For since that day, 168 years ago, *L'Acadie* has ceased to exist.¹ Nova Scotia has pushed her from her seat. The peninsula still remains with England, — won by a small force which owed much of its successful organization to its adjutant-general; as it was preserved through the marked ability and the tireless energy displayed by its first governor, although with inadequate forces and depressed by shameful neglect at home, and in despite of the lordliest threats of Pontchartrain and the courtliest anger of De Vaudreuil. Among the first rulers of conquered provinces who have by their tact kept the authority of their sovereign paramount in a period of transition, I claim for Samuel Vetch the right to an honorable place.

Official manuscripts have at times an unconscious pathos wholly their own. Our governor affords a case of this kind in his inedited memoirs. In a letter to Hon. George Troby, Secretary of War, he speaks of himself in the third person as having been made by the Queen governor of Nova Scotia "from its first reduction, in which he continued until after the peace at Utrecht, when he was suspended for his too great zeal for his present Majesty, soon after whose happy accession to the crown he was restored to the said government."

I find, by the way, a story in the "Memoirs of William Vetch and George Brysson" somewhat different from this explanation, and which gives a very active life to Governor Vetch during his first suspension. It is to the effect that he was recalled from Annapolis to Boston only to take command of two regiments of New England troops, which

¹ By the 12th article of this treaty, all Nova Scotia, with its ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal and the inhabitants of the same, were ceded to Great Britain "in such ample manner and form that the subjects of the Most Christian King shall be hereafter excluded from all kinds of fishing in the said seas, bays, and other places on the coast of Nova Scotia; that is to say, on those which be toward the east, within thirty leagues, beginning from the island commonly called Sable, inclusively, and thence stretching along towards the south west." — *Haliburton's Nova Scotia*, p. 91.

were to join the expedition under Major-General Hill and Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, fitted out, in 1711, for the reduction of Quebec and Placentia. This expedition sailed from Boston towards the end of July. Although imposing in military force and in naval strength, it was in ill-luck the legatee, in direct line, of Sir William Phips's *fiasco* of 1690. Soon after entering the River St. Lawrence it encountered a severe storm, which destroyed many transports, with all the troops on board. The result was, for prudential reasons, an immediate return to Boston. The Frenchman sang, with increasing faith, the old defiance *Dieu protège la France*, and the New Englander wondered, with augmenting doubt, if Providence had not really forgotten the colonies. Father Vetch's record tells how highly both General Hill and Admiral Walker appreciated his son's services, and adds a special word that the Admiral praised him for his "skill, zeal, and activity in the expedition." Madam Vetch hears of this expedition, too. This is how she puts it in her loving, prayerful way:—

"Afterwards she [Anne] sent him, with Hill and Walker, to take in Quebec; I thought it was like the taking in of Ai, and feared that there might be an Achan in the camp. I went to God for him, and got the promise that he should not die, but live, and declare the works of God; and some of my fears came to pass, for there were six ships broken and cast away; but God was pleased to make out his promise to me, for none of the ships he commanded were lost."

The stern old father and the saintly mother went to the grave believing in the son's brilliant services and the Admiral's tribute. I, for one in this age, would like to put faith in their testimony. But the Governor's own memoirs make me sceptical. Nowhere does he refer to a participation which would have been so creditable to him. In that letter, however, to Secretary of War Trosby to which I have already alluded, he says specifically that he had "been made by the Queen governor of Nova Scotia from its first reduction, *in which he continued until after the peace at Utrecht*." This settles the question. We may not safely go back of a man's own recollections.

That fateful curtain which History, in her capricious humor, grimly raises or lowers in the affairs of men and peoples, is brought down here to within a few feet only above the level of the foot-lights, leaving these minor personages of its eternal drama to be seen in a semi-darkness. While it still hovers above our provincial stage, before it drops altogether upon the boards, forever to shroud what has passed on them, it is proper to add, that, in a short time after Vetch's restoration to power, he was finally suspended in the governorship by a Colonel Phelps. Under the circumstances, as we know them, this has an odd look. The first order of suspension came from Anne, as Vetch himself reports it, because of "his too great zeal" for her successor. The second and final order came

from George I. But this king was the very prince toward whom Vetch had been previously charged with holding the relation of a too premature loyalty. Service, even in a half English, half Hanoverian Court by legitimacy, should beget service; in this instance it beget ingratitude. If there ever was a key to the mystery, the dust has long since settled over it. We search for it in vain in the Governor's memoirs. As already hinted, history remains austere and silent. There is then but one other road left to the search, — we must perforce seek the key along it. And if we do, we find it in that Scotch bigotry, born of a conscientious Covenantism, which, lying for years torpid under the merely personal impulses of a busy trade, sprang, when an official position seemed to justify it, into a second birth in the proscription of a conquered people for whose faith every consideration of Christian toleration, good sense, and the soundest policy should have counselled conciliation and protection. A proverb of a hundred years becomes a truth. Talleyrand's exposition of a political blunder is nearly of that age, and bears all the sanctity derivable from it.

After the Governor's departure from Annapolis Royal, we find him, from Boston, besieging the War and the State Departments with his just claims for back-pay. Of these he had a multitude unsettled, because with him ambition had for a time quenched interest, and he had neglected to enter them.¹ He petitioned His Majesty that he might be "allowed £3,000 a year until he should be provided in some post in America as he was promised." This application was fairly enough timed, as it "was referred to a board of general officers just about the time Colonel Bladon was sent to France" touching several matters not squarely settled by the Treaty of Utrecht. Particularly was he interested in the "limits betwixt the French and British Colonies in America." If there was a man in all the broad spaces from Massachusetts Bay to Charleston Harbor who could have strengthened the Home Government in this affair, that man was he who had sounded the dangerous passages of the St. Lawrence, and who knew to the inch the measure of the Heights of Abraham. For witness, he might well have invoked the testimony of one who did not like "*M. Vésche*" overmuch, — Charlevoix himself. Once more, nothing came of this application. Later on, we find him again applying to the Ministry for relief. The Earl of Sunderland — a mighty unit then, but a small one enough in the great historical sum — promised him over and over again "some government abroad." But being up to

¹ Governor Vetch also filed, with these, vouchers for certain moneys advanced by himself in 1709 towards the equipment, etc., of the colonial troops designed for the expedition on which he had set his heart. These aggregated £4,000. It is to be hoped — I cannot affirm — that he was reimbursed.

the date of his writing, he goes on to say, "entirely disappointed, notwithstanding his just pretensions, *and being reduced to the last extremity of necessity*," he claims a reference of his case to a "Board of general officers, in order to his being allowed either the £3,000 a year . . . or, at least, direct the payment of his half-pay either as adjutant-general or captain."

"*Reduced to the last extremity of necessity*," after services loyally, ably, unselfishly, if not always prudently, rendered! This is a sorry exhibit of the value of England's recognition. The worst of it is that there is really no proof — whatever of such might lie hidden away in dust-covered pigeon-holes — that Vetch ever succeeded in recovering any portion of back-pay. This was divided into classes, — so much as captain in Her Majesty's service; so much as Her Majesty's commissioner in America; so much as the adjutant-general of Her Majesty's forces, etc.; so much as Her Majesty's governor of the colony changed, by the spell of victorious arms, into Annapolis Royal. All that I can discover, and that largely inferentially, is that the ex-Governor grew, after a time, tired of holding up his pleading hand before Whitehall from such a distance as Boston. Then he crossed the sea to sit under the walls of the fortress, waiting for capitulation. Capitulation does not always follow siege.

There remains but little more to be said, because so little more is known. Governor Vetch was stated to be residing in England in 1719. Thirteen years later we find his death recorded in the same country, on April 30, 1730. Long before this, he seems to have passed away from the recollection of his contemporaries. The curtain had fallen on the corner where his life-work, twenty years before, had been done.

I have endeavored, in the foregoing pages, to give the story of a man who, while still young, was deemed worthy of being invested by his Queen with high authority; and who, having reached the maturity of his powers, and when by experience he seemed best fitted to be of service to the Crown in those colonies and lands across the ocean which acknowledged its Briarean sway, was summarily, without one word of explanation, dropped back into private life. That Samuel Vetch was no common man is easily inferred from the strong impress he made upon his American contemporaries. They were men who in their sturdy independence and intense self-consciousness had passed far beyond the colonial cradle. They had, out of many worthy competitors, deliberately selected him to represent before their sovereign endangered interests of great moment to them. The controlling power of representation accorded by Anne in response to this commission, and in connection with the expedition against Canada

which Vetch as their mouth-piece had so warmly and forcibly advocated, affords the only additional proof needed that he was possessed in a high degree of those qualities which command the respect at once of rulers and communities. His subsequent neglect in England is to be ascribed, in a large measure, to his colonial record. Without being conscious of it, he was to the "infinitesimal point" of scholiasts a religio-politico monomaniac. He raised politics to the height of religion; but, in its turn, lowered religion to the level of politics. He did not see the blackness of the one: he caught only the brightness of the other. These minglings of two systems lead inevitably to a crash. No man with high longings can dare to ride two hobbies at one time; it takes a mountebank to win his honors on the "double back." Besides this, there might be another reason suggested for the cold treatment which he received, starting from his suspension in 1713 and continuing to his death in 1732. It was shortly after the former date that a new era in English Parliamentary history fairly opened. A series of conflicts, unparalleled for the personal bitterness which degraded them, had begun between Walpole and Townshend on one side, and Sunderland and the Pulteneys on the other. Whigs and Tories then inaugurated that war which, emblazoned for nearly two centuries by shining names, survives to-day in the fame of Gladstone and the memory of Disraeli. In such a contest Vetch could not have participated, either with ease or credit. He knew colonial interests to the core. While learning them, however, he had gradually unfitted himself for the more complex politics of the mother country. Parties care not to conciliate those to whose lips their catch-words of partisanship sound strange.

We have seen a lad shrinking from the pulpit to grasp the sword; a soldier wielding that sword in his youth and gaining the favor of William of Orange; a merchant with views broader than those of the traders with whom, but not of whom, he was; an envoy of his sovereign to distant colonies, in an emergency which called out the best exertions of thoughtful and patriotic men who had made him their interpreter; an Executive with his errors of judgment towards an alien creed, half-redeemed by an untiring devotion to duty which kept an island for the Crown, too baited by foes nearer home to have guarded it otherwise. He was a good though an over-headstrong son, for whom his mother will plead as a tender witness so long as the Ladies of the Covenant shall deserve a monument to their Christian and womanly virtues. He was, as I have read of him, a devoted husband, — love for his wife seeming to be only a new and a warmer phase of his affection for that adopted country which had in his young manhood given her to him. He had a caniness which was altogether Scotch; but he held the purse-strings with a looseness which was hereditary.

His energy was as intense as his prejudices were bitter; his obstinacy rose to the level of either. He did not merely undertake a thing,—he threw himself bodily upon it, and rising bore it along with him. He had the gift of managing men. He knew how to frown when wrangling governors were to be brought into the government traces; and how to smile when peace-adoring Quakers, deaf of old to the threats of Assemblies, were to be coaxed into swelling the sinews of war. In his conception of public affairs was to be noted something poetical. He did not limit himself to seeing the centre of a canvas: he saw the four corners also; he drew with a broad brush largely. It was he who first thought it possible to drive the Spaniard out of Pensacola. It was he who in 1709 foresaw what actually occurred in 1759,—the English domination over Canada, and the mighty stretches between the Newfoundland Banks and the Great Lakes. It was he, too, who in the same year anticipated the time when “Her Majesty shall be the *sole Empress of the vast North American Continent*.” In this, we know now that he was no prophet. But to him may certainly be accredited the invention in the West and for Anne of what has been vaunted to be the superb word to symbolize and to fix that Imperial sway which was less than two centuries later to crown in the East, through a great Minister lately dead, another Queen less lauded but more beloved than Anne. History, in an age of parties, might well have turned aside for one moment from their rancorous littlenesses, to do justice to the high qualities of the first English Governor of Nova Scotia, and to have treated them in a spirit less slighting than Haliburton’s and less caustic than that of Charlevoix.

JAMES GRANT WILSON.

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HOW SHALL THE DEAF BE EDUCATED?

THE heated controversies which have been sustained for many years as to the merits of rival methods of instructing the deaf have, in part, grown out of a mistaken idea of classification, and partly out of an imperfect understanding of the capabilities of the persons to be taught. The synonymous terms *deaf-mute* and *deaf and dumb* have been applied to individuals supposed to form a class in the community.

Schemes for the amelioration of the condition of these persons have been urged in the several civilized countries, based on the presumption that what would be suited to one would be equally helpful to all. A certain method of instruction has been successfully made use of in certain instances, and the advocates of this method have insisted that none other should be used with any deaf-mutes. Enthusiastic teachers have been blind to the fact that the "class" for which they labor must be properly divided and subdivided; that the mental and physical peculiarities of each subdivision must be carefully differentiated; that the capabilities of each individual, even, must be understood before it can be determined what means of improvement may be resorted to with the greatest likelihood of success. It is believed that no attempt has ever been made to effect a definite division of the class "deaf and dumb" into its proper sub-classes, orders, etc., and it is not proposed to undertake this at the present time, but only to suggest a few terms which might be employed in such a classification.

First of all, the *class* should always be spoken of as *the deaf*. The term *deaf-mute* should only be applied to such as are totally deaf and completely dumb. Besides this sub-class, we should then have the *speaking-deaf*, the *semi-speaking-deaf*, the *speaking-semi-deaf*, the *mute-semi-deaf*, the *hearing-mute*, the *hearing-semi-mute*,—these last two sub-classes being usually persons of feeble mental power. In all

these sub-classes there would be found those of normal mental capacity, those of a capacity a little less than normal, others of still weaker mental power, and so on until the condition of imbecility is reached. The imitative faculty would be also found to exist in varying degrees; there would be differences in the power of visual perception, of tactile perception, as well as diversities of temperament, all of which would call for separate classification. It will not be claimed that for each *order* thus indicated a special method of instruction is required; but it is urged that with a *class*, involving such essential differences among its sub-classes and orders, no single method can be expected to be successful.

The question, then, which demands consideration is not, What is the best *method* of instructing the deaf? but rather, *How* shall the deaf be educated? And it should be understood that by *education* is implied such a course of instruction and training as shall enable its subjects to communicate intelligibly with others; to acquire information from books and to write; to engage in some avocation that may yield the means of support; and to comprehend their duties to their fellow-men, to their country, and to their God. For the education of any person, the prime requisite is the possession of a means of communicating ideas to the pupil, either from the living teacher or from books. This the normal child possesses in that language which is acquired during the years of infancy by imitation and without special effort. It is also true that a considerable number of the deaf gain speech before losing their hearing, many of them retaining their facility of language in spite of total deafness. But a large proportion of the deaf are without language until they come under the care of special instructors. The first labor in the education of these, therefore, is to supply their lack of the means of communicating with others. In the attempt to do this, we are compelled to ascertain what forms of language they can acquire, and then to determine which they shall be encouraged to use.

It is beyond all question that the form of communication natural to the deaf is that of signs and gestures. In this they seek to express their thoughts and feelings while yet untaught by others. And instances are numerous where children born deaf have so far developed this means of communication in their families as to have created what may, not improperly, be termed a *language*, — limited in its scope it is true, and yet as full in its vocabulary as the languages of the most intelligent Indian tribes or even of some half-civilized nations.¹

¹ It will be understood that such words as *language*, *vocabulary*, and the like, are made use of in speaking of a voiceless and tongueless means of communication, only because of the lack of English words whose etymology would be consistent with the ideas to be expressed.

When this gesture language is still further developed, as it has been in the United States, and in several of the countries of Europe by intelligent teachers of the deaf, it can be made to serve as a vehicle of thought for the conveyance of the most elevated and abstruse ideas. But the language of signs is not, as some suppose, the only means of communication possible to the deaf. It may be remarked, in passing, that many visitors to the College for Deaf-Mutes at Washington have said that they supposed the students gained *all* their instruction through signs, being unable to use books or written language. The very early as well as the later history of the education of the deaf has proved that to persons born totally deaf the power of vocal utterance has been imparted, together with an ability to comprehend the speech of others, from the movement of the lips, which has practically placed them in possession of oral language.

The means of communication possible to the deaf are, then, three in number: 1. The language of signs; 2. Oral language; 3. Written language. Either of these may be taught independently of the other. The feasibility of teaching the deaf to express themselves in writing, and to understand printed and written language, except in cases where the mind is feeble, is universally admitted; and the importance of this feature of their education, whatever method be employed, is nowhere disputed. It is with reference to the use of signs and speech that wide differences have existed in the past and still exist; which it is the purpose of this article to reconcile, and, if possible, set forever at rest.

First of all, it may be said that for all the deaf who have acquired speech before losing hearing,—these including the *speaking-deaf*, the *semi-speaking-deaf*, and the *speaking-semi-deaf*,—it is most desirable that speech should be employed in their instruction, to the greatest possible extent. They should be taught to read from the lips as early as possible, and their imperfections in utterance should be corrected. If it were true that all *deaf-mutes* (the word is used in the limited sense explained above) were able to master oral language, there would be no question as to the desirableness of attempting to bring them into possession of this means of communication. And just at this point in the shaded pathway of experiment and conjecture, through the twilight of which one must pass before entering the clear light of demonstration and the certain road of accomplished fact, appears the will-o'-the-wisp which has encouraged much effort only to crown it with disappointment.

As has already been stated, instances are numerous where congenitally deaf persons have been taught to speak well. This has been done in nearly every country of Christendom, and in every generation from the days when Pedro Ponce de Leon, three centuries ago in Spain,

taught children "deaf from birth to speak, to read, write, and keep accounts, to repeat prayers, to serve the mass, to know the doctrines of the Christian religion, and to confess themselves *viva voce*." Schools have existed in Germany for more than a century where the attempt has been made, and is continued to the present day, to teach all deaf-mutes to speak. And a method, not pursued to any extent in this country until within the last fifteen years, which is frequently spoken of as *new*, is in fact the oldest of all methods of educating persons deprived of hearing and speech. In tracing the history of this interesting feature of the training of the deaf, it is not difficult to determine what has led so many teachers and others to believe that their general education might be conducted by the oral method. And this cannot be better made clear than by the relation of an incident which occurred in the experience of the writer some years since. Having spent a very interesting day in company with one of the most eminent and successful teachers of speech to the deaf now living in Europe, the writer raised the question whether it were true that a good many of his pupils did not *succeed* in speech. "Oh, yes!" he replied, "that is true; but it is all owing to the laziness or stupidity of my assistants." Now this good man had, a quarter of a century before, been wonderfully successful with a son and daughter of a prominent physician of Rotterdam. Out of this success had grown up a school liberally endowed by the benevolent in that city; and because of his success with his early highly gifted pupils, this teacher had persistently, in the face of all discouragements, held to the oral method with all who came to him. He had never attempted to divide the deaf into classes: he had not taken proper account of their widely differing capabilities. What had answered in two cases, or a few, *must* succeed with all; and so when his logic and his results disagreed, he ungenerously laid the blame on those who had, no doubt, labored with zeal and intelligence hardly inferior to his own. Other teachers meeting with pupils who could not master speech have accounted for their failures in various ways, many most unjustly assuming that all who failed to acquire the power of vocal utterance were deficient in intellect; and from not a few schools such children have been cruelly dismissed as incapable of receiving any instruction, when in point of fact their minds were normal, and they might have been well educated under a method dependent on signs and writing as means of communication.

Without taking further space to prove what will, it is believed, be very generally admitted even by promoters of the oral method of teaching the deaf, — viz., that many *deaf-mutes* are found whose acquisitions in speech, even under the most favorable circumstances, will be very imperfect, — the writer believes he is justified in assuming that

with certain *deaf-mutes* it is not desirable to encourage the use of oral language. For these, signs and verbal language in the form of books, writing, and the manual alphabet should be cultivated as means of communication between teacher and pupil, for self-development and for social intercourse. It is with satisfaction that a quotation in support of this view is made from the writings of an English instructor of the deaf, who though young in his work has achieved excellent results in oral teaching, and who has taken a very advanced position in favor of the oral method. Mr. Arthur A. Kinsey, Principal of the Training College for Teachers of the Deaf on the German Method, Ealing, near London, in a paper presented to the International Convention of Instructors of the Deaf, held at Milan in September, 1880, says:—

“I propose to classify those for whom we are laboring according to their physical and mental condition. I shall ask your consent to placing the simply deaf on the one side, and those deaf and otherwise afflicted on the other: in this latter class I include those suffering from defective brain power, imperfect vision, extreme constitutional weakness, or serious malformation of the vocal and articulating organs. The first division it is proposed to instruct on the German system: the second, on the French.”

“Defective brain power,” referred to by Mr. Kinsey, must not be understood to mean only imbecility, for the term is applicable to imperfect or weak memory, lack of the imitative faculty, slowness of apprehension, nervousness, and other conditions familiar to those who have had to do with the deaf. “Imperfect vision” includes near-sightedness, far-sightedness, and other abnormal states of the visual organs, as common among the deaf as with others, all of which stand in the way of success in artificial speech, for this depends on the eye no less than on the vocal organs. Taking Mr. Kinsey’s classification, we have a large percentage of the deaf with whom any effort to teach oral language is to be discouraged. The oral method, therefore, is not to be accepted, as many of its promoters insist, as the universal and only means of educating the deaf, but is to be made use of with a certain proportion only.

The question will now be raised and answered, whether those deaf persons who cannot learn to speak are to be regarded as inferior to those who can, and are, consequently, more to be pitied. This is frequently a matter of great concern to parents who have deaf children about to enter upon a course of instruction; and it is true that not a few teachers and supporters of the oral method would have the world believe that those taught under it have a far more valuable education than others. At the Milan Convention already alluded to, where the oral method was most ardently advocated, the suggestion made by a pupil on exhibition that a deaf person without speech was no better

than a monkey was received with undisguised marks of approbation. A most emphatic protest is here entered against the acceptance of any such idea, or anything approaching to it: and it will be shown that, while the acquisition of speech by the deaf is a thing to be desired and valued, inability to gain it does not stand in the way of securing an education, in the fullest sense of that term; and it will be shown, further, that educated *deaf-mutes* (the word is used in its limited sense) possess certain advantages over those whose mutism has been removed by education. The history of the instruction of the deaf in the world reveals the fact that in the United States and in all the countries of middle and northern Europe, except Germany, deaf children have been educated in large numbers without an attempt having been made to give them speech. With this education they have been able, with very few exceptions, to provide for their support by their own intelligent labor; a large proportion of them have married and reared families, often marrying hearing persons; they have mingled freely in society; they have proved themselves good citizens, and have, as a rule, lived lives of piety, enjoying the comfort of an intelligent religious faith.

Since the preparation of this paper was begun, a letter was shown the writer by the senior professor in the College for Deaf-Mutes at Washington, which gives an interesting, though of course imperfect, picture of the course in life of one who was a pupil of the professor while he was an instructor in the institution for the deaf and dumb at Hartford. This letter so well illustrates several points relating to the condition of a person deaf from infancy, educated without speech, that no apology is made for inserting it entire. It is given, of course, precisely as composed by the writer.

AT HOME, May 6, 1881.

MY DEAR TEACHER AND FRIEND, — I was indeed delighted to hear from you, and that little Minerva was not entirely forgotten. Many thanks for the letter and your photo. You have changed somewhat since I saw you. You did not have any beard or mustache when I saw you last. That changed your look very much. You say you are *gray*! How I wish I could see you, to have a chat such as we used to have at Hartford. I remember the pleasant good times. Let us go back to the year 1860, — that was in the fall when we talked about my domestic affairs, while that little daughter of mine was lying asleep on the sofa in the parlor. She is a young lady now, as nice and lovely as can be. Well, you thought you saw my husband then. Yes, but he died the following summer from the effects of a severe fall. He left me two dear little children, Minnie, now aged 24, and Dannie, aged 22, a very nice young man, and are still living with us. I was again married, in 1868, to Mr. F —, a councilman, and have three children by him, Edith, aged 10, Bertha 7, and Lewis 6. All can hear and talk, and are attending school — can use the sign language fluently.

Mr. F — is a very agreeable companion and an indulgent father to his children, even to Minnie and Dannie, and has done everything to make us happy. He was

an only child and an old BACHELOR too, when he married me. Oh, is it not sweet to be called an old man's DARLING? He is a hearing man and handsome. We live on a nice farm lying at the foot south of "Woonsocket Hill," — a very pleasant location. I like living in the country the best.

Do you remember my brother Charles and my sister Desire? They were at school at the same time you was there. They live a little way from here, and of course we see each other almost every day. Charles was married a year ago at the ripe age of 52 to a young deaf-mute lady aged 20, late of New York. They seem to be very happy together. Sister Desire is living with them, having been divorced from her husband for his neglect and misconduct. She has a son aged 22, and am sorry to say that he is like his father and is away somewhere.

My dear mother died a year ago aged 86 years. — Oh, I must tell you that she and President Garfield's mother were *cousins*. We descended from Maturin Ballou: I have plenty of proofs. Are you acquainted with General Garfield? I am going to write a letter to Grandma Eliza Garfield soon. Mother often spoke of her. Mother's maiden name was Freeloze Ballou.

I think I have changed some since I saw you. Have grown fleshy. Not gray yet, and am almost 46 years. My teeth are as good as when I left school. I am well embalmed I guess, — ha! ha! I am still lively, gay, fun-loving as ever, and as happy as fat clams in high-tide! Among my pleasures and blessings I do not forget my dear Heavenly Father, and always am thankful. I shall send you my photo taken two weeks ago. Does it look like little Minerva — what do you think of it? Have I aged a great deal? I can almost see you smile. Whenever you come East please drop into Little Rhody and give us a visit. We shall all be happy to see you. I have so often spoke of you that they are almost acquainted with you. Will you please favor me with a lock of your hair — do I ask too much? I am making a wreath out of hairs of my choicest friends. The whitest lock I have is my old teacher Mr. Turner.

I have written all I think would interest you, and quite a lengthy letter, — I fear a tiresome one too. Will now close with hopes to hear from you soon. God bless you! I am

Affectionately yours,

MRS. F——.

It will be noticed that very few errors of language appear in Mrs. F.'s composition; that as a *deaf-mute* widow with two children she was able to make an advantageous match with a hearing man (and it may be remarked that her first husband was also a hearing man); in short, that, in spite of her total deafness and unrelieved dumbness, she has lived a happy and useful life in free intercourse with hearing people, apparently at no great disadvantage on account of her physical disabilities.

Now it is not designed, in showing that *deaf-mutes* who have not learned to speak may nevertheless live happy and useful lives, to underrate the importance of adding speech to their other acquirements whenever it is possible to do so; nor yet to shield from a certain measure of criticism those teachers of the deaf in our own and other countries who have neglected or rejected the teaching of oral language in the education of the deaf. But it is the wish of the writer to emphasize the fact that teaching the deaf to speak and to read

from the lips of others is not educating them, that it is not the thing of paramount importance, that it is not even an element of the *greatest* consequence. It is urged, therefore, without hesitation, that in cases where the process of imparting speech is found to be attended with great difficulties, and the degree of success in the early stages is small, it is better to discontinue the effort, relying on signs, writing, and the manual alphabet for the prosecution of the great work of education which is still entirely practicable.

It has been intimated that educated *deaf-mutes* possess certain advantages over those to whom the power of speech has been imparted, and the writer is well aware that many promoters of articulation will smile at this proposition, — which he wishes, however, seriously to discuss, with no purpose of undervaluing speech, but with a view of encouraging and comforting those who may fail in their endeavor to overcome dumbness. In the first place the *deaf-mute* in the manual alphabet — facility in the use of which may be readily acquired by his friends and acquaintances — has a means of communication at his command for all the social and business relations of life *far more certain, comprehensive, and satisfactory than speech and lip-reading*. For it must be understood by the unprofessional that the ability to speak and read from the lips, enjoyed by many totally deaf persons, is by no means the same thing as normal speech and hearing, though some teachers of articulation would have the world believe that it is. There is a degree of uncertainty varying with circumstances, demanding repetition, explanation, and at times a resort to writing, which often makes oral communication with deaf persons far from satisfactory and comfortable. With many such persons conversation is limited to commonplaces. With most of them the free interchange of the “social circle” is impossible, communication being restricted to two persons, and these so placed with reference to each other that the vocal organs of each shall be in full view of the other. Now when conversation is carried on between two persons, or in the social circle, through the manual alphabet, all these difficulties disappear. Thought is transmitted from the fingers through the eyes to the brain with as great readiness and exactitude as from the tongue through the ear: both these processes are natural; neither of them puts a strain upon Nature. But when the eye is compelled to recognize the differences, often slight, which appear in the external aspect of the organs of speech when vocal sounds are uttered, a demand is made upon Nature to which she is not always able to respond. There is consequently a necessity for such close attention in order to lose as little as possible of what is being said, that the mind is not free to attend to the *subject* of conversation, but is occupied rather with the effort to understand. This serious drawback is entirely absent from communications by means of the manual alphabet.

The writer trusts he may be pardoned for saying that in respect to this matter of the relative comfort, fulness, and exactitude of the two means of conversing with deaf persons, just described, he has had opportunities for extended personal experiment. With the finger alphabet he has been familiar from his childhood, and its use is as easy to him as speech. Within the past ten or twelve years he has met many well educated deaf persons who declined to use the manual alphabet, and depended wholly on speech and lip-reading in their communications with others. With these he has found himself laboring under restrictions, such as have been referred to, which detracted not a little from the freedom and consequently from the pleasure of conversation; and he does not remember a single instance of such intercourse when he was not led to reflect on the great advantage attaching to the use of the finger alphabet by the deaf. At this point the question naturally arises, "What hinders deaf persons who have the power of speech and the ability to read from the lips of others from using the manual alphabet at will?" to which it may be replied, "Nothing whatever." And when the question follows, "Why then do they not avail themselves of its benefits?" the answer is, "Because they have been unwisely advised by their teachers to abstain from its use, as well as from the use of the sign language, in the hope of attaining thereby to greater perfection in speech and lip-reading than they would be likely to do if they allowed themselves other means of communication." And, moreover, they have in many instances been inspired by their teachers with a false shame of being taken for *deaf-mutes*, and their vanity has been inflamed by being assured that through the acquisition of speech they would be removed from the class in which their natural disability had placed them, and so "restored to society," whatever that phrase, so often used by promoters of the oral method, may mean.

The limits of this paper will not allow an exhaustive discussion of these points; but the attention of the reader may be directed to the fact that speech and the manual alphabet do not constitute two languages, rendering it important that only one should be cultivated at a time, — they are merely two forms of expressing the same language, and hence may be used interchangeably without fear of evil results. And those whose greatest interest in the education of the deaf centres on perfecting them in speech and lip-reading should remember that with all their skill and zeal they cannot give the slightest hint of *actual hearing* to their pupils, and that failing in this they must remain *a class* in the community; also that it is a mistaken kindness to cause their pupils to look down on such deaf persons as may fail to acquire speech. Besides having the important advantage of the use of the manual alphabet, *deaf-mutes* are more favorably situated than

the *speaking-deaf* in this, that their lack of speech gives them an additional hold on the sympathies of others. They are felt to be more in need of a helping hand than those who undertake to communicate as the world does. The graceful movements by which they convey their ideas are attractive and interesting; while the speech of the deaf, never perfect and often painfully defective, is repellent and sometimes even distressing. Not a few parents of young deaf-mutes, having heard the speech of those who had been taught to articulate, have insisted that their children should *not* be instructed in speech, so disagreeable to them was the utterance of a totally deaf person. Still another advantage do well-educated *deaf-mutes* enjoy over the *speaking-deaf*, — and this is the *free enjoyment and use* of the language of signs. The terms “free enjoyment and use” are emphasized because it is true that the *speaking-deaf* do make a certain use of signs, in spite of the prohibition that is sought to be enforced in the oral schools. Assuming to reject them, both teachers and pupils resort to them, the latter often surreptitiously, for the simple reason that among the deaf they serve a purpose of which, in many instances, nothing can take the place. And this is a proof, though not the only one, of what has been already claimed, — that the language of signs is natural to the deaf.

There is at present connected with the college at Washington a young man of rather more than average intelligence, whose first training was received in an oral school where signs were very little used. After some years he was placed in an institution where the sign language in its full development was freely employed. This young man has assured the writer that the acquisition and use of the language of signs seemed to open a new world to him. Thought was stimulated; a freedom of intercourse with others, unknown before, was developed; the enjoyment of public speaking (through signs) was added; and the general pleasure of life doubled. What is true in the case of this young man has been true of others, and would be of many more were they similarly favored by circumstances. Without any attempt to discuss this point exhaustively, it may be said that totally deaf persons can directly enjoy public speaking — such as lectures, preaching, addresses, and discussions — only through the medium of the sign language. A friend may give them the substance of spoken discourses with the manual alphabet; but the claim, made by some, that when they have mastered lip-reading they can understand public speaking, is not well founded. To be *en rapport* with them, one who would address them directly must employ that language which alone is natural to them. The writer has seen so much of the pleasure and profit derived by the deaf from addresses made to them in *their own language*, that he can think only with pity of the loss sustained by

those who, from mistaken notions of their own advantage, decline to make use of the means of communication which benignant Nature has especially designed for them. Strange as it seems to those who know in their own experience what the resources and value of the sign language are in the education of the deaf, there are some who reject it and place it under a ban. That its use may be carried to injurious excess by injudicious persons is admitted ; but the same is true of many things which man cannot spare from the social economy.

In urging the use of the language of signs, to a greater or less degree, in all schools for the deaf, no stronger arguments can be presented than are given by one of the most distinguished and successful teachers of *articulation* in Germany, the late Moritz Hill of Weisenfels, whose experience as an instructor of the deaf in speech extended over a period of more than forty years. In his comprehensive work, "*Der gegenwärtige Zustand des Taubstummen-Bildungswesens in Deutschland*," Mr. Hill alludes to the fact that some persons have charged upon the "German method" the proscription of every species of pantomimic language, and says: "Such an idea must be attributed to malevolence or to unpardonable levity. This practice is contrary to nature and repugnant to the rules of sound educational science." And then, after condemning even more sharply those who would attempt to educate the deaf without signs, he gives the following comprehensive estimate of the value of the sign language: —

"I acknowledge in this language of natural signs, —

"1. One of the two universally intelligible innate forms of expression granted by God to mankind, — a form which is in reality more or less employed by every human being.

"2. The only form of expression which by the deaf and dumb child can be fashioned without the aid of extraordinary practice, just as his mother tongue suffices to the hearing child, eventually arranging itself into forms of thought, and unfolding itself into spoken language.

"3. The reflex of actual experiences.

"4. The element in which the mental life of the deaf-mute begins to germinate and grow; the only means whereby on his admission to the school he may express his thoughts, feelings, and wishes.

"5. A very imperfect natural production, because it remains for the most part abandoned to a limited sphere of hap-hazard culture.

"6. A valuable mirror for the teacher, in which the intellectual stand-point of his pupil is exhibited to him.

"7. At first the only, and consequently indispensable, means of comprehension between teacher and pupil, but not a language which we merely need to translate into ours in order to induct him into the latter tongue.

"8. An instrument of mental development and substantial instruction made use of in the intercourse of the pupils with each other; for example, the well-known beneficial influences which result from the association of the new pupils with the more advanced.

"9. A means, but not the only one, whereby to supply a lack of clearness in

other methods of communication and leading back, in extraordinary cases, to the real object, or to its representation in drawing or model.

"10. The most convenient, quick, and certain means in many cases of making one's self understood by deaf-mutes, whether during tuition or out of school hours, and therefore also employed, perhaps, very often without need, even without volition.

"11. A very welcome means of revisal and correction when articulation brings into use, for example, an ambiguous word.

"12. A most efficacious means of assisting even pupils in the higher degrees of school training, giving light, warmth, animation to spoken language, which for some time after its introduction continues dull and insipid.

"13. A practicable means of communication with others beyond the walls of the deaf and dumb institution, whether it be used by itself or in connection with articulation."

Then, after extending somewhat the train of thought suggested by these clearly stated points, the author thus concludes what he has to say in this part of his book on the use of signs:—

"But it is particularly in the teaching of religion that the language of pantomime plays an important part, especially when it is not only necessary to instruct but to operate on sentiment and will, either because here this language is indispensable to express the moral state of man, his thoughts and his actions, or that the word alone *makes too little impression on the eye of the mute* to produce, without the aid of pantomime, the desired effect in a manner sure and sufficient."

Who will take the responsibility of proscribing the use of the language of signs in the general education of the deaf in the face of such testimony from such a source, after such an experience?

The importance of the sign language to the deaf might be still further discussed; but the limits of this paper will allow nothing more than the remark that the fifth point quoted from Hill shows that with all his appreciation of the value of signs he had never developed them, as the French and American instructors have done, for certainly they have not been left to "a limited sphere of hap-hazard culture" in France or in the United States.

It now remains to answer, in a practical manner, the question chosen as the title to this paper. That no one method is to displace all others has, it is believed, been made evident. There must then be a system that shall include every method which can be shown to be of real service to any sub-class or order of the deaf. The writer has made use, in several publications, of the term "Combined System" in advocating the cause of the deaf. This term is thought to be an expressive one, and is certainly broad enough to include everything that is valuable to the deaf. That there may be no misapprehension of its meaning an attempt will be made to show how it is susceptible of somewhat different applications under conditions not

identical. In a small State or section, where for economical reasons it would be impracticable to have more than one institution for the education of the deaf, the Combined System would suggest divisions and classes in which oral instruction would be emphasized and made prominent, while in other divisions and classes no attention would be paid to this branch. In such States as New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois, the Combined System would call for the establishment of separate schools in which the several methods might be pursued, care being taken that the capabilities of the pupil and the peculiarity of the method should be in harmony. And as it is true that, in the country generally, articulation ought to have a more prominent place in the education of the deaf than is at present accorded to it, it is to be hoped that the example set by New England and New York of maintaining schools in which only those pupils shall be retained who are found capable of success in speech, may be speedily followed by Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in all which States there is urgent need of increased provision for this branch of public instruction.¹

Having secured, under the Combined System, either in separate schools or in well divided classes, the application of the different methods accepted as valuable to the diverse capabilities of the deaf, the use of the manual alphabet and the language of signs in all schools is to be urged, — these means of communication being employed, of course, to a much greater extent in silent schools than in those following the oral method. But in the latter it is earnestly recommended that advanced pupils, such as have practically mastered speech, be afforded the great advantage of receiving moral and religious instruction through signs, as well as the benefit of lectures and addresses of a secular character. It would thus become necessary that all teachers of the deaf should be familiar with the manual alphabet, and that in every oral school there should be one or more of the instructors well versed in the language of signs. In the silent schools care should be taken in the employment of signs, lest their excessive use interfere with the progress of the pupil in mastering verbal language; and in such schools the use of the manual alphabet should be encouraged, even with very young pupils, as a means of conversation among themselves and with their teachers. The importance of employing in all schools only well trained teachers, and such as possess a natural fitness for the work of instruction, cannot be overestimated; for no method, however valuable in itself, can be successful, except when

¹ By the benevolent bequests of a lady recently deceased in Philadelphia, the authorities of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb have come into the possession of funds, with which they have determined to establish two separate schools for small children in Philadelphia, — one following the oral method, the other the sign method.

practised by able and skilful hands. And if to secure the services of such it be necessary to pay what may seem to be large salaries, it is to be hoped that the spirit of benevolence, which leads legislatures to provide for so humane a work as the education of the deaf, will not fail of providing that the work may be done in the best possible manner.

Economy in public expenditure, as in private, is no doubt a virtue ; but its over-cultivation produces the vice of parsimony as readily in the one case as in the other. And it is a fact greatly to be deplored, that, in schools for the deaf as in others, the welfare of pupils has suffered because of a disposition to make use of inferior services in order that appropriations and taxation may be slightly diminished. An evil largely due to such mistaken ideas of economy must not be overlooked in this connection ; namely, the enlargement of single institutions until the number of pupils under one management is counted by many hundreds. It is argued that one school of four or five hundred pupils can be conducted at much less than double the expense of two schools, each of half the number. Granting this, it will be admitted on the other hand by all candid persons, that the congregation of large numbers of children away from their homes for purposes of education involves many evils, which may be in a great degree avoided by allowing the numbers in a single establishment to be no more than is necessary to a suitable arrangement of grades and classes.

At the beginning of this article an allusion was made to " heated controversies " which have been maintained with more or less of bitterness as to the merits of rival methods of instructing the deaf.

Perhaps this effort to answer the question *How shall the deaf be educated?* can be closed in no more satisfactory manner than by recording the gratifying fact, that while in Europe these " controversies " are continued in a spirit which is not always magnanimous, or even fair, in our own country harmony prevails among those whose views as to the relative advantages of the different methods are not yet in perfect accord. Cordial interchange of sentiments takes place in conventions to which all teachers, of whatever shade of opinion, are invited. Success under any method is recognized and applauded. And a tendency is plainly discernible towards a general approval of such a Combined System as has been described, in the successful operation of which, throughout our whole country, the best possible results are to be anticipated.

EDWARD M. GALLAUDET.

ANOTHER UNWRITTEN CHAPTER OF THE LATE WAR.

THE title of this article may remind the readers of the "Review" of a previous one published more than a year ago, and recording some valiant and unappreciated deeds of men in the far West. From the publication of the former "Unwritten Chapter" has resulted, somewhat singularly, the preparation of this second one. Just about the time, now nearly twenty years ago, that Canby, Roberts, Carson, and their fellow fighters were holding the right wing of the National Union line, some striking events of which I was cognizant (in a sense *pars fui*) were transpiring at the antipodes, — in the far East, the Cathay of the poet, the Sinim of the Bible. Of the few Americans who shared that knowledge with me, some sleep their last sleep, and others are widely scattered. In a remote region, one of them saw the table of contents of the "Review" containing the heading of the former article, with my name attached, and he at once sent for the number, feeling sure, as he told me when we recently met after sixteen years' separation, that a paper with that title and from my pen could relate only to the stirring scenes in which we had together participated. This meeting having supplied certain details, and the short story being somewhat opportune at the present time, it is given as follows.

Shanghai is the most important and most widely known of all the so-called "treaty ports" of China. Situated near the mouth of the great Yang-tsze, it is a most extensive mart for both exports and imports, and a large share of the revenue of the empire is derived from the local customs. Only about thirty years ago it was but little known to foreigners, and few of them were resident there. At this port, and at others, it should be borne in mind that foreigners do not live in the Chinese cities, but in cantonments, or what are called "foreign settlements," usually quite distinct from the native towns. That at Shanghai has been rightly called the "Model Settlement." It lies to the north of the large, filthy, Chinese walled city and has grown to be a beautiful modern town. It is as worthy as Calcutta to be called the City of Palaces, and presents a very fine appearance to any one approaching by the river. It should be remembered that foreigners at these treaty ports are subject, not to native, but to what is called *ex-territorial*, jurisdiction, — the Chinese being by treaty compelled to abrogate all rights over their persons and property, — and the consul of each nation, or in the case of Great Britain a special local court,

possessing governmental and judicial powers. In spite of this, the residents of Shanghai have bound themselves together in a voluntary municipality of the most complete character, providing roads, bridges, drains, and an excellent police force. Here, up to 1861, brethren literally dwelt together in unity,—national differences being almost forgotten in common interests of defence, business, and social intercourse. The large majority of the residents are always, of course, English, probably on the average five times outnumbering the Americans, of whom there may have been in and about the settlement at the beginning of that year four to five hundred.

When it was first known that the Civil War had actually begun, the sentiment universally prevalent among the English was that of warm sympathy with the Confederate cause. The Americans, on the other hand, being mainly merchants, or connected with them, were ardent Union men. There were some missionaries from the South, but they exerted no influence whatsoever. The case of the one Southern sympathizer, not a missionary, was such a remarkable one as to warrant special mention.

At the beginning of the war, this man, a "rough" from San Francisco, while dining at a public table, had some words with a worthy American ship-master in regard to the political situation, and, meeting him afterward at the entrance of the dining-room, stabbed him to the heart and fled. The excitement among the American residents was so intense that a reward of some ten thousand dollars was at once offered for him, *dead or alive*. In spite of this he managed to escape detection for at least a year, when he sailed in a French vessel for Nagasaki (Japan), and had the temerity, while in the harbor of that place, to come ashore and appear in a billiard room. A man from Shanghai who was present rose from his seat, and pointing his finger at him said: "That is the murderer!" The scoundrel at once fled to the shelter of the French vessel, and thence to the French consulate. A party of American captains, with loaded revolvers, formed a cordon around this consulate, outside of its grounds, and, relieving each other by turns, swore he should never leave it alive. The man, seeing that all attempt to escape was useless, sent to the American consul to come and take him. He was conveyed in irons to Shanghai by a British man-of-war, tried by a consular court, found guilty, and executed. Such was the career of the only active American secession sympathizer in the Model Settlement.

The Americans found their position from the beginning of the war anything but a pleasant one. Their social relations with the English, who so greatly outnumbered them, were rudely disturbed; and no one who lived during those four troubled years in the United States can form any adequate idea of the intense hostility and bitterness

with which the English, and especially the colonial English, regarded the Union cause. Ultimately, of course, a sort of *modus vivendi* was established; but, the telegraph and the American steam-line across the Pacific being yet in the future, all information regarding the progress of military operations came to these loyal American hearts through English channels, and was often distorted to the extent of malignity. Worse yet was still to come. In the month of January, 1862, a piece of news fell upon the community like a thunder-bolt. It may be imagined in what shape the story of the Trent affair would be given by an English newspaper ardently devoted to the Southern cause. It was just such an account which the American residents saw displayed in large type as they opened the "Straits Times" brought by the incoming mail. It was a heavy blow indeed to the little band of exiles, for war with England appeared perfectly inevitable; and under the best of circumstances their position was a very precarious one. The statement now about to be made in regard to the immediately formed purpose of the British is so extraordinary that one should not presume to print it, were it not derived from the lips of unimpeachable consular and naval authorities of that nation. It was at once determined by them that the neutrality of this great and practically cosmopolitan port should not be in the least regarded, but that, immediately upon the arrival of the expected declaration of war, American property in and about Shanghai should be seized and destroyed, or confiscated. Probably a more high-handed and lawless determination was never conceived; but unfortunately it is historical, and, it is believed, is now for the first time made public. It is known to but few, and it was known to fewer at the time. While in ignorance of it, the Americans, or a part of them, had made up their minds to a course of action.

There arrived just at this time from New York a new, large, and powerful steamer called the "Poyang." She was commanded by Captain George Briggs, and was intended for local trade. In the expectation that she might encounter Confederate cruisers on the voyage out, she had been provided with four large cannon, two of them rifled, an efficient stand of small-arms, and a letter-of-marque. The Jacksonian motto that "desperate courage makes one a majority" is as true of the American as of any created being. The Spaniard, the Apache Indian, the Malay pirate, is by no means as coolly desperate and determined a creature as some sober, God-fearing, New England seafaring man who sees his employers' interests—and perhaps his own little share in the vessel, purchased by his hard earnings—in peril. By such a class of men, with the utmost celerity, a plan was conceived and a compact formulated. It was decided to *borrow* the "Poyang." Not a British man-of-war in the Eastern seas could

steam within several knots of her, or possessed a piece of ordnance with a range approaching that of her rifled guns. A commander was at hand who knew every port in Japan, including those where coal was to be had, and not yet opened to commerce. Among the motley crew of soldiers of fortune attracted to China in the hope of employment in the war with the Taeping rebels, were found a dozen experienced gunners. With them and a small crew, the "Poyang" was to steam rapidly out of the harbor and up to the Ochotsk sea, where three hundred men were to be picked from the American whalers there cruising, and taken on board. Within a few weeks, every British mail steamer with her treasure, every richly-laden clipper ship, and indeed more than one man-of-war would have been at her mercy; and it is altogether safe to say that the doings of the "Alabama" or the "Shenandoah" would have been a child's story compared to those of the "Poyang." It is as certain as death that this plan would have been carried out, had the next mail steamer brought the news of a declaration of war being certain. This plan was made, be it remembered, without any general knowledge of the intentions of the English just mentioned, and as a contribution of the American exile band to their country's cause. On the principle that the devil should be fought with fire, it was entirely in accordance with dramatic fitness that such an outrageous and lawless course as threatened them should be met, as it was, by another one characterized by a strange barbaric force; and I take pleasure in giving to the public some account of the author thereof.

About 1860, a man of pleasant and youthful appearance came ashore from a sailing vessel at Shanghai. His name was Frederic T. Ward; he was born in Salem, Massachusetts; was something of a seafaring man, and it was said that he had been with Walker in Nicaragua. After his arrival in China, he distinguished himself in the novel occupation of taking cities from the Taeping rebels by contract. Having assembled a band of fighters of all nationalities and degrees, he coolly proposed to the Imperial authorities to capture a certain city for a fixed sum. He carried this out to the letter, received his pay, and undertook further service in the same direction. He was regarded by most people as an outlaw, by many as a desperado. After operating for some time in the neighborhood of Shanghai, he went further into the country, and for quite a long period not much was heard about him. After this lapse of time, the rebels approached Shanghai, and considerable alarm was felt for the safety of the settlement. At a critical moment the surprising news was received that this outlaw and desperado, who had equipped and drilled three native regiments in the best manner and according to the most modern rules, had fallen upon the approaching army,—which many

times outnumbered his own force,—routed them with considerable slaughter, and dispelled all danger. From that time forth he was held in far greater, and daily-increasing, consideration. When it was decided by the allies to establish what was called the “thirty-mile radius” around Shanghai, and to announce to the rebels that they would not be allowed under any circumstances to pass its limits, this lately-despised Dugald Dalgetty and his drilled regiments became very important factors in the situation. British generals, colonels, captains, and notably Vice-Admiral Hope,—a splendid old paladin, who had had three vessels sunk under him, and a link of chain shot into his side at the battle near the Peiho forts,—became extremely polite, and admitted him to their councils. A more remarkable instance of a man “living down” a bad name has rarely been seen. Ward became a Chinaman; he was called Hwa, and married the daughter of a well-known native named Takee. He was of short stature, but well made and athletic. He had blue eyes, a black mustache, and black hair worn long on his shoulders. His manners were excellent, and his voice pleasant. He was supposed, and rightly, to be very rich; and it is probable that no foreigner ever attained anything like a similar position in the Chinese service. It is a fact that an official of very high rank, whose name is familiar in modern Chinese history, was kept waiting by him at his door, later brusquely bidden to enter, and then roundly abused for presuming to think that Hwa would come to the door to meet him; to which treatment the official meekly submitted. I remember, as if it were yesterday, seeing this remarkable man for the last time in his life, riding, in the streets of Shanghai, a gray Arab which he had borrowed from me. Knowing that on the morrow he was to direct an assault at the town of Ningpo, I asked him if, while exposed to such perils, he had made provision for the care of his property in case of his death. He sat erect on the horse, the blue frock-coat, which he almost always wore, buttoned tightly across his breast; and, placing his hand on his left side, and designating the outline of a little book in his pocket, he replied, “It is all there.” Within about twenty-four hours he was mortally wounded. A British naval captain and his coxswain were with him during the last few moments which he lived. These moments he employed in a brief statement in regard to his affairs, which he was unable to sign, but to which the captain and coxswain certified as correctly taken down. The little book was still in the breast-pocket of his coat, which lay across the back of a chair; but after the officer first on guard with the body was relieved, it was never again seen. It is not proper to detail here certain well-grounded suspicions as to the why and wherefore of its disappearance; suffice it to say that of the immense fortune which General Ward was believed, indeed known, to possess, but the barest fraction was ever

traced, and the "Ward Estate case" is a *cause célèbre* in the annals of the United States Consular Court at Shanghai.

It is a great pity that this man's life has never been written. Had the operations in which he was engaged been completed, he would have been made a Prince of the Blood Royal, and Commander-in-Chief of the armies in China. There is no doubt that he had a well-defined and consuming ambition to bring this great empire into line with Eastern nations; and an officer of his staff, with whom I was well acquainted, told me that if he had never before believed in the Divine direction of earthly affairs, he would have done so after he had seen in Ward's death a direct interference from on high with a purpose carried on, and to be carried out, with fire and sword.

After Ward's death, Captain Gordon of the British engineer service, about whom the world has heard so much in late years, succeeded, with great assistance from his own country and France, in completing the work, with which Ward had made such eminent progress, of suppressing the rebellion. In consideration of the glamour surrounding Gordon's doings, it is a shame that the transcendent military prowess and achievements of the American soldier should be so little known to fame as they are. At the conclusion of the war, the Chinese, to the great disgust of the Shanghai residents, erected a hideous stone monument on the bund or water-front, on which were recorded the names of foreign officers who had fallen in their service. The list was headed with absolute effrontery by the name of General Ward as a *staff officer*. A few nights after this monstrosity was completed, the foreign community showed their appreciation thereof by painting it a bright red. Later on an Englishman in the Chinese service published in the local paper an account of receipts and disbursements in connection with the monument. He was probably more at home in fighting rebels than in book-keeping, and he made a terrible mess with the sum of \$145.86, which he debited and credited promiscuously. Thereupon a resident wrote to the paper somewhat as follows:—

SIR,—I perceive that Mr. — has great trouble with this unlucky balance of dollars 145.86, which keeps cropping up at all times and in all places. I suggest that it be used in *removing the monument*.

When the English were forming their precious plan above described, it must be supposed that they either forgot Ward's original nationality or imagined that he had totally renounced it; for they confided to him some of the details, to which he listened with attention, and without making a sign. To me he once quietly remarked: "I was an American before I was a Chinaman; and these Englishmen will find it out." Then to a few confidential friends he communicated a very forcible

counterplot, foreshadowed in these words, and elaborated with as much care as celerity. Some features of it were as follows.

As the English have a large import trade which the Americans have not, their material possessions in and about Shanghai were very much greater than those of the latter. In 1870 they were estimated to be worth the enormous sum of fifty-two million pounds sterling, and at the time of the expected war they amounted to a large fraction of this sum. Ward was well aware of this; and he determined to mass, quietly and secretly as he could easily do, a large body of his disciplined troops at a town some twenty miles distant, from which a forced march could readily be made without any warning. Entirely under his control was a guild of what one might politely call privateers, or junks manned by desperadoes of a piratical class thoroughly armed. A large body of these privateers he proposed ordering into the river before the settlement, and distributing among the few naval and many merchant vessels flying the British flag. On board such junks is carried a fearful engine of destruction known by a name unmentionable to ears polite. It is a species of hand grenade of earthenware, easily broken, and filled with a composition not only possessing the destructive qualities of Greek fire, but capable of suffocating those among whom it strikes. It is this which places any vessel, however heavily armed, in a dangerous position when at anything like close quarters with a Chinese pirate. On the day, grimly said General Ward, on which his British friends should begin the seizure of the property of Americans, the latter would have warning from him of what was to happen during the ensuing night. Of such happenings it was needful for him to enter into but few details. They were summed up with the quiet remark that the next morning would see the British portion of Shanghai "a heap of smouldering and looted ruins." To any one who should read this statement, and pronounce it overstrained or fanciful, I would simply remark that the reader did not know General Ward.

As every one is aware, the threatened war with England was averted; but her hostility towards the Union cause, as displayed in the far East, was maintained with increasing bitterness till the end. We had but one man-of-war in those seas,—the old sailing vessel "Jamestown," Captain Cicero Price, U. S. N.; and no one of her officers will forget to his dying day the savage manner in which the rules forbidding her hospitality were enforced. But all of them who survive must remember with intense satisfaction that the report in the military and naval station of Hong Kong that the American *iron-clad* "Jamestown" was coming to bombard the place produced a fearful panic, and that the "Jamestown Battery," hastily constructed on the heights to meet this ludicrously imaginary peril, is shown to this day.

Mail after mail brought venomously garbled accounts of Union disasters. It was hard at times for the Americans to bear up against the temporary depression caused by such news, and by the atmosphere about them; but their *doyen*, a well-known and patriotic merchant, used to say to them: "Don't be weak-kneed, boys! It takes Grant a little longer to carry out his plans than we hoped, but he will do it:

'The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small.'"

One day, at the end of a commercial telegram sent from London to catch the mail steamer at a certain port, came the welcome words, "'Alabama' destroyed off Cherbourg by the 'Kearsarge.'" It is safe to say that if the noted firm which had an inspiration to add such words to a strictly commercial despatch should search their press copy-book for half a century of their existence, they would find a record of nothing which gave such genuine pleasure. Old captains who had heard of it called at the office of the merchants receiving it, and asked to be allowed to see the telegram with their own eyes. When the mail arrived which brought details, every American supposed that there was at last an affair about which nothing unfavorable could be said in the English papers. Yet after nearly twenty years I can feel again the intense indignation with which I read in the "Overland Mail," instead of a laudation of the pluck of Winslow, Thornton, and their men, a deliberate statement that great credit was due to the gunnery of the trained British seamen from the "Excellent" (a training-ship), who had been placed on board of the "Alabama"! The attention of the reader is respectfully directed to this pleasant little item of history.

The long night however drew to an end, and bright morning at last dawned. On the 22d of May, 1865, the people walking on the bund at Shanghai saw over the low paddy fields a vessel coming up the river, covered with flags. Glasses were quickly sought, and they declared her to be the American steamer "Oriflamme," with signals flying from her mast heads. A few minutes more, and a glance at the book translated them. The little parti-colored flags blown out by the monsoon over the marshes of the Yang-tsze delta told the long-hoped-for and glorious news, "RICHMOND IS TAKEN!"

Of the scene which followed no adequate description can be given. American store-keepers placed their entire stocks of goods at the disposal of their countrymen, declining to receive any money therefor; bottles of champagne were distributed to all who wanted them; six cannon were taken from the Chinese arsenal, and a liberal supply of British windows broken therewith; a procession was formed, marched to the American consul's house, placed the American flag on the roof, and wound up the proceedings in an orthodox manner by demanding

a speech. In fact these good people, whose hearts had so long been sick with hope deferred, went fairly mad with delight. In their despondency they had sometimes thought themselves "men without a country," — and what that feeling is to an exile, few can realize. Now they knew that they again possessed this inestimable blessing.

In the course of the festivities of the day just mentioned, a small Englishman emerged from the custom house, and putting his one glass in his eye asked "what the deuce the Yankees were making all this row about?" A grim American who heard him, bided his time. Two days later, the 24th of May, the British community, although not in the least recovered from their horrible disappointment at the preservation of the Union, were forced by custom to celebrate the Queen's birthday, and the ships were dressed as usual. Then came the opportunity of the grim American. Walking into the custom house, and standing with his hands in his California pistol pockets, he cried in a loud voice: "I am glad to see that you lime-juicers¹ have found out that Richmond is taken. It takes you fellows at least forty-eight hours to get a thing through your heads!"

Strange, indeed, in the relations between England and the United States, are the revenges which the whirligig of time has brought. It is less than twenty years since she firmly believed us to be in the throes of dissolution, and did all in her power to aid the process. In this year of grace we, on the other hand, are once more in the flush of life and strength. Great dangers, and apparently insurmountable obstacles, — internecine, political, commercial, financial, — all have been brushed from our path; and we are at peace with all the world. Great Britain, however, is not altogether so fortunate. She is probably the best judge of the extent of the danger to come to her from internal and external complications; yet while we might be disposed to make light of any disaster to accrue from the Irish troubles, her extreme anxiety as to our course in that connection would seem to indicate that she does not under-rate it. In speaking of this subject, any respectable, not to say sensible, American writer would desire to guard himself from the slightest suspicion of sympathy with the "dynamite patriots;" but their case affords a happy illustration. Had King Solomon lived until 1881, he would never have recorded his celebrated saying about novelties; for he would have seen the nation which planned the seizure of American property in the neutral port of a weak country, and which placed Her Majesty's trained naval gunners from the "Excellent" on board the "Alabama," calling upon the United States to suppress the newspapers in which these harmless dynamite patriots print their ravings. One might envy the Secre-

¹ Seafaring men always call Englishmen "Lime-juicers," on account of a law of Parliament requiring the use of lime-juice at sea.

tary of State in whose term of office the British call upon us for such an extraordinary demonstration of neutrality. In the records of his department could be found a "Complete Letter Writer," ready to his hand, in the stern, cold replies made during four long years by the British Foreign Office to the earnest appeals of Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams. Addresses and signatures changed, their *ipsissima verba* would admirably serve the purpose. Yet there is no doubt that this model would not be followed, but that our authorities would loyally do their duty. Small blame to them and to our whole people if the "old Adam" were strong in them, and if they found it difficult to suppress a sort of regret that Great Britain should fare at our hands so very much better than we fared at hers. An English writer in the "Pall Mall Gazette" put the case very happily some years ago, when commenting upon an editorial in which surprise was expressed at an absence of warm, friendly feeling on the part of America towards England. He asked why it should be otherwise; for, said he, "the Americans are not children, and they have memories." There can be few middle-aged men in this country, familiar with the doings of England during our war, into whose souls the iron did not enter. As years pass on, business and social relations, mutual sympathies and interests, pleasant and friendly intercourse, may overlay it with a stratum of good-will, but there it is. Such must particularly be the case with those who lived abroad, and were, so to speak, a little behind the scenes. They too would do their duty unflinchingly; but all the while there would come surging up in their minds vivid recollections of the fell purposes, the rank injustice, and the overt acts of the past. One may find in his reflections upon this subject some suggestions of two striking episodes in the life of General Andrew Jackson, as portrayed by Mr. Parton. There is that magnificent account of the celebrated action which has made the eighth of January a memorable day in our history; of the splendid columns of Pakenham, the Peninsular veterans, and the "praying Highlanders," moving upon the low rough works at New Orleans, which a deserter had reported as very weak, but behind which, he forgot to say, were standing three thousand Kentucky and Tennessee riflemen, the finest in the world; of the wonderful scene when General William Carroll gave the word, and "at first with a certain deliberation, afterward in hottest haste, always with deadliest effect, the riflemen plied their terrible weapon." Then, in strange contrast to this, is an account of a scene in Jackson's childhood in the Carolinas, near the end of the Revolution, when a British officer struck the boy, a prisoner of war, with his sword, inflicting wounds of which he carried the marks to his grave. In narrating this latter incident, an aged relative made the quiet remark, "*I warrant Andy thought of it at New Orleans.*"

A. A. HAYES, JR.

HUXLEY'S WRITINGS.

"He who has so far distinguished himself from the generality of writers, by the clearness and significancy of what he says." — BISHOP BERKELEY.

THERE is perhaps no living Englishman, whose career has not been political, who has influenced the present generations of men more profoundly than Professor Huxley. The political genius of Mr. Gladstone has swayed the fortunes of millions; but as many men perhaps have, directly or indirectly, had their inmost beliefs affected by the powerful thoughts and forcible utterance of the naturalist. Professor Huxley's success could not have come at any earlier period, for he is pre-eminently a man of his own time. In the first part of this century his purely scientific labors might have had an equally prosperous course, but he could not have achieved his present fame and popularity when the public were not to be propitiated by libations of scientific knowledge. Now all is changed; the public eagerly indulge themselves with light science, and no one serves up the tid-bits of thought more daintily than does Professor Huxley. His reputation is two-fold: he is esteemed as an investigator and admired as a teacher and expounder. The success of his last book on the cray-fish is surprising, when we consider that a book on an animal which most people have never seen alive, and with which they have only vague associations of red claws ornamenting a dish not particularly good, has been sold by the thousand, translated into several languages, and read by noblemen, teachers, clergymen, and young girls. Probably no one else could have written the book and secured for it, through his reputation, such extraordinary attention: an essay from Huxley's pen on one of the lower animals excites so much interest that all the leading Reviews of England contain articles upon it. Nevertheless this success is merited; but it began with earlier productions, and these foundations of Huxley's celebrity are at this day well worth consideration.

In estimating the extent and value of what this distinguished naturalist has done, it is necessary to consider separately his original contributions to knowledge and his communications of science through essays and lectures to others lacking his special learning. Let us first glance briefly at his investigations. Huxley had his own way to make. His father was a schoolmaster in the little village of Ealing, where the opportunities of early and advanced education were, it may be supposed, somewhat scant. Thomas Henry Huxley was born in this out-of-the-way place on May 4, 1825; and it is related of him, that his

education was accomplished mainly by his own boyish energy. His manhood opened with that forlorn beginning of many a successful career, a period, — in his case brief, — of medical practice among the poor of London. Fortunately, he entered the Royal naval service, and, owing to the discernment and wise patronage of Sir John Richardson, was appointed surgeon on board the "Rattlesnake." In this vessel he started, late in the year 1846, on a cruise round the world. He returned in 1850, having circumnavigated the globe. Captain Stanley was in command of the vessel which was sent especially to explore certain parts of the coast of Australia and the neighboring seas. During this long voyage, Huxley carried out several extended investigations upon marine animals, and from time to time sent to England memoirs describing the results. On board he was isolated from communication with the scientific world, and secluded from all knowledge of the reception his writings had encountered. The first article contributed from the "Rattlesnake" was "On the Anatomy and Affinities of the Medusæ;" which was read before the Royal Society, June 21, 1849.¹ Its merit secured the honor of a translation by Jules Haime into French,² and was, we believe, his third scientific paper. Macgillivray, who prepared the account of the voyage ultimately published, was the official naturalist of the expedition; but Huxley was encouraged to pursue his investigations not only by Captain Stanley, who was a man with a rare appreciation of talent, but also by promises held out by the Lords of the Admiralty, which led him to expect assistance in the publication of his discoveries. Upon his return he found his memoirs were much esteemed by competent judges; but the Admiralty would not redeem their pledge, although many persons interested themselves in securing justice to the young naturalist. Their efforts were in vain, and observations so industriously made still lacked an opportunity of publication to the world. This must have been a time full of discouragement to Huxley; and in 1853 he gave up his connection with the navy, from which so little satisfaction was to be extracted. Several years later part of his "Rattlesnake" work was published by the Ray Society.

Talent so unusual, however, does not wait long for the opening to further development. After a year's interval we find him, in 1854, appointed the successor of the distinguished Edward Forbes, as Professor of Natural History in the Royal School of Mines, — a position which he still holds. Thus was begun a life of great activity and rare fruitfulness. At the early age of twenty-nine he had earned an assured and desirable position. Yet even before this, honors if not support had come to him. When only twenty-six, he was elected a

¹ Published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1849, pp. 413-434.

² *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*. — Zoölogie, Tome xv. 1851, pp. 331-358.

Fellow of the Royal Society, — an uncommon recognition of merit. In maturer life honors have of course flowed abundantly to him. It is always interesting and pleasant to know that ability has successfully advanced from obscurity to wide and acknowledged usefulness. With Huxley this is particularly the case, because we cannot but suspect, that, when the Admiralty treated him with official coldness, and no definite opening to a scientific career had presented itself, he came near turning aside from science into the pitfall of professional celebrity, where so much talent and genius are engulfed. He might have been a successful physician; but in that case what a rich vein of mental treasure would have been buried beyond recovery!

Huxley's present high rank among scientific men contrasts vividly with his early years. There is a charming interest in the preface to his work, before alluded to, containing his "Rattlesnake" discoveries, and published by the Ray Society. He refers to his delusive hopes of Government assistance, and writes with ardent gratefulness of the encouragement and kindness shown to him by older savants. The young naturalist felt very warmly towards those who had extended to him a helping hand. Now it falls to Huxley to help other beginners, as he was himself helped; and this transmission of kindness to a younger generation is a trust he is believed faithfully to discharge.

The Royal Society of London has published in eight thick quarto volumes a catalogue of all the papers which have appeared in scientific serials between 1800 and 1873. The list is quite full, although Mr. S. H. Scudder has shown that a considerable number of publications are entirely omitted. As regards English serials it is nearly complete. The catalogue is arranged by authors. Under "Huxley, Thomas Henry," there are 112 titles. The first bears date 1847; it is only a single paragraph in the report of the meeting of the British Association, entitled "Examination of the blood of *Amphioxus lanceolatus*." *Amphioxus* is the lowest vertebrate animal known, lower than the lowest fish. Indeed, Professor Semper considers it too low to be called a vertebrate at all. During the following six years came a succession of articles, mostly written on board the "Rattlesnake," and dealing with the comparative anatomy of invertebrates. In 1853 his interest took a new direction; and in that year he published an article upon the minute structure of the teeth, the first of a series of researches in histology or microscopic anatomy. In 1857 he wrote, together with Professor Tyndall, an essay on glaciers, containing the results of their joint observations on the Alps. After 1857 he appears to have occupied himself mainly with vertebrates, and after 1859 with Palæontology. In 1864 he added to these multiple interests and active studies the science of Anthropology, his first pub-

lished investigation in this field bearing the date of that year. All along between the special memoirs are others of wider import, many of them dealing with the most profound problems of zoölogy. These, even at an early date, frequently took the form of lectures, often at the Royal Institution. During the last ten years a larger proportion of his time has been devoted to writing for the Reviews and to the delivery of addresses on public occasions. Indeed, we imagine that when a good speech is desired on any subject, with which a broad-minded scientist might be thought qualified to cope, an Englishman instinctively thinks of Huxley. Thus, during the past summer he delivered two important addresses,—one before the International Medical Congress, the other before the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Besides the writings already alluded to, there are several independent publications, various reports, and also contributions to medical Journals.

When we survey the whole series of Huxley's researches, we are first impressed by the breadth of mind indicated by the wide range of topics and the large number of general questions he has treated. His writings report many discoveries of value and even high importance, which place him in the front rank of the army of original investigators. But there are some, if not many, naturalists whose investigations surpass in worth and novelty those of Huxley. On the other hand, it may be fairly said that the able English biologist has no equal as an expounder, both to scientific and popular audiences, of matters difficult to comprehend. Nor perhaps is it too much to say that no one before ever wrote with such marvellous clearness, united with equal literary finish. Clearness of writing, though of course always esteemed, has never been valued so highly as by our generation. Formerly an embellishment, it has now become a prime requisite, since so much of our reading has for its purpose to acquaint ourselves with the progress in special fields of knowledge, which we can enter only with a guide and interpreter. One reads a great many newspapers, novels, and other books as a pastime, and one reads also, more or less, for mental improvement. A very large proportion of what is perused with serious intent consists of accounts of results obtained by scientific researches,—results first given to the world in technical language, incomprehensible to the general reader. As knowledge grows constantly, and the supply of uninstructed ignorance is inexhaustible, there is unceasing occupation for the disseminators of science. It is here that Huxley is unsurpassed. His "Lay Sermons" are masterpieces. They have a great intrinsic interest, and are fascinating by the skilfulness of their mere construction,—just as a painting attracts us both by its beauty and its technique. To us the lay sermon entitled "A Piece of Chalk" is particularly admirable and impressive.

It is a product of high artistic genius. The reader is led from familiar every-day facts to great natural laws by logic so compelling that he almost believes he has discovered the laws himself.

Professor Huxley's popular works comprise on the one hand lectures and essays; on the other, various text-books. The latter do not require more than brief allusions in this connection, since they exhibit little of their author's personality beyond his power of clear and succinct statement. They are "Elementary Lessons in Physiology," "Anatomy of Vertebrated Animals" and of "Invertebrated Animals," "Physiography," the "Crayfish: An Introduction to the study of Zoölogy," and "Lessons in Elementary Biology," which last was written in conjunction with Prof. H. N. Martin, now of the Johns Hopkins University. Of these the two on comparative anatomy are for special students, and are decidedly inferior to his other books in lucidity of expression, and from the want of care shown in the selection of material. His "Anatomies" cannot rank with the German manuals of Siebold and Stanius, or of Gegenbaur. The "Physiography" on the other hand is especially admirable. A better book could hardly be given to an intelligent child, or adult for that matter, not already familiarly versed in the science of "physical geography," as we still designate it. The book reads itself. It interests and holds a reader who has, perhaps, neither time nor inclination for closely attentive study.

It is not yet generally known that a new school of naturalists has arisen in England under the leadership of Huxley, whose writings and teachings have introduced a novel conception of how a naturalist should study. The triad division of Natural History into mineralogy, botany, and zoölogy has been taught us so long and so persistently that it is very difficult for us to resign the error. Yet the separation of botany and zoölogy is entirely unnatural, and is unjustifiable except as a survival from a past of imperfect knowledge and distorted views. The two sciences are both parts of a general science of life, now called biology. It is largely due to the influence of Huxley that this union of dismembered parts is slowly becoming more real in fact and in our thoughts. Twenty years ago a professor of biology was unheard of, although there were professors of general science, of natural history, of zoölogy, and so forth. At present there are several biologists. Nothing, however, testifies more emphatically to the potency of Huxley's teaching than the fact that the biologists are found only, so far as I am aware, where his influence has been quite direct and strong. A biologist differs from other scientists in that he makes the unity of all forms of life his fundamental conception; and accordingly endeavors to acquaint himself with all the general characteristics and common features of living beings, consid-

ered in all their aspects, whether as structures or organisms, active machines, or sentient beings. Only this point of view, and no other, permits a true insight into vital phenomena. This broad conception is so obviously just that one can hardly realize that it is utterly rejected by the majority of the learned, if not in theory, at least in all their practice.

Not equally obvious is the magnitude and importance of the rapidly progressing reform in which Huxley's influence has been so effective. The methods of the past were often uncertain and insufficient, and the conceptions false. The study of natural history began as the occupation merely of curious observers; and such it long continued, and in part still remains. The famous *Leopo'dina-Carolina* Academy designated itself, correctly for the time of its foundation, *Academia Naturæ Curiosorum*. Not until recent years did natural history become more than the interesting pastime of a few intelligent men. Each investigator pursued his own hobby with the devotion of an enthusiast, yet labored without that fellowship and interest in others' hobbies which likeness of pursuits renders natural. A few loftier minds overlooked the entire field of active research. A Karl Ernst von Baer might, indeed, recognize that the one great result towards which many were striving was the discovery of the nature of life, — "Die Erklärung des Lebens aus einem einheitlichen Princip;" but few shared his insight. Gradually, as the knowledge of plants and animals grew, the disjointed members united to form the two *whole* sciences of botany and zoölogy. Huxley early felt that these two sciences could not thoroughly thrive in separated singleness, and he attempted to bring them into more intimate relations. He has long continued his offices of high priest, celebrating the protracted formalities of their union.

After many years of inculcation English scientists have generally accepted the broad and wise view of biology, and in England there is to-day a distinct school of young naturalists reared under the influence of Huxley's teaching. Their valuable investigations exhibit the benefits of their general training. Great Britain has thus gained a start in the scientific race which redounds to her honor, and may enable her soon to surpass other nations by the value and extent of her contributions to biological science. In Germany there is a greater activity, but the number of special students is most disproportionate to the few with a solid general training. Germany's disadvantage in this respect must become rather more than less conspicuous, as the progress of knowledge brings us more directly to the consideration of the general problems of biology. Still more will this disadvantage be realized when we, as we probably shall before very many years, approach the solution of that greatest of all vital problems, — the nature

of life. The biologist clearly recognizes this mighty end of all his travail, and therein surpasses the narrower-minded zoölogist or botanist. We thus discover a fundamental difference in tone and tendency between the new school and the old. There former always works by altering the mental attitude of his followers, and that is the highest result he can achieve. Huxley has not only wrought a change in the methods of instruction in his favorite science, but has also contributed efficiently to the improvement of school and university instruction in Great Britain, partly by his example, partly by his writings, partly in his official capacity as Examiner of the University of London and member of the London School board, and especially by his classes at South Kensington.

His essays comprise the part of his educational labors best known in this country. His conception of the means and purposes of education is advanced and highly liberal. He is frequently misrepresented as a narrow-minded partisan of an education restricted to scientific studies ; and it is true that he has vigorously attacked that stupid narrowness of mind which, with persistent prejudices, maintains that it is best for us now to keep up the purely literary education, which was good a century ago, when the world possessed less than half its present knowledge. Is it reasonable to deny the educational value of the best part of human thought and discovery, — the part which this century has contributed ? On the other hand, Huxley expressly asserts that it would be foolish to forsake the mental development to be derived in schools and colleges from the more ancient contributions to knowledge and art. It is thoroughly unjust to accuse him of being a one-sided and bigoted advocate of scientific education, to the entire exclusion of literary training proper. His own writings prove the injustice. In his essay on "A Liberal Education," he says : —

"That man, I think, has had a liberal education, who has been so trained in his youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of ; whose intellect is a cold, clear, logic-engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order, ready like a steam-engine to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind ; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature, and of the laws of her operations ; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience ; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself.

"Such an one, and no other, I conceive, has had a liberal education."

Again, in his address on "Science and Culture," delivered at the opening of Sir Josiah Mason's Science College, he says : —

"For the purposes of attaining real culture, an exclusively scientific training is, at least, as effectual as an exclusively literary education. . . . I should be very sorry that anything I have said should be taken to imply a desire on my part to depreciate the value of classical education, as it might be and as it sometimes is. . . . I am the last person to question the importance of genuine literary education, or to suppose that intellectual culture can be complete without it."

The author of these extracts is not a partisan. We fear that his opponents attack him either in ignorance, or else with their animosity intensified by his being in the right.

We have already seen how numerous and important are the zoölogical investigations which Huxley has published, how powerful the stimulus he has imparted to biology, how active has been his promotion of improved education; but we still have to review his psychological work. Few men could indulge in the range of subjects which engage Professor Huxley's attention, without becoming superficial in their special as well as their collateral studies. Yet he is free from this reproach.

As a psychologist Huxley is best and most favorably known by his book upon Hume, forming one of the series of "English men of Letters," edited by Mr. Morley. Professor Huxley modestly excuses his appearance among the litterateurs:—

"It was at the desire and suggestion of my friend, the editor of this series, that I undertook to help posterity in the difficult business of knowing what to add to Hume's epitaph; and I might with justice throw upon him the responsibility of my apparent presumption in occupying a place among the men of letters. . . . And though I know my plea will add to my offence in some quarters, I must plead, in extenuation of my audacity, that philosophy lies in the province of science, and not in that of letters."

This is very characteristic in matter and expression. Indeed, there is a somewhat scanty treatment of Hume's literary work; but since the series is avowedly published "with a view of both stimulating and satisfying an interest in literature and its great topics," the purpose of the book is probably best accomplished by an ample presentation of Hume's philosophical system. Huxley's sympathy with Hume is very great. Of Hume's works he says: "My copy has long been in my possession, and bears marks of much reading." What one reads much, one likes. Indeed, there is a far-going similarity between the two men in their mental attitude. Both are without religious *faith*. They do not believe in a beneficent God, a divine father: their God is without direct personal relation to mankind,—a remote creator, of whose very existence they are not firmly convinced.

In his analysis of Hume's philosophy, Huxley has interpolated criticisms which give, with delicious brevity and clearness, his own opinions upon many philosophical questions. These one hundred

and sixty small pages compass perhaps the most succinct, and in its presentation the clearest, system of philosophy yet given to the world. It is really an artistic quite as much as an intellectual achievement. The merit of the performance must be admitted, whether we yield adherence to the system propounded or not. There are many persons who object to the whole tenor of the book, and regard it as insidiously evil; yet they perforce acknowledge the author's skill. I fear that to certain worthy people Huxley appears an agent of irreligion and demoralization. Such judges class Huxley with "Bob" Ingersoll, whose coarse and sometimes silly atheism is altogether different from Huxley's refined and sensitive scepticism. Yet they are alike in refusing credence to the revealed foundations of morality. Ingersoll acknowledges nothing but selfishness, hardly disguised; he is crudely and wildly bigoted; he treats human "Reason" (with a capital R) with superstitious idolatry; his lectures and writings teem with mad denunciations of those who cannot accept his dogmas: a scoffer at religion, he wishes us to promulgate the disbelief of which he is the self-constituted and rather insignificant prophet. Huxley's penetrating vision sees an unsolved problem which does not call for furious declamation. He recognizes also the *fact* of morality, and feels the necessity of accounting for it, even though he cannot share the common Christian interpretation. Huxley appreciates the worth of morality, else he could not have written these passages:—

"Some there may be who, devoid of sympathy, are incapable of a sense of duty; but neither does their existence affect the foundations of morality."

"So there have been men of moral genius, to whom we owe ideals of duty and visions of moral perfection which ordinary mankind could never have attained; though, happily for them, they can feel the beauty of a vision which lay beyond the reach of their dull imaginations, and count life well spent in shaping some faint image of it in the actual world."¹

The volume on Hume contains a contradiction, which greatly weakens the force of our author's opinions and theories concerning the nature of consciousness and the will. He trips so strangely over his own arguments, that his mishap is worth our special notice. He says (p. 189) that half the controversies about the freedom of the will rest "upon the absurd presumption that the proposition 'I can do as I like' is contradictory to the doctrine of necessity. The answer is, 'Nobody doubts that, at any rate within certain limits, you can do as you like. But what determines your likings and dislikings?'" This evidently involves the conception that the condition of the mind, or in other words the state of consciousness, affects or causes the actions of the body. Yet in an article entitled "On the Hypothesis that Animals are Automata, and its History,"² he says:—

¹ Hume, p. 206.

² Fortnightly Review, vol. xvi. Nov. 1874 (cf. p. 576-577).

"But if, as is here suggested, the voluntary acts of brutes . . . are as purely mechanical as the rest of their actions, . . . their volitions do not enter into the chain of causation of their actions at all.

"It is quite true that, to the best of my judgment, the argumentation which applies to brutes holds equally good of men. . . . It seems to me that in men, as in brutes, there is no proof that any state of consciousness is the cause of change in the motion of the matter of the organism."

In his work on the cray-fish, the same opinion is repeated in different language. We do not see any possibility of reconciling two such contradictory theories. Is it possible for consciousness to be and never to be a cause of physiological phenomena? Huxley attempts to get round the difficulty he cannot remove; but it is at best a queerly mystical interpretation of consciousness which he offers.

In closing, we must add a few words concerning Professor Huxley's style. It is especially characterized by clearness and careful finish. The latter merit is more conspicuous in his later than in his earlier writings. The skill is therefore partly acquired, and it is not difficult to discover evidence that his success in this respect is due not solely to an inborn gift of language, but in larger part to persistent painstaking. One who could entirely rely upon his natural talent would never have blundered into such extremes of carelessness as are betrayed in the following quotation. He says the second division of the ruminant stomach is called the *Reticulum*, "from the fact that its mucous membrane is raised up in a great number of folds, which cross one another at *right angles*, and in this way inclose a multitude of *hexagonal-sided* cells."¹ Right-angles cannot form a hexagon, and hexagonal (*i. e.* six-angled) sides are novelties to mathematicians. Again, Figure 101, in the same volume, represents the skeleton of an *ox*, according to the text, but the outline of a *cow* is drawn around it, to show the relative positions of the soft parts.

Such gross defects are rare, while on the other hand many of his expressions have a most felicitous turn. His style is at its acme in the little work on Hume. A very keen and active sense of humor enables him to impart many pleasing touches, and unquestionably saves him frequently from entertaining views which might be laughed at. A vein of sarcasm crops out conspicuously in some essays. He is always ready with a caustic or sarcastic reply, which he makes with dignity, and when and where it is deserved. In discussions he is a dangerous opponent, being a skilled dialectician. In his memorable dispute with Professor Owen, concerning the brain of apes, he first made his power as a disputant generally felt and acknowledged. Of this power, not the least part was having the right on his side.

¹ *Anatomy of Vertebrates*, London, 1871, p. 378.

The preceding pages may be summarized in the following sentences: The foundations of Professor Huxley's reputation were laid by his original researches in zoölogy, and later in geology. His fame as an instructor began with his lectures, has been enlarged by his writings, and spread by his numerous pupils. It is only since he has occupied a prominent position that he has been a frequent contributor to Reviews. Among scientific men he ranks high, partly from his original discoveries, but still more from having been the principal leader in the reform of natural history and foundation of a distinct school of biologists. He is foremost as an expounder of knowledge and a public guide thereto. The employment of his very rare gifts has exerted a profound influence over the lives and welfare of many Englishmen. He has dealt frankly, ably, and courageously with many burning questions of life and faith. He has scattered broadcast the yeast of new ideas; leavening public opinion with doubt of the traditions of authority and with distrust of the child-like faith our fathers often had.

In brief, his fame rests principally, and I think justly, upon his activity as a teacher and reformer. Therefore we associate him in our minds with men like the German Rudolf Virchow and the French Paul Bert, who, although by tastes and training scientific, yet participate actively in public affairs. Virchow and Bert are both in political life, being members of the representative assemblies of their respective countries. Very possibly Huxley might have become a member of parliament, if England had been passing through a series of tumultuous revolutions.

We have been brief and fragmentary, yet even so summary a presentation enables us to recognize that the unusual character, as well as also the value and extent, of Professor Huxley's achievements have rendered them of noble service in advancing and bettering mankind. His great fame is his just reward.

CHARLES SEDGWICK MINOT.

SIR HENRY VANE.

MASSACHUSETTS, in the two and a half centuries of its history as Colony, Province, and State, has had in full commission over it, as chief magistrates, forty-eight governors. Of these a considerable proportion have been worthy and eminent men, in character, abilities, and services. Especially on critical occasions of public concern it has been found that the right man was in office. There is no name on the list which is now more fragrant and honored

for nobleness and lofty virtue, for purity of character, for wise policy, and for sound statesmanship than that of Henry Vane. His tragic fate, and the obloquy which debased monarchical and prelatical judgments sought to attach to his career and repute make the renewal of his fair memorial a most grateful service. The beautiful sonnet of Milton, and the quaint ardor of sympathetic praise in the poetical prose of Roger Williams,—the two contemporaries of Vane who best understood and appreciated him,—assure us that he was something other than “a fanatic” and “a traitor.” Vane was Governor of Massachusetts for but one year, and that a year of dissension and distraction the most bitter and alarming of all the years of its annals; but during his administration and through the remainder of his life—whose whole length was but little more than fifty years—he exhibited qualities and principles which would admirably fit him for the office this year, and would, indeed, have fitted him to fill it through every year of the Commonwealth from his time to our own. His qualities were purity, rectitude, wisdom, largeness and liberality of view, public spirit, sound statesmanship, and a profound spirit of piety,—using that word in its most august sense. His principles, the dreads and heresies of his own time, are the assured axioms and verified sanctities of our time. They were,—that the people are the source of all power in a government; that Church and State must be wholly disjoined, as having distinct functions; that there must be unlimited toleration in religion; and that a reverent recognition of “the higher law” is a substitute for a thousand futile and fretting devices for guiding and controlling men.

The family of Vane, now represented by the Earl of Westmoreland with many noble connections, was ancient and honored. The first Sir Henry was knighted in 1356. The father of the Governor, known in the time of Charles I. as “the elder Vane,” was knighted in 1611, and was distinguished in Parliament as a diplomatist, and as Treasurer and chief Secretary of State. His eldest son Henry, one of a large family, was born in 1612, when his father was but twenty-three years old. This son, when reviewing his career just previous to his execution, in the tone of strict and serious self-reckoning which his religious views required of him, charges himself with having been wayward, indolent, and pleasure-loving till his fifteenth year, when he was religiously quickened. He was then in his course at Magdalen College, Oxford, which he left unfinished, because of religious scruples. He was with his father occasionally on his diplomatic errands, and after travelling in France and Holland abode for a while in Geneva. Here his alienation from the English Church of his time seems to have become thorough and complete. The attitude which he assumed and the views which he freely expressed on his return home excited

in his father surprise, regret, and strong opposition,—much as when, half a century afterward, the stout old Admiral and courtier, Sir William Penn, learned from his son with shorn locks that he had become a Quaker. The King and others about the Court were chagrined by the puritanical tendencies of young Vane, which, though not offensively asserted, were firm and earnest. Laud and other bishops remonstrated with him to no effect. It is said that he insisted upon receiving the Sacrament standing. His own proposal to withdraw himself for a while “into foreign parts” was denied by the father, but by the King’s advice was allowed, in the hope that absence would restore the youth to his balance. He had permission to come here and remain for three years. Doubtless Vane had intimate acquaintances and friends with whom he was in sympathy among those who had preceded him to Boston some five years. Mr. Craddock made the arrangements for his embarkation, in July, 1635.¹ He was admitted to membership of the Boston Church, Nov. 1, 1635, and on March 3 following he and the famous Hugh Peter were made Freemen, and Vane was put on the Committee for Military Affairs. He brought over with him papers and business from the Lords Patentees of Connecticut concerning settlers there.

It is evident that the coming into the wilderness jurisdiction of this “serious and hopeful” young man twenty-four years old, the son and heir of a privy counsellor, caused much elation and expectation in the colony. For all the dissensions, heart-burnings, and alienations which ensued, and which drove him prematurely homeward, a careful reader of history will find the occasion and the aggravation not so much in any weaknesses or errors of the youth himself, as in the rashness, the flattery, the adulation, and the foolish partisanship of those who made haste to exalt him, before they knew his spirit, over the grave and wise leaders in experience among them. Vane was chosen Governor of the Colony, over Winthrop, May 25, 1636. Many large ships in the harbor fired volleys in his honor, as son of a privy councillor. His first official service, wisely performed a week after his election, was in reference to these vessels of which there were fifteen. Their presence and what might come of it were occasion of great anxiety to the magistrates. Vane invited the captains to dinner for advice, and with a view to conciliate them towards the settlers in Boston. He brought them judiciously to agree that all ships arriving should come to anchor at the fort; that they should then send a boat ashore in assurance of friendship; that their invoices with the first opportunity for the purchase of goods should be brought to the Governor, and that their men should not be on shore after

¹ An interesting letter from the son to his father on his leaving England is in the Massachusetts Historical Society’s Proceedings, for June, 1872.

sunset. There was another trouble disposed of by him relating to these ships. In June, 1636, a mate of one of them had pronounced the colonists "to be all traitors and rebels," because they did not fly the King's colors at the fort. The "libeller" was forced to make a most humble written apology and retraction. But his captain asked what report he should make at home on such a lack of loyalty here. The first excuse was that the colonists did not have a set of colors. The captain then freely offered a present of a set. But a plea of conscience was set up by a majority of the magistrates against their use as idolatrous. This was overruled by Vane and Dudley on their own responsibility, their act being winked at on the excuse that as the fort was the King's his colors might float there.

Vane attempted a wise and humane policy towards the Indians, though the force of circumstances compelled him, while doing all he could for treaties of peace with them, to take a leading part in the Pequot war. The man of all others among the English on this side of the water with whom Vane was most in sympathy in personal heart-relations, and in religion and civil polity, was Roger Williams. The latter always speaks of Vane with a loving and venerating affection. It was Vane's interest, with his own, he says, which obtained for him from Miantonomo the free gift of Rhode Island, and it was Vane's friendliness which afterwards aided him in obtaining his charter in England. Williams wrote in 1658: "This I mention, that as that truly noble Sir Henry Vane hath been so great an instrument in the hand of God for procuring of this Island from the barbarians, as also for procuring and confirming of the charter, so it may by all due thankful acknowledgment be remembered and recorded of us and ours which reap and enjoy the sweet fruits of so great benefits, and such unheard of liberties amongst us." Williams, while in England in 1653, about the business of his charter and the troubles in Rhode Island, spent ten weeks with Vane and his lady at their seat at Belleau, Lincolnshire, from which he dates a letter to Providence friends; and when he returned he brought to them a letter from Vane, of wise and kindly advice and remonstrance against their contentions. Vane's name appears among the most generous donors to a subscription for the first "free school" in Boston, in 1635, the beginning of the Latin School. He made an official visit to Salem, where he was warmly welcomed.

The short administration of Vane gave him a most prominent part in the distractions and animosities of what is called the "Antinomian controversy,"—the most embittered and threatening of all the many intense dissensions and strifes chronicled in the history of New-England Puritanism. Winthrop generously introduces his account of this disastrous contention in which he and Vane were opposing cham-

pions, by speaking of the latter as "a wise and godly gentleman." We can make a better use of the limited space open to us than to devote any of it to a statement of the matter, or to the conduct of the so-called "Antinomian controversy," which raged so fiercely in Boston in 1636, and was attended with so portentous a dread and so threatening a panic as very nearly to bring ruin upon the struggling colony. It was the age of sectarianism, individualism, enthusiastic and fanatical dissension, among English Protestants in both countries. Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, who had come over here to renew "her enjoyment of Mr. Cotton's ministry," was a woman of a kind heart, of much mental vigor, and of an earnest style of piety. She developed and inculcated views which substituted a deep, internal, restful, religious conviction for the external scrupulousness and severities of Puritan "legalism." In a community where religion in its technicalities more than in its vitalities was the one and almost the sole theme of common interest, the contribution of any new element for debate and variance was sure to raise contention. By infelicities, exaggerations, and extravagancies on both sides, Mrs. Hutchinson with her sympathizers and her opponents were ranged in passionate hostility. There was a liberalizing tendency in her views which was dreaded as relaxing and tending to license. But Governor Vane, the revered Teacher Cotton, and nearly all the members of the Boston Church were in sympathy with Mrs. Hutchinson; while ex-Governor Winthrop, the pastor Wilson, and the ministers out of Boston with their flocks, holding power in the General Court, were stout in their hostility to her. Church and State were engaged to crush, excommunicate, and banish her, with severe dealing and obloquy visited upon her friends,—in which, of course, Vane shared, being at the next election superseded in his office by Winthrop. In view of the apprehended coming over into the colony of undesirable persons, the Court passed a law forbidding the entertainment by any householder, for more than three weeks, of any stranger, or the occupancy or sale to such an one of land or residence without license from the magistrates. This law excited serious opposition in feeling and judgment. Cotton was so troubled by it that he thought of removing. Winthrop wrote a paper in its defence, to which Vane replied, and was followed by a rejoinder from Winthrop. These papers show great ability and acuteness, as arguments for their respective positions. Winthrop planted himself upon the strict construction of the rights of the proprietors of the colony by charter and purchase to make terms and conditions on which they would admit new partners,—implying also the power to exclude unwelcome comers. After the fashion of the day the Bible was chiefly relied upon for examples and sanctions. Vane, himself also a master of Scriptural argumentation, pleaded for the liberal and indulgent side.

Though warmly loved and sturdily supported by the larger number of the Boston people, Vane had lost the attachment and alienated the regard of the "country party." Yet it might have been well for the young nobleman to have remained in his lot. Perplexed and disheartened, alike by the public and the personal contentions arising from this embittered "Antinomian" controversy, Vane wisely concluded that only a withdrawal from the scene could relieve him of responsibility and annoyance. Midway in his term, he called a special court on Dec. 7, 1636, and announced that he had imparted to some of the council reasons not to be more publicly proclaimed, which, on the ground of letters he had received, required his return to England on urgent private affairs; and he asked permission to lay down his office and depart. He also assured the court "of his serious resolution to return again upon the settling of his affairs in England." The court was greatly troubled at the request, and made expression of great regard and affection for "his wisdom, love, and faithfulness." Being pressed further, Vane acknowledged that his private affairs in England would not prevail with him to leave, were it not for his "forebodings of God's judgments for their dissensions, and the scandalous imputation brought on himself, as if he should be the cause of all." On making this avowal, "he brake forth into tears." Vane's reference here was principally to a slight and rebuke which he had received from Hugh Peter. They had both been called upon to mediate on some alleged alienation between Winthrop and Governor Haynes and their respective friends. Afterwards, in one of the incidental debates on the matters of the religious contention, Peter had sharply told Vane that before he came here, less than two years ago, they had been at peace, and had bade him "consider his youth and short experience in the things of God, and to beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto." The court might have assented to Vane's departure on the urgency of his business affairs, but refused to yield to the reason he had last given. The Boston Church also held him to his covenant obligations to it. So Vane was induced temporarily to remain. The people of Boston, the large majority of its church, and its "teacher" were warmly on his side; but its "pastor," the other ministers of the colony, and their flocks generally were mainly his opponents. At the election in May 17, 1637, a most exciting occasion, Winthrop displaced him as governor, and the voters of Boston showed their displeasure on the day following by sending Vane to the court as one of their deputies. A petty affront was put on Winthrop by the refusal of the "four sergeants" to do him the same honor which they had done to Vane, by preceding him with their halberds as he went to the meeting-house. Winthrop was constrained to employ two of his own servants as partial substitutes. Vane declined

to sit longer in the seats of the magistrates, though Winthrop sent to him to do so, but contented himself with a place with the deacons in public worship. Lord Ley being here on a visit, Winthrop had invited him to dinner, and asked Vane to join him. Vane not only refused on the plea of conscience, but took Lord Ley to dine at Mr. Maverick's, on Noddle's Island. Vane and Ley sailed for England, Aug. 3, 1637, the ships in the harbor and the fort saluting them with volleys on their departure. The magnanimous but still tenacious Winthrop is careful to tell us that, being detained at court, he was not a participant in these leave-takings and honors, but had sent orders for their being paid. Vane returned to England to have his noble share in the experience which a quaint writer of the time described as that in which "the Great Judge was subjecting to the fan those who had been under the flail." Clarendon, following the rumors of his time, when relating Vane's return to England, says that he had brought hither the occasions of the strife through which he had passed "in a working and unquiet fancy, raising and infusing a thousand scruples of conscience not heard of before;" and that while here "he sowed such seed of dissension as miserably divided the poor colony into several factions," etc. This is all wide of the truth. Vane was drawn into a dissension of which he was not the author; nor did he inflame it. The special points of controversy in it were not those which had prominence in the religious idiosyncrasy of this devout and gifted mystical theosophist. Grateful and honorable recognition should be made of the regard which Vane cherished for New England, and of his constant readiness to serve her interests after his return to his native country, and during the excitements and perils of his career there. In a case in which Massachusetts, in 1645, was threatened with injury in England, Vane came forward to its friendly relief. Winthrop, in noting the fact, pays him in his Journal this beautiful tribute: "He had sometime lived at Boston, and though he might have taken occasion against us for some dishonor which he apprehended to have been unjustly put upon him here, yet, both now and at other times, he showed himself a true friend to New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind." In a letter which Vane addressed to the magistrates here in 1652, on account of their severity towards the author of an "heretical" tract, he advised them not to censure any persons "for matters of a religious nature or concernment." Other of his letters here always counselled forbearance and tolerance.

Before following Vane to the conspicuous and honorable service and to the tragic fate which were before him in his native land, one is tempted to digress for a moment for a passing word about three other

persons, who like him, after a transient stay in and near Boston in its earliest years, found their different ways home, and whose names are associated with his in all histories of the stirring times of the rebellion and the Commonwealth. They are Hugh Peter, Thomas Venner, and George Downing. Peter has been already mentioned in connection with Vane in Boston; and if the Governor had not seen Venner and Downing here, he must have known them, or of them, well in London. Their parts were of marked prominence, whether for honor or shame. Masson, in his "Life of Milton" (vi. 33), says the first of these men "always signed himself 'Hugh Peter,'" which is true, as many autographs preserved here attest. Yet Masson adds: "But Peter will be Peters so long as he is remembered in the world." Why? Is not a man entitled to his own name, even though he were hung, drawn, and quartered? The reputation which has attached to this extraordinary person, as a grotesque fanatic and buffoon in his pulpit performances, has obscured his excellent qualities of character, his generous public spirit, his devotion to a great cause, and his heroic manliness and fortitude in his trial and barbarous execution. Born in 1599, of a good family, educated at Cambridge and ordained by the Bishop of London, he had preached at St. Sepulchre's with great acceptance. Non-conformity drove him to Holland, where for five or six years he was engaged in charitable work, raising large sums for the poor of Ireland. Coming to New England in 1635, after travelling widely to acquaint himself with the country, he settled as the minister of the church in Salem, Dec. 21, 1636. The records of the time abundantly testify to his zeal and activity in all generous efforts to advance the interests of the colony. He promoted industry and commerce, ship-building and the fisheries. Unluckily for himself, he was sent home as agent for the colony in its civil interests, Aug. 3, 1641. We trace him in England for twenty years as one of the most active and ardent spirits in that turbulent and anarchical period, in conference with Parliamentary leaders and military officers, ready to pray and preach for the "saints," and to teach the soldiers how to do the same. He seems to have been the first to avow a suspicion of Cromwell's kingly ambition. His prominence and his exhortations on the most exciting and critical occasions, with his repute of wild and desperate fanaticism, marked him as a foremost victim after the Restoration. It was even said that he was one of the two masked headsmen on the scaffold with Charles I. He was hung and mutilated at Tyburn, with rude rage, Oct. 16, 1660. When the news of Peter's fate reached here, it was accompanied with the silly rumor that he had preached to King Charles I. after sentence from Gal. xiv. 18, etc.

To Thomas Venner rightfully belongs the title which has been unjustly attached to Vane, as "the prince of fanatics." He was

made a freeman by the Massachusetts Court, in March, 1637-38, and circulated between Salem and Boston. He is described here and in England as "a wine-cooper," and as such he was made the head of a guild of coopers in Boston, October, 1648. He was the likeliest among many restless spirits here to rush back to England to have part in the distractions and convulsions of the time; so he sailed hence in October, 1651. Venner's evil repute in England is that of sharing with the brave and visionary General Harrison the leadership of the "Fifth Monarchy Men,"—of whom there were many in "Barebone's Parliament," and who had wrought themselves up, in a frenzy of fanaticism, into the belief and expectation that King Jesus was at once to appear, and to establish "the reign of the saints," at once substituting himself for the Protector Cromwell. There were five secret conventicles of these "saints" in London in 1656, and among the abounding sectaries of the time they were regarded as the most formidable. Their exhorters wrought the assemblies up to a delirious zeal and desperation, through prophetic visions of the last monarchy so soon to be established. There had been an outburst of them on April 9, 1656. Venner, the main spirit in it, was for a while consigned to the Tower. But Cromwell, thinking him too small game, discharged him without a trial, though, when brought before the Protector, Venner "behaved with great impudence, insolence, pride, and railing." Rumor foolishly asserted that Vane was in this plot. These fanatics, after having been roused to fever-heat by the apocalyptic ragings of their preachers in their conventicle in Coleman Street, to the number of sixty rushed out on another desperate venture on Sunday, Jan. 6, 1661. "Soldiers of King Jesus," his immediate coming would so inspire them that "one of them should subdue a thousand, and two of them should put ten thousand to flight." And it seemed as if it would really be so. This handful of madmen, armed, and with emblematic banners, and who were supposed to be the advance of a mighty multitude, caused a panic, even to the city train-bands, for two days. Venner made his way to the Mansion House to kill the Lord Mayor, who fortunately was absent. After desperate resistance and much slaughter, the rising was quelled. Fourteen of the saints were executed; and on January 19 Venner was hung, drawn, and quartered close to his conventicle. Pepys notes in his Diary that he saw Venner drawn to execution on a sledge; and in connection with the mention of the "flies and rose-bushes" of a remarkably mild winter, on January 21, adds, "More of the Fifth Monarchy Men were hanged."

Salem was also the transient home of the third of the prominent characters previously named, who returned to England to have his own share in the lottery of a revolution. This was George Downing. Better had it been for his fame had even sincere fanaticism brought him

to the gallows or the block than that his roll of worldly honors, wealth, places, and titles should be stained with reproaches and contempt for every form of meanness and baseness. In the first class of graduates of Harvard College, we read: "Georgius Downing, Eques, 1660, Baro-nettus, 1663. Oliv. Crom. et Caroli II., Leg. apud Resp. Bat." These are the titles won by a poor boy, nephew of Governor Winthrop, who at the age of thirteen came to this country with his parents, in 1638. Having, after graduating, supported himself by teaching while preparing for the ministry, he was gratified in his strong desire to return to England in its time of strife by securing a passage in a vessel in 1645, paying his scot by preaching to the sailors. He soon made himself acceptable as a preacher in Colonel Okey's regiment in the Parliamentary army, and rose by rapid progress to great influence on Cromwell's staff and in the councils of Parliament. Diplomatic services, opportunities for self-enrichment, and a noble marriage gratified his ambition and brought out his vices of character. He adroitly managed to retain, under Charles II., the ambassadorship to Holland, which he had received from Cromwell. Pepys, who knew him well, despised him. He was the means of bringing his first English patron, Okey, to the block, by betraying him.

Doubtless, either in the army, in the streets of London, or on the common highways, Vane must have seen faces, familiar to him in Boston, of those who like him had been transient dwellers in New England. For a few years after Vane's return he lived in retirement, devoting himself to quiet studies, and forecasting the duty and fortune which might fall to him as the asperities of the controversy between king and subjects prepared the way for civil war. He married at this time Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, of a good family. By the urgency of friends, and without any motion of his own, he was withdrawn from his seclusion and sent to Parliament, in April, 1640, to represent Kingston-upon-Hull. He was returned by the same constituency on the November following to that most famous of English representative assemblies, the so-called "Long Parliament," which, however its thorough and continuous work of radical reconstruction of the English Government was to be obstructed and seemingly nullified by the temporary restoration of the Stuart dynasty, did, nevertheless, initiate true liberty for the English people. Vane was but a young man of twenty-eight years. We cannot suppose that he had then thought out and matured the theories and principles of popular government, which before he came to his death had been fashioned and perfected in his mind into a system of principles, maxims, and convictions of a thoroughly consistent republicanism. He waited upon the developments of time and circumstance; and these were

creative and opportune for men of various vigorous qualities for self-assertion and the direction of affairs. The following estimate of him for what he was, when first appearing on the public stage, was written by the absconded regicide, General Ludlow, in his Swiss retreat, when informed by letters of Vane's execution. Ludlow, a patriot of pure and lofty principles, as well as a brave Commonwealth general, had ever been in closest sympathy of accord and friendship with Vane, religiously and politically:—

“In the beginning of the great Parliament he was elected to serve his country among them, without the least application on his part to that end. And in this station he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing in the highest perfection a quick and ready apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added a singular zeal and affection for the good of the Commonwealth, and a resolution and courage not to be shaken or diverted from the public service.”

Vane was at once made conjoint Treasurer of the Navy with Sir William Russell, and was knighted by the king. These honors came to him as tributes to his character and ability, not by seeking nor by purchase. Henceforward, till his father's death in 1655, he was known as Sir Henry Vane the Younger, or, familiarly, Harry Vane. From the earliest manifestation of his strong republican and anti-church principles he must have been placed, in all utterances and dealings concerning public affairs, in difficult and even obnoxious relations with his father as a privy councillor; but he seems to have maintained with him a respectful, though not cordial, filial intercourse. The incident now to be noticed, which besides its supreme importance in opening the dark drama of civil warfare must have, for a while at least, alienated the father from his eldest son, while it doubtless foreshadowed the judicial murder of the latter, must be read with such a reference to the tribunal of honor or of conscience as those who pronounce upon it may decide.

Clarendon began his history of the Rebellion in his temporary island refuge, at a time when the fortunes of his master and patron, Charles I., were most desperate; and he wrote avowedly in vindication of that monarch. His statement of facts, excepting his extreme carelessness as to dates, may generally be accepted. His comments and inferences indicate his partialities, his dislikes, and his prejudices. Sir Henry Vane's profound religious views and his republicanism would alike warp the estimate formed of him by Clarendon even in his utmost effort for fair dealing. This historian gives us a very circumstantial and full statement of an occurrence which most keenly concerns the character and course of the younger Vane,—incidentally also reflecting on his father,—and of the bearing of a question-

able act of his on one of the most critical passages between the King and Parliament, in the affair of the impeachment and execution of the Earl of Strafford, 1640-41. Doubtless the younger Vane's own fate was foreshadowed in this incident.

In the King's daring ventures upon arbitrary government, covering tyranny by his prerogative, dispensing with Parliaments, and raising money by illegal methods, it was of course understood that he found advisers and abettors in his Council. The members of the royal Council, instead of being then, as now, responsible to the people of the realm, were simply the favorites and creatures of the sovereign, holding their places only as they accorded in his views and measures. If the King chose to entrust to them the advisory and executive powers which really belonged to representatives of the people, Parliament, thus deprived of its rights and functions, claimed to know something of the proceedings and secrets of that Council. In the preliminaries looking to the impeachment of Strafford, and for tracing the responsibilities of other parties in abuses and grievances, a proposition was offered in the Parliamentary Committee "for examining upon oath privy councillors upon such matters as had passed at the council table." These councillors, however, were under oath to each other and the King "to keep secret all matters committed and revealed to them, or that should be treated of secretly in the Council." A clause in the oath allowed disclosures to be made with the King's consent. For the King to have refused to grant such consent when pressed for it would have been equivalent to a confession of dark and dangerous secrets there. As we read with close scrutiny the history of the time, it would seem that there were offences of public notoriety chargeable against Strafford sufficient to have served the purposes of his enemies. But stress was from the first laid upon the mutterings of some startling revelations to be made, if the secrets of the council table could be exposed. All eyes and scrutiny were sharply directed there. Pym, the resolute Presbyterian leader in the opposition in Parliament and in the proceedings against Strafford, was prominent in this matter. The key to both these facts will soon appear. The difficulty of procuring the King's assent to an examination of his advisers as to what had transpired in their secretaries was fully realized. But Pym, in behalf of the committee, moved that such assent should be petitioned for on the ground that any desperate suspicions might be held if such a dark covert were closed against light. The Lords consented to the petition in order to remove "the taint" that would otherwise attach to the Council. Clarendon says "that the damage and ruin of the king's succumbing to this request, so that the councillors were allowed by him to be examined, were irreparable, and not to be expressed." The way being thus prepared, Strafford, after three months' imprison-

ment, was brought to the bar for a trial which extended through eighteen days. Among the charges alleged against him was that he had counselled the King to change the frame of government, and to levy war against his own kingdom by his army in Ireland. Pym reserved his last shot for final effect. The elder Vane, Secretary of the Council, whose secrets he was now at liberty on his examination to disclose, — not aware of the revelation so delicate in its nature as concerning himself, which in due time was to come, — testified that when the King asked in council what course he should take, as the subsidies he had asked for were denied, Strafford had said, "You have done your duty; your subjects have failed in theirs; you are absolved from rules of government, and may supply yourself in extraordinary ways: you have an army in Ireland with which you may reduce this kingdom." Of course Strafford denied these words, and referred the ill construction put upon what he had really said to the animosity entertained against him by the Vanes, — father and son. This animosity was alleged to have arisen from the fact that when Strafford had been created a baron he attached "Raby" to his title, that being the name of the house and lands of Vane. One other member of the witnessing council confirmed Vane's testimony only in part, so far as to testify that Strafford had said, "You have done your duty, and are now absolved from the rules of government," without any mention of the army in Ireland, or reducing the kingdom. Three other members of the Council testified that they heard or remembered none of those words from Strafford.

Here was but one witness, though the official character of secretary might enforce what Vane had testified. The law required two witnesses. This was after a fashion supplied by an inanimate though an effective one. It was in the form of "a little paper" read, no doubt with distinct emphasis, by Pym. He prefaced the reading by stating that some months before the opening of this Parliament he happened to visit in the country Henry Vane, the eldest son of the Secretary, who was recovering from illness. While they were bewailing together the sad condition of the kingdom under an arbitrary and exacting rule, the young man told him that if he would come to him the next day he would show him something that would give him great trouble. This he said he had accidentally met with "in the perusal of some of his father's papers." It contained notes of a cabinet council held after the close of the last Parliament, with minutes of remarks made by some of the members. The paper, which was readily decipherable, contained some "hieroglyphics which sufficiently expressed the persons by whom those discourses were made." The matter of it was "so prodigious," foreboding ruin to the kingdom, that Pym, only after great importunity, — the son consenting with strong

reluctance, fearing that the disclosure "might be prejudicial to his father," — obtained liberty to copy it with his own hand, for use in some possible extreme emergency in the future. He and young Vane verified and attested the copy. Among its abbreviated sentences enough was clearly expressed to convict Strafford, in expressions such as these, attached to his name: "absolved from rules of government;" "an army in Ireland to subdue this kingdom."

Both the Vanes in their seats listened to this disclosure. The younger of them then arose, "in some seeming disorder," says Clarendon, and told his story. His father, being in the north with the King, had sent up his keys to his secretary at Whitehall, to be taken to the son that he might open his boxes for some writings concerning evidences of land to be perfected for the benefit of the son's wife. Having done this, "he had the curiosity to desire to see what was in a red-velvet cabinet which stood with the other boxes." There he found the paper so startling in its contents that he yielded to the pressure of his conscience to confide in some person of better judgment than himself to prevent threatened mischief. He knew, he said, that the act would almost prove his ruin with his natural father, but hoped that it would save their common parent, — the country.

The elder Vane then rose in his place, "seeming stern and confused." He said he had marvelled at what seemed to have become known which he thought had been secret, as if some unseen witness had been at the Council meetings. It was his first knowledge of what had been now revealed. Clarendon thinks "the scene was well acted, with such passion and gestures between the father and the son," — "so that the son was greatly commended for his conscience, integrity, and merit, and a motion was made that the House might enjoin them to be friends;" "but for some time in public a great distance was observed between them." Clarendon leaves his readers to choose in a solution of this strange occurrence between "the conscience and curiosity of the son, or the malice and perjury of the father." And he tells us frankly that "the two things which Strafford most despised were the people and Sir Henry Vane." Lingard says that the younger Vane "purloined" the mischievous paper from his father's cabinet. Clarendon seeks to convey the impression that the whole affair was simply a cunning plot devised by the father and the son, though he admits that Strafford "was arrogant, and that of all his passions his pride was most predominant."¹ The elder Vane appears

¹ Our knowledge of the details and particulars of this affair is too incomplete to enable us, if so disposed, to pronounce judgment upon its moral bearings on the character and conduct of the two Vanes. We should need to be better informed than we are of the relations between them of confidence and sympathy, — whether the son was suspicious of the father and earnest to pry into his secrets, or was privately taken into his counsels in intimate intercourse. The father's death would at any time have transferred his private papers to the

at this date to have withdrawn from any active part in public affairs till his death. Strafford was convicted by a bill of attainder. It was said at the time, though the assertion has since been questioned, that Strafford by letter consented that the King should sign his condemnation, trusting to the pledge of the royal word for arrest of sentence. But the King was at his wits' end, and could not or would not save "his most devoted champion, the most formidable opponent of popular liberty." Strafford came to the block on May 12, 1641. Evelyn, who witnessed the execution, says it took off "the wisest head in England." On the same day on which the King signed this warrant, he put his hand to the covenant that Parliament should not be prorogued, adjourned, or dissolved without the consent of both Houses. His own fate may therefore be dated as sealed in prospect on the day upon which he sacrificed his ill adviser.

Here may be the fitting place to refer to what, though it may be of little interest to us, was a matter of supreme concern to Vane, as the most potent force in the springs and training of his character and in influencing his whole career, guiding his policy as a statesman and directing his course through all the dissensions and distractions of the time; namely, the peculiar type of his profound and fervent style of religion. The conflict of beliefs, opinions, and notions was more intense then than in any other period of English history. Extreme individualisms were associated with the sternest spirit of intolerance. The fertility of human ingenuity, the fervors of zeal, and the aberrations and extravagances of fanaticism and enthusiasm manifested themselves in so large a variety of sects and heresies as to tempt and yet baffle the several curious observers of the time who essayed to classify them. Vane's religious beliefs and opinions were toned and harmonized by his republican principles, which they restrained within limits excluding the excess and perils involved in those political schemes and ideals generally known as Red-Republicanism and Communism, with their repute of immorality, licentiousness, and Atheism. Several of his religious tracts and essays—some of them of posthumous publication—are now before me in the sere and unattractive form of the abounding pamphlet literature of the time. They are not in these days quite intelligible, nor particularly edifying, for lack of responsive sympathy with the experience and beliefs from which they

son; so he may be said to have anticipated the privilege of consulting them, which, however, was neither a filial nor a justifiable act. Having become acquainted in this very questionable way with a damnable secret, the son, morbidly sensitive and clouded by the gloomiest apprehensions of disasters hanging over the kingdom, was oppressed with the burden of the information he had acquired, so that he was impelled to communicate it to one older and wiser than himself. Then, too, it does not appear whether he put Mr. Pym under a pledge of confidence as to the use to be made of the ominous disclosure, or left him perfectly free in dealing with it.

proceeded. It must be owned that they are obscure, and to be classed under the epithet mystical. They are not controversial nor dogmatical. Vane did not concern himself with the Fathers nor the Schoolmen, but engaged simply with themes of experimental or internal religion with the literalistic uses of Scripture, the habit of the time. The royalists, and other of his enemies, generally referred to his speculations and exhortations with ridicule or contempt. Clarendon confesses that he was puzzled by the fact, "that while Vane's understanding in all other matters beside religion was superior to that of most men, and that while he excelled the best company in discourse in clearness and ratiocination, he was so clouded in religion" that "he put himself above ordinances, believed himself inspired, and that he was to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years." The last assertion is wholly untrue. Bishop Burnet said that he had read some of Vane's pieces, but "could never reach his meaning." Dr. Lingard calls Vane's religious writings "pious fanaticism and unintelligible philosophy," but admits his consummate abilities as a statesman, especially as to matters of financial and civil policy. Hume pronounces these writings unintelligible and without traces even of common-sense. Sir James Mackintosh regarded Vane's as "one of the most profound minds." Eccentric and individualistic as his religious beliefs and principles were, his actions and conduct never showing a trace of fanaticism or the lack of balance, his thorough purity of life, his steadfastness of purpose, his generosity of spirit, his consistent fidelity of aim, and the serenity and upwardness of his gaze on the scaffold would commend them as of the most practical service and power for himself. In his place in Parliament in 1641, when the question was under debate for the severance of State and Church, the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Peers, and the suppression of Episcopacy, Vane announced himself as the advocate of universal religious freedom, and though he hated "Popery" he pleaded for its toleration. He befriended the Unitarian Biddle when on trial, though he could only secure the life of the bold heretic that it might terminate in prison instead of on the scaffold or by burning. He maintained that Episcopacy involved essentially what was oppressive and tyrannical in Popery, that it wrought harm to the best interests alike of religion and the civil state, that it had outraged and driven into exile many of the best and purest persons in the kingdom, and that it alienated the English from the other reformed churches on the continent. Vane was among the civilians in the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

When Charles finally staked the venture of open war with the representatives of his subjects, Vane was one of the Commissioners sent by Parliament in 1643 to engage the Scotch in the Solemn

League and Covenant, and his own signature appears upon the bond next to that of Cromwell's. Clarendon contents himself with naming only Vane on this commission, saying: "Therefore the others need not be named, since he was all in any business where others were joined with him." "There need be no more said of his ability than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation which excelled in craft and cunning, which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity." Vane was also prominent in place and influence upon the committees thenceforward passing between the King, the Parliament, and the army. Becoming thoroughly convinced of the tyrannical and perfidious character of the monarch, against which no temporizing or pledge would secure his subjects, he wished the King simply to be set aside, disabled, but personally unharmed; and that then the representatives of the people should be free to reform and reconstruct the government from the foundations. But when, in 1648, the Parliament still showed a purpose of compromising and making a treaty with Charles, knowing how futile the measure would be, Vane, with his republican supporters were voted down; and when the treaty was resolved upon, he could but acquiesce by withdrawing his further presence and sympathy. At the point at which Cromwell and the army interposed, and Colonel Pride *purged* Parliament of its faltering members, leaving only the "Rump" to represent the nation, Vane left the scene in bitter disappointment, and went into retirement with his books and meditations. He had no part in advice or furtherance in the King's trial, condemnation, and execution by the high Court of Justice. He said he was shocked by that catastrophe as the result of what he had hoped for from the uprising of the nation for its liberties. That Vane should have been horrified by the tragic death of the King is certainly a striking evidence, not only of the scruples of his conscience, but of the tender humanity of his heart. Charles was adjudged to death as "a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy." None knew better than Vane how justly those epithets were applied to the monarch, and doubtless he would have been free to anticipate the summary conclusion of Macaulay, that "there never was a politician to whom so many frauds and falsehoods were brought home by undeniable evidence" as to Charles I. It would seem that the only possible ground upon which at any time Charles could be regarded as "a blessed royal martyr" was his own firm and unqualified assurance that, reigning by Divine right, his kingly office, holding him in responsibility alone to God, discharged him of all accountability, even for perfidy, to man. Never was a monarch more tenacious or more proud in that conviction, while at the same time it was the covert of his most base and hateful deeds. For this "the Presbyterians held him by the hair, while the Independents cut off his head."

Some may be of the opinion that Vane made a mistake in allowing himself, by the importunity of Cromwell, to be drawn back to a place in the Council of State which assumed the administration of affairs. Here he remained four years, at times presiding, and having efficient charge of the Navy, first in its discomfiture, and then in helping it to secure for England its splendid glory on the seas. It was at this period that Milton made Vane the theme of his lofty sonnet, the acme of the encomium in which is the sageness of his counsel in peace and war, and his severance of the provinces of civil and religious administration. Up to this point Vane and Cromwell had been friends, calling each other in correspondence of a peculiar religious tone Heron (Vane) and Fountain (Cromwell), though Vane regarded Cromwell as somewhat dark "in principles too high to fathom." Perhaps Vane had now first conceived a mistrust of the ultimate purposes of the great Lord General. In perfect good faith Vane introduced into the House a bill for a new free reform Parliament, with a fair and unrestricted representation of the people. As the bill was about to pass to the alarm and dread of Cromwell, who was watching his chance, the General, backed by a military force, stalked into the House, and in his passion, losing all self-control and personal dignity, made a most violent denunciatory speech or tirade, seized the mace and the records, drove out the members at the point of the bayonet, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket. When Vane had risen in his place to remonstrate, the exasperated soldier uttered his bitter and withering invective, "Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! Good Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Thus ended the Long Parliament, in April, 1653. Vane once more retired to his seat at Raby Castle, to find repose in writing more of his religious tracts. While Cromwell managed state and foreign affairs with consummate ability, it may have been a malign ambition or a wise, patriotic statesmanship that concentrated his intent upon seizing power as "a single person." When, with a view to preparing himself and the people, he appointed a Fast Day in March, 1656, that might be turned to his service, Vane, in perfect good faith as helping toward a fundamental settlement of affairs, wrote the most remarkable and vigorous of all his productions, which, under the title of "A Healing Question, etc.," develops with marvellous sagacity, insight, and statesmanship his scheme for civil government. It is enough to say of this admirable and wonderful accomplishment of his mind and pen that it presents substantially, in method, principles, and details, the form of government under which we are now living, as administered by those who as governors and legislators succeed to civil office in the country where Vane himself held the highest place for one year. His scheme for a republic was carefully distinguished from what in his time was

regarded as a democracy. The civil war had restored to the people their fundamental rights, and he proposed his scheme as the only hopeful one for the permanent security of those vindicated rights, and for reconciling the dissensions and alienations which otherwise would result in anarchy. His fundamentals were: "The original of all just power is in the people, and is reserved wholly to their representatives." "All offices have their rise from the people, and all should be accountable to them."

The manuscript of this tract was sent to Cromwell for his inspection, in the same good faith as that in which it was written. Whether it was read by the General or not, it was returned to Vane after a month without an answer, and was then put into print. Vane, then at his seat at Belleau in Lincolnshire, was peremptorily and without courtesy summoned before the Council. Answering by his presence, Aug. 21, 1656, he was charged with writing "a seditious book." He calmly defended himself, uttering in his argument as in the tract his misgivings as to the intention of Cromwell to undo the work already effected by reasserting power in "a single person." He was required to enter into bonds of £5000 "not to prejudice the present government." This he refused to do, putting himself on his rights as a member of the Long Parliament, not legally dissolved. On September 9 he was ordered into confinement in Carisbrook Castle, from which he was liberated by the Council on December 11. A distraint was laid upon his property, to be relieved only on condition that he would succumb.

The death of Cromwell, Sept. 3, 1658, and the succession of his spiritless son Richard revived a temporary hope for the republicans. On the summoning of a new Parliament, attempts were made to keep out Vane, and his fair election by two constituencies was circumvented; but he obtained admission by a third election. Here he was the leader of the opposition, resolutely protesting against power in a single person, and standing as a republican for popular government. An extract from his speech will indicate its force and freedom:—

"One could bear a little with *Oliver* Cromwell, though contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgment and passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions. He held under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general.

"But as for *Richard* Cromwell, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation who could never make a footman obey him? Yet we must recognize this man as our king, under the style of Protector!—a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master."

The impotent son of a great sire abdicated his frail tenure of office to live unharmed as a quiet country gentleman, to extreme old age. In the temporary interval of anarchy which succeeded, Vane appears as a member of the Committee of Safety and the Council of State. As chairman of a committee he drew up a frame of government, of which these three were the leading principles: (1) A constitution of unchangeable fundamentals by which the people delegate to trustees or representatives power to be exercised within strict limitations; (2) The absolute exclusion "of any earthly king or single person from legislative or executive power over this nation;" (3) "That the people's trustees have no authority to erect matters of faith and worship, so as to exercise compulsion therein."

But the pangs and throes by which English liberty had been struggling to its birth were yet for a while to delay and defer the result. Charles II. came back to his father's throne. Vane was confined successively to his estates at Raby and Belleau, and, on the Restoration, for two years first in the Tower, then in the Isle of Scilly, and finally again in the Tower. Through this whole dismal seclusion, waiting for his fate, he found solace in religious musings and compositions. There is extant a letter which he wrote to his wife while he was at Scilly. In this he says:—

"MY DEAR HEART, — It is no small satisfaction to me in these sharp trials to experience the truth of those Christian principles which God of his grace hath afforded you and me. in our measures, the knowledge, and emboldened us to make the profession of. This dark night and black shade which God hath drawn over his work in the midst of us may be (for aught we know) the ground color to some beautiful piece that he is exposing to the light. They that press so earnestly to carry on my trial do little know what presence of God may be afforded me in it and issue out of it. I doubt not but you will accordingly endeavor to prepare for the worst."

One of the most significant evidences of the demoralization steadily advancing with the sycophancy and compliancy of loyalty during that foulest, meanest period of English history, was manifested in a revived spirit of vindictiveness towards all who had been in sympathy with the men and measures of the Commonwealth interval, as substituting itself for the first promptings of forbearance, leniency, and oblivion concerning them. The King as he was about to come to his throne was certainly prompted by these milder sentiments; his subsequent exchange of them for harsh and vengeful feelings and measures is in part to be referred to his own utter lack of moral principles, and in part to the goadings of malignancy in others. There was a temper of moderation in the Convention Parliament, which under Monk's umpireship might have dictated terms, and have secured from the start many wise, merciful, and helpful restraints on the

royal prerogative. In this Parliament there was at first manifested what may be called a marked leniency and considerateness in deciding upon the exceptions to be made to the scope of the King's declaration of pardon and indemnity for all concerned in "the late troubles." In several of his utterances and writings on the eve of his restoration, Charles had very naturally reserved from an intent of mercy those who had been actual parties as judges or signers of the death sentence in the "murder" of his father. It is uncertain whether he expected that every one of these should be brought to suffer the utmost penalty of vengeance; but it is a reasonable inference that he purposed that his victims should be restricted to that class of supreme culprits. However, he expressly left to Parliament the whole disposal of this critical matter. After several days' debate, it was resolved in the Commons, May 14, 1660, that only seven of the King's judges should be capitally dealt with, others being subject to penalties falling short of loss of life; but by the embittered instigation of some of the Commons and the insistence of some of the Peers the number of victims for the extreme penalty was steadily increased, till practically no limitation was recognized by which any especial case might or might not be included or exempted. The Lords under the lead of Clarendon, who pronounced Vane "a man of mischievous activity," were more vindictive than the Commons. On August 1, Vane, for what he had done in his civil capacity, — not having been one of the King's judges, — was proscribed for exemption from pardon. But his subjection to a capital trial was allowed only on an express agreement between the two Houses, that, if he were convicted and condemned, they should unite in a petition to Charles that his execution should be remitted. Clarendon presented this petition to the monarch, who pledged his royal word in assent.

The petition sent up by both Houses to the Throne was as follows :—

"Your Majesty having declared your gracious pleasure to proceed only against the immediate murderers of your royal father, we, Your Majesty's most humble subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled, not finding Sir Henry Vane to be of the number, are humble suitors to your Majesty, that, if he shall be attainted, execution of his life may be remitted."

The petition was granted in the fullest terms. It was understood that the King himself had proposed this petition as a means for bringing Vane at least to a trial; so that his prompting it and his assent to it put him under a double pledge to spare the life of the victim.

The next or Cavalier Parliament, of 1662, in which we thus note the rapid advance of servile sycophancy and vindictiveness, at inter-

vals of more than a month sent three earnest addresses to Charles to have the Attorney-General instructed to bring Vane to trial. It would seem that Clarendon temporized at this point. But Vane was arraigned on June 4, at the King's Bench, and indicted for "compassing and imagining the King's death, keeping him out of the exercise of his rightful power, and attempting to subvert the ancient form of government," — instanced by acts committed in 1659, under Richard's protectorate.

It is for the professional successors of those who in the phrase of the time were known as "gentlemen of the long robe" to pronounce upon the legality of the indictment, the trial, the condemnation, and the execution of Sir Henry Vane. Unprofessional judgment upon the whole proceeding, and the decision of all modern historians and essayists, are condemnatory, even to the extent of asserting that the forms of law were made in it to outrage its fundamental rules and principles. There is now no variance of opinion among those who seek to instruct us by the pen as to the moral estimate — whether direct or comparative — of the nature of the public administration of affairs, as well as of the character of the so called "merry monarch," after the restoration of the royal power in England. No epithets of reproach and invective, no measurements of disgust and shame, are regarded as unjust or extravagant in setting forth the corruption, the degradation, the demoralization, the humiliation of England in the reign of Charles II., who was welcomed to his throne with such an exuberance of loyalty. The dread of absolute anarchy was the only reasonable motive for accepting the alternative of the restoration. The gush of delight, the pageantry, the adulation, the sycophancy, the prostration of the manhood and all nobleness of spirit in the courtiers and the populace which ensued, and the abandonment of King and Court to the foulest profligacy, while the interests of the kingdom were left to the riot of waste and corruption, the desolation of the plague and the great fire which destroyed two thirds of the city, and the crowning disgrace entailed by a Dutch fleet with its havoc on the Thames and the Medway, — all these present so revolting and hideous a summary of contemporary English history, that it is a relief and even a solace to the mind and heart to have to contemplate in it the scene and the bearing of a man of lofty nobleness, dignity, and impress of character, standing at the bar of the highest human court, doomed before he was tried.

In a collection of papers of the highest authenticity, published anonymously and surreptitiously in the year of Vane's execution, we have his own full statement of his principles and course of action, his account of his trial, with its mockeries of justice, and the affronts and insults put upon him, his own pleading so far as he was allowed

free utterance, and for the rest all that was in his mind and purpose to have spoken but which was suppressed. All that a man of well poised and lofty spirit, with a consciousness of full integrity and patriotic aims, might urge against malignant enemies gave vigor and weight to his plea; but there was in it no timidity, no apology, no truckling. The indictment, drawn according to usage in Latin, was against his protest read to him in English. He was not allowed to have a copy of it. To his request for liberty to have counsel, the reply was that his judges would serve him in that capacity. With great boldness, acuteness, and eloquence he sought protection under a statute of 11 Henry VII. c. I., which provided that allegiance to the King *de facto*, although he were an usurper, in opposition to the King *de jure*, should secure exemption from penalty, as not a punishable crime. Vane's plea was that he had owned an existing authority, standing for the King *de facto*; while Charles II., if King *de jure*, being out of possession, could not have treason committed against him. The judges denied this plea, urging that the Statute of Henry concerned only disputed succession in the kingship, — as in the rivalry between the Houses of York and Lancaster, — and did not apply to the subversion of the monarchy and the substitution of a Commonwealth; that Charles II. was both *de facto* and *de jure* king from the moment of his father's death. Hallam calls the plea of the judges "senseless sophistry." It is observable that the thought of Cromwell had been engaged upon the construction given by the judges to the intent of this statute as having in view a titular king; for in the very striking interview with him which Whitelocke reports, on the subject of Cromwell's assuming the title of king when it was proffered to him, he says that Cromwell remarked: "I have heard that, by an Act of Parliament in Henry VII.'s time, it is safer for those who act under a king (be his title what it will) than for those who act under any other power." Whitelocke very naïvely replied: "That will be little regarded or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us." To that part of Vane's plea, that as he had acted by the authority of Parliament which could not be chargeable with treason, therefore the indictment against him would not hold, the reply was that the death of the King made the further action of that Parliament illegal.

But the argument of Vane was broader and more comprehensive in its scope than the compass of a statute however construed. He thoroughly apprehended the root and quality of the revolutionary principles, and of the far-looking aims which had inspired and guided his course in the convulsions through which the State had been passing. Whatever issues, partial or general, the struggle might have presented to others, to him it was a signal opportunity and occasion

offered "by a manifested Providence" for the radical reconstruction of the civil, social, political, and religious fabric of a commonwealth. No parallelisms could be found in human history, no statutes of the realm had provided for circumstances and events, which would furnish helps for guiding conscience or conduct in so novel and critical a posture of affairs. So Vane impressively insisted that the perplexities and embarrassments of the case presented in the variances between Charles I. and the Parliament involved novelties and complications not provided for in the laws of England. Neither the annals of the realm nor the history of any other nation offered a precedent; therefore an honest and conscientious man was thrown back upon the light of Nature. Vane, in one of those kindling utterances which reveal the insight and upward gaze of the loftiest spirits under like perplexities, pays homage to the "higher law." He had followed that light of Nature, and he said: "I would not now, to save my life, renounce the principles of that righteous cause which my conscience tells me was my duty to be faithful unto." He had been chosen to Parliament by no seeking of his own, but having taken its oaths was bound by solemn obligations. Though a military command had been assigned to him unasked, he had never exercised it. He was a man of peace, and had never counselled or partaken in the shedding of blood. The potency of the sword always inferior to, was often destructive of, that divine energy which went with truth and righteousness. In all changes and revolutions, he says, "I was never a first mover, but always a follower; and (where authority was dark or dubious) chose to do things justifiable by the Light and Law of Nature." He insisted that even the remnant of a Parliament legally constituted, when "by the fire of the times" two of its elements, the Lords and the King, "had been melted down," still preserved the "root" from which all power grows, — the representation of the will of the people. When "that great violation of privileges happened," — the forcible exclusion of halting members of Parliament, — he forbore attendance, and had for ten weeks no part in its proceedings; and it was during his withdrawal that the most exceptional business was done. He gave no consent beforehand to the King's execution; and when afterward required to take an oath of approbation of it, he utterly refused, and would not qualify himself for a seat in the Council of State till a new oath, omitting that test, was substituted. Held by his parliamentary obligations, he did afterward conform, as conscientiously he could, to the new frame of a Commonwealth, or Free State, which had been passed some weeks before his return to Parliament. He had refused "the Oath of Abjuration, which was intended to be taken by all the members of Parliament, in reference to the kingly government, and the line of his now majesty in particular."

The Restoration developed a strange changing of places and attitudes as to the espousal or refusal of this revolutionary test. The result proved that the aim of the majority had been only to limit, not to extinguish, monarchy. Vane's ideal republicanism involved what he would not by oath pledge himself to make his only aim, — a State without a King. But there were those among Vane's most bitter enemies who had sworn the oath which he refused. Strangely enough, Sir John Glynn and Sir John Maynard, the crown prosecutors of Vane, had themselves taken a leading part in and sanctioned what had been done during the interregnum. The author of "Hudibras" has given them a distich in his satire: —

"Did not the learnèd Glynn and Maynard,
To make good subjects traitors, strain hard?"

Vane insisted that what he had done was "upon principles of integrity, honor, justice, reason, and conscience, and not, as charged in the indictment, by instigation of the Devil, or want of the fear of God." He had firmly opposed, and at the cost of much suffering to himself and four months' imprisonment, the "arbitrary regal power" usurped by Cromwell. He had gone back to Parliament on the covenant made in Charles II.'s declaration at Breda. And now he did not fear the fate with which he was threatened; he was "willing to die." Justice Keeling exclaimed, in the snappish spirit which he manifested throughout the trial, "So you may, Sir, in good time, by the grace of God." The judge had endeavored to take from Vane's hand a book from which he had been reading a statute. With severe dignity Vane rebuked him, saying, "When I employ you as counsel, I will find you books."

Among the treasonable charges alleged against Vane was one which emphasized a foremost principle of his advanced statesmanship; namely, that in the "Model of Government" proposed by him, without "a single person," was this: "That the supreme power delegated is not entrusted to the people's trustees [members of the House of Commons] to erect matters of faith or worship, so as to exercise compulsion therein."

It seems to have been understood at the time that if Vane had been willing to bow his loftiness of spirit, and to use any measure of compliancy and conciliation, his life would have been spared to him. Of this he was incapable. His calm boldness and his unflinching constancy, his stout affirmation that Charles in exile was not king *de facto*, if they did not overbear any hope of leniency in his judges, did exasperate the monarch to the extent of bringing him to a violation of his pledged royal word. Though no reference to Vane's agency in the affair of the Earl of Strafford appears to have been made in the court,

it is not improbable that Charles held it vengefully in his mind. Yet if he smarted under the remembrance of it as an occasion when his royal father had broken his solemn covenant with the victim, it did not deter him from repeating the same base deed. The following letter inscribed to the Chancellor (Clarendon) may be read to-day in the British Museum, in the autograph of the King:—

7th June, 1662, HAMPTON COURT, Saturday, 2 in the afternoon.

The relation that has been made to me of Sir H. Vane's carriage yesterday in the hall is the occasion of this letter, which, if I am rightly informed, was so insolent as to justify all he had done, acknowledging no supreme power in England but a Parliament, and many things to that purpose. You have had a true account of all; and if he has given new occasion to be hanged, certainly he is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way. Think of this, and give me some account of it to-morrow. Till when I have no more to say to you.

THE KING.

Clarendon is wisely silent in his history about this affair. The scruple of "honestly" in this letter was readily disposed of. Vane had but a week to live after the day on which it was written. The Chief-Justice overruled anything like misgiving in the King as to the breach of his promise and the duty of showing mercy, by the suggestion "that God, though full of mercy, intended his mercy only for the penitent." The sentence that Vane be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on June 14 was signed by the King on the 12th; but on the 13th it was "mitigated" to beheading on Tower Hill, as a less disgraceful method. His friends were to be allowed to have his head and body. It was signified to Vane that he might successfully petition for his life. This he refused to do, saying: "If the King has not a greater regard for his word and honor than I have for my life, he may take it. I value my life less in a good cause than the King can do his promise."

Admiring friends have taken care to preserve to us minute details of Vane's last interview and leave-taking in the tower with his wife and children the day before his execution, with his calm assurance of the rectitude of his course, his fervent prayers, his exhortations and affectionate advice, and his sustained conviction of the ineffable joy which he was soon to share. There is exaltation, elation, and visioned anticipation in the record of his religious exercises. Yet their glow and fervor show no element of fanaticism, but are in keeping with the frame of his spirit in the tenor of his life. Even those who had no sympathy with him, but quite otherwise, were awed by his mien of dignity on the scaffold. The Oxford historian says: "He appeared like an old Roman, and died without the least symptom of concern or trouble." That unregenerate but most genial diarist, Mr. Samuel Pepys, — who had an impartial fondness for all sorts of public shows,

and who says it was his "chance" to see the King beheaded, as well as Harrison, the "fifth-monarchy" man,—makes this entry under June 14, 1662:—

"Eleven o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower Hill, and there over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the sheriff and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ after him to be given the sheriff, and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself and received the blow. He changed not his color or speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ, and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and showed more of heat [fervor?] than cowardice, but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the King. He answered, 'You shall see I can pray for the King. I pray God bless him.' He desired they would let him die like a gentleman and a Christian, not crowded and pressed as he was."

Burnet, speaking of Vane's "composedness" at his execution, says "that it was generally thought that the Government had lost more than it had gained by his death." General Ludlow, one of the parliamentary officers most in sympathy with Vane as a republican and as a sufferer with him in opposing the usurpation of Cromwell, on hearing in his Swiss retreat of the death of his revered friend, pays tribute to "his eloquence, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind; his gravity and magnanimity; his constant adherence to the cause of his country, and heroic carriage during the time of his confinement and at the hour of death;" while reflecting bitterly "upon the malice of his enemies and their frivolous suggestions at his trial, the breach of the public faith in the usage he found, the incivility of the bench and the savage rudeness of the sheriff."

Rapin says that trumpeters were sent to the scaffold in order to drown any reproaches which Vane might utter against the King for the breach of his royal promise. But the victim had higher uses for his last thoughts and words. When report was carried to the brothel which was called "the court" that the tragic scene was ended, the King was left to his own conscience.

In a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., from Providence, Feb. 21, 1656, Roger Williams says he had heard from England of the death of the elder Vane, and that the inheritance which fell to the son was much larger than it would have been if the father, who "had cast him off, had lived longer." A posthumous son of the victim, Sir Christopher Vane, sworn of the privy council, Aug. 12, 1688, was one of three Nonconformists so favored by James II., in order to conciliate the Dissenters to his Toleration Scheme for the relief of the "Papists." Sir Christopher became Lord Bernard under King William.

If one would take the pains to cull from records, historians, biographers, and essayists a chronological or methodized series of extracts presenting the estimates made of the character and career of Vane, and the judgments pronounced upon him, the result would exhibit not only the familiar fact of the diversity of human opinions in such estimates, but would also furnish a signal illustration of the advance made from age to age in the charitable interpretation and the finer appreciation of men who were in advance of their time in great qualities. To the monarchists, conformists, and courtiers among his contemporaries Vane was simply a visionary, a fanatic, a dissembler, and a man of doubtful sanity. Slander assailed him at every point. The following foul entry may be read to-day among the Colonial Papers of the Public Record Office in London :—

“Sir Henry Vane, in 1637, went over as Governor to New England, with two women, where he debauched both, and both were delivered of monsters.”

A contemporary and acquaintance of Vane, from whom we might have expected a fair if not an appreciative estimate of him, was the famous Richard Baxter, though Baxter himself had some of the qualities of a trimmer and a temporizer. But this Presbyterian divine did not understand Vane's mysticism, and hated his republicanism and his absolute demand for the severance of the civil and the ecclesiastical powers. He even threw out a suspicion that Vane was secretly a “Papistical or Jesuit plotter,” and had a personal altercation with him. In his prejudiced view of Vane's character and opinions he was as wide of the truth as, for example, in this misstatement of a matter of fact. Speaking of Vane as the founder of a short-lived sect, which he calls the “Vanists,” he says: “The sect first sprang up in New England, under Vane, when he was Governor there; and he being found a secret promoter and life of the cause, was fain to steal away by night and take shipping for England, before his year of government was at an end.” After thus misjudging Vane's life Baxter says: “No man could die with greater appearance of gallant resolution and fearlessness than he did.” Vane found, before his death, a bold champion against the abuse of Baxter in Henry Stubbs, whom Anthony Wood calls “the most noted person of his age.” Stubbs became a conformist, was an eminent physician, and was not in sympathy with Vane, who had been his friend and patron by sending him to Oxford. He could, however, appreciate Vane's character, as is shown in the title of his defensive pamphlet: “A vindication of that prudent and honorable knight, Sir Henry Vane, from the lies and calumnies of Mr. Richard Baxter, etc.” Baxter's biographer, Orme, was moved to make the following comment :—

“Baxter did not understand Vane, and therefore could not do him justice. He was brave, sagacious, and disinterested, the ardent and enlightened friend of civil

and religious liberty, distinguished in life by the decision of his piety, and in death (though basely murdered in violation of all faith and justice) by his calm yet heroic behavior. The man who was feared by Cromwell, hated by Charles, and praised by Milton could not have been a silly fanatic or an unprincipled knave."

The bilious and phlegmatic Anthony Wood of course deals with Vane after his fashion and temper, calling him "Sir Humorous Vanity," and heaping upon him foul epithets, thus: "A frequent committee man, a speech-maker, a preacher, an underminer, a juggling fellow, and a plotter to gain the estates of other persons; a most notorious sectarist, an indefatigable *boutefeu*, promoter of discontent and rebellion, etc." Wood also quotes Perinchief, a pamphleteer of the time, for more epithets and scurrility against Vane, thus: "The Proteus of the times, a mere hotch-potch of religion, chief ringleader of all the fanatic sectarians, of a turbulent spirit and working brain, of a strong composition of choler and melancholy, an inventor not only of whimsies in religion, but also of crotchets in the State, composed only of treason, ingratitude, and baseness." Fittingly in this connection should be set down what Dean Swift, in a note to Burnet, wrote in his own vernacular: "Vane was a dangerous, enthusiastic beast."

Masson, in his admirable biography of Milton, illustrated by his times, says of Vane:—

"That great republican leader, with all his deep practical astuteness, and the perfect clearness and shrewdness of his speeches and business letters, carried in his head a mystic metaphysics of his own, which he found it hard to express. It was a something unique, including ideas from the Antinomians, the Anabaptists, and the Seekers he had been so much among, with something also of the Fifth-Monarchy notion, and with the theory of absolute voluntarism in religion; but all these amalgamated with new ingredients."

But whatever individual beliefs Vane may have appropriated and assimilated from the erratic notions of his time, his comprehensiveness has secured for him from Sir James Mackintosh this tribute: "Sir Henry Vane, an Independent, was probably the first who laid down with perfect precision the inviolable rights of conscience and the exemption of religion from all civil authority."

The Earl of Clarendon, whose own character, course, and influence require more of charitable consideration in a judgment upon them than do those of Vane, pronounces of the latter as follows:—

"He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts; a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purpose of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*. No man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hampden, he was inferior to no other man in all mysterious artifices."¹

¹ Hist. Reb. iv. 291.

Vane's distrust and open rebuke of Cromwell, when the lure of kingly ambition mastered him, is enough to draw from Carlyle, in defence of his hero, the following hardly coherent word-play:—

"The younger Vane, a man of endless virtues, says Dryasdust, who is much taken with him, and of endless intellect: but you must not very specially ask, How or Where? Vane was the friend of Milton; that is almost the only answer that can now be given. A man one rather finds of light fibre, this Sir Harry Vane. Grant all manner of purity and elevation; subtle, high discourse; much intellectual and practical dexterity; there is an amiable, devoutly zealous, very pretty man; but not a royal man; alas, no! on the whole rather a thin man; whom it is even important to keep strictly subaltern; whose tendency towards the Abstract, or Temporary-Theoretic, is irresistible; whose hold of the Concrete, in which lies always the Perennial, is by no means that of a giant, or born Practical King."

And more of the same sort. Carlyle adopts Cromwell's epithet of Vane, as a "juggler." More judicial and appreciative is the estimate of Vane by Hallam:—

"The royalists have spoken of Vane with extreme dislike; yet it should be remembered that he was not only incorrupt but disinterested, inflexible in conforming his public conduct to his principles, and averse to every sanguinary and oppressive measure."

The reference to Vane's "disinterestedness" recognizes the fact that when by patent he was made treasurer of the navy for life, the legitimate fees being £30,000 a year, he turned them into the treasury, substituting a small salary in their stead. Vane also alone protested in Parliament against the transportation to Barbadoes and the sale of the prisoners taken in a rising at Salisbury.

GEORGE E. ELLIS.

NEW OUTLETS FOR AMERICAN PRODUCTS.

THE United States has arrived at that point of industrial development which renders it expedient to look abroad for a market for its products. These products are accumulating in variety and quantity, and despite the rapid increase of population the production of American manufactures, at no distant date, will be largely in excess of home consumption. Where shall we find a market for our surplus? is the question, therefore, of all others for American enterprise and statesmanship to solve. In the judgment of many thoughtful men it is the live question of the day,—the "battle of the standards" being of secondary importance to the rapid and certain distribution of the products of national industry.

General Grant has thrown some light upon this important subject.

He made the tour of the world, and recommends us to foster and encourage commercial intercourse with our neighbors of Mexico, and with China and Japan. The advice is sound as far as it goes ; but if our commercial interests are to be circumscribed by the narrow limits which Mexico, China, and Japan open to American enterprise, then indeed will its growth be slow. There is this to be said in favor of Mexico, however, — that it possesses vast latent wealth, an available labor reserve, a healthy climate, fruitful soil in parts, and by virtue of its geographical position it should become the handmaid of American commerce. It is just now being explored for its ores by Americans chiefly ; and American and British capital is opening its interior by railroads, without which its resources could not be developed. But its inhabitants, outside the wealthy classes in the capital and a few large towns, are ignorant and barbarous. This is not said to their discredit ; it is their misfortune, not their fault. But it is the fact nevertheless ; and as such it is an important factor in estimating the probable advantage to be derived from a reciprocity treaty with Mexico. The Mexican people are poor. Their wants are few and easily supplied. They produce, with hardly any labor, everything they need except their scanty clothing and a few rude articles for household use ; and therefore they would not be likely to buy much of our high-priced merchandise for many years to come. The exhibit of our Mexican trade, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879 (which is taken for purposes of comparison in this article), will show the truth of this remark at a glance. Thus :—

Exported to Mexico	\$5,400,380
Imported from Mexico	5,493,221

Now of what did our exports consist? Cotton goods top the list at \$1,777,895 ; manufactures of iron and steel, \$808,123 ; quicksilver, \$344,006 ; provisions, \$183,250 ; breadstuffs, \$275,774 ; manufactures of wood, household furniture, etc., \$240,289 — and so on, in a decreasing scale, until a beggarly total of \$5,400,380 is reached, as a year's purchase of merchandise from the United States by a country numbering over ten million souls, and that year also one of considerable railroad construction. Moreover, Mexico is not a manufacturing country, and therefore could not draw upon home supplies. The large expenditure of foreign capital in railroad building this year will, of course, increase our Mexican trade ; but even then Germany, which is firmly established commercially in the neighboring republic, will derive most advantage from it. In the fiscal year under review Mexico bought from the United States \$29,958 worth of agricultural implements ; glass and glassware, \$47,831 ; paper and stationery, \$73,454 ; wearing apparel, \$26,564 ; hats, caps, and bonnets, \$23,326.

We likewise shipped to Mexico \$1,351,864 foreign merchandise in 1879. Of our imports thence, \$3,981,402 represented free goods ; the balance of \$1,511,819 paid duty. Our specie imports amounted to \$8,554,598.

These particulars, taken from returns published by the United States Treasury Department, justify the remark, that, while it is prudent to encourage the Mexican trade, it does not offer any immediate outlet for the surplus products of the United States. The Mexican trade will grow, but its growth will not be so rapid as the more sanguine imagine. The Indian race is the base of the Mexican nation ; it is the foundation of the social pyramid which has been reared in superstition and ignorance ; and this inert mass of humanity cannot be moved from its well-worn groove by any known and permissible process of industrial persuasion. Development will be exceedingly slow. But, at best, the export trade of Mexico is not of any great magnitude, returns compiled for the Mexican Government stating the aggregate of its exports (chiefly natural products) for 1878 at \$28,777,508. This total includes gold and silver, and gives less than \$3 per head of the population for the purchase of foreign merchandise.

American manufactures should be pushed in countries accustomed to the use of similar articles, — countries which can appreciate their utility and excellence, and which have money to buy them. Europe provides us with all the market we require for our food products ; but Europe, with its cheap labor, cheap money, economical methods of production, and unlimited command of mechanical and artistic skill, does not open to American manufactures any great field of operation in the teeth of its tariffs and competition. We can produce bread-stuffs and provisions cheaper than can be done in Europe, by reason of the superior natural advantages of this country, while cotton, cane sugar, rice, and tobacco are special products which Europe must buy ; but there our superiority ceases. This is conclusively shown by the trade of the United States with Europe, and the annual exhibit of commercial exchanges between European countries. Without loading down this article with statistics, thus much may be taken for granted. If then Mexico does not open an immediate market for American products, and if European competition and tariffs bar that market against us except to a very limited degree, what other countries will stand us instead ? China and Japan are mentioned by General Grant and by the newspaper press as likely to provide the needed outlet. Let us see how the case really stands when we come down to cold facts and get rid of sentiment.

China has a population of about four hundred million souls. After its own methods it is highly civilized. It is stagnant because expan-

sion is impossible, its well-tryed policy teaching the imperative lesson that the preservation of its institutions depends altogether upon its ultra conservatism. China does not wish to adopt railroads, because it can otherwise manage its transportation, in a slower way it is true, but much more advantageously to its people, who are thereby provided with employment, of which they would be deprived if railroad freighting were adopted. Labor-saving machinery would simply starve the bulk of the Chinese population were it generally adopted, or would drive them abroad to find new homes. Americans complain now of the peaceful Chinese invasion ; but let China once adopt labor-saving methods, and the Chinese would swarm all over the world in such numbers as would soon break down all opposition. Let the Chinese industrial dam burst, and the pent-up flood of toiling humanity will sweep everything before it. Labor-saving machinery is not suited to China except where it can be utilized exclusively in competition with foreign products or foreign enterprise. In such cases the Chinese are not slow to use it, but never once in competition with their own domestic labor. Where labor is dear, or where the demand for certain products exceeds the capacity of production by manual labor, labor-saving machinery is essential ; or, again, it is requisite in the sparsely-peopled States and Territories of the West, where large areas are cultivated by few hands. China, however, is not in that condition ; it has no waste land, and no need of labor-saving machinery. Every available rood of ground is cultivated patiently and laboriously by hand ; and in this way China raises food for its teeming millions. Any other labor system would be ruinous. Our complicated machines for field and farm work can never be utilized to any appreciable extent in China ; and, in degree, the like argument applies to Japan. The theory of both Governments is that the land should support the people, and therefore innovations tending to a change of industrial system will not be tolerated. This is why the short railroad at Shanghai was bought by the Chinese Government and torn up. Japan has a good deal of waste land, and is therefore encouraging railroad building ; but it is impossible for any one to forecast what may be the industrial and commercial policy of that empire at the close of this century. Beyond the official classes and mercantile people in ports frequented by foreigners, the Japanese are as ignorant of Western civilization and methods as they have been at any time during the past three hundred years. They are a quick, imitative people, however, and soon learn to do anything they take in hand ; but they are poor, and were they so disposed they could not afford to buy much from us. Moreover, Japan is burdened with debt ; and it is not too much to say that its financial exigencies may at any time lead to a change of foreign policy.

But if we cannot send China and Japan our machinery, neither can we ship them our breadstuffs and provisions, as will be presently shown. The volume of American trade with China and Japan, for the fiscal year, 1878-79, was as follows:—

Imports from China	\$16,431,344
Exports to China	2,651,667
Imports from Japan	9,845,562
Exports to Japan	2,674,601

To both countries, therefore, the United States exported \$5,326,278 of domestic products during the fiscal year noted, while it imported from them \$26,276,906,—leaving a balance of \$20,950,628 to be paid in specie. Of the total imports from China, \$12,482,082 represented free goods; the balance, \$3,942,262, alone being subject to duty. The chief exports to China were,—cotton goods, \$1,576,878; illuminating oil, \$690,404; provisions, \$41,406; breadstuffs, \$37,047; tobacco, \$52,098; clocks, etc., \$50,397; manufactures of iron and steel, \$42,694; manufactures of wood, \$14,170. To Japan the export of provisions was \$77,429; of breadstuffs, \$47,099.

Although the United States imported \$9,845,562 merchandise from Japan, duty was paid only upon \$540,442. It follows, therefore, that reciprocity treaties with these countries would inure to the advantage of the United States; but to speak of finding an outlet for American manufactures, or agricultural products, in China and Japan is absurd. Their purchase of American products of every kind does not amount to one tenth of one cent per annum to each inhabitant. There is no getting behind or around these facts; they are clear and palpable. The only commodity which China imports largely is opium, and by treaty we propose wholly to shut out the profits on this trade from American citizens: they must not buy the drug in China, or take it as freight, should it offer from India to China, or coastwise. This treaty was drafted in deference to a spurious moral sentiment,—as if there were anything immoral in buying and selling opium, or transporting it from place to place. It is simply an embargo placed upon American shipping in the interest of England, because no one can for a moment imagine that China will import one ounce less opium annually on account of our treaty than it now does; on the contrary, those who understand the case will admit that the tendency is to increased consumption of that drug. China and Japan may, however, be classed in the list of probable competitors with Europe and America in the manufacture of woollen and cotton cloth, a start having been made by them in both branches of manufacture; and although there may be failures at the beginning, they will undoubtedly persevere until successful. For this reason, as well as from the fact already stated, that they do not want our merchandise, one may say,

at any price, America must look elsewhere for a new market for her produce.

Where, then, can such a market be found, seeing that Europe, Mexico, China, and Japan offer so very few openings? The answer is simple and easy: *In the British colonial dependencies.* We should look for an outlet to the British colonies rather than to Asiatic countries, because in the latter the industrial arts are prosecuted to an extent almost commensurate with their requirements. What little foreign commerce exists in Asia is upon its fringes, so to speak, and is not felt, appreciated, or understood by the vast body of the people whose wants and aspirations are fully satisfied without it. Furthermore, there is no possible foothold for American commerce in Asia outside of China and Japan. The trade of India and the Malay peninsula has been monopolized by England, which likewise absorbs the trade of the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, while it leads in China and Japan, although France, Italy, and Germany follow close behind. It will be found exceedingly difficult to displace the European trade with China and Japan, although, of course, it may be done in time; but for practical business purposes at present the thing is simply impossible. Business men will recognize this, although theorists will see no difficulty whatever in the way. All other Asiatic countries are tied up hand and foot by the maritime powers of Europe. France controls Cochin China; Spain owns the Philippine Islands; Java and Sumatra with their marvellous wealth of products belong to the Dutch, who dominate also in great measure the trade of Borneo and Celebes. The Dutch will not tolerate competition in their territories; and the Portuguese, who own a few trading stations in the East, are equally exclusive. The Asiatic circle is thus fully occupied. But this does not constitute the world of commercial possibilities. There are new and inviting fields opening in Australia, in New Zealand, and in South Africa, which the United States may occupy without let or hindrance, and with hearty good-will. The trade of those rich and growing communities is as free to the United States as it is to the parent State. They are buyers of those commodities in the production of which we excel; and we have only to take our wares there to sell them. In this connection I do not refer to British North America, whose tariff is designed to develop home industries and discourage trade, or, in other words, to stimulate production and restrict sales. That this economic blunder will be discovered and rectified by the Dominion Parliament, there can be no doubt whatever; meanwhile Canada is not to be taken into account when considering the extension of American trade in the colonial dependencies of England. Australasia and South Africa are the fields in which American enterprise should exert itself.

A brief explanation may be necessary at this point. British colonies are divided into three classes : (1) Crown colonies, in which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, the administration being carried on by officers under the control of the Home Government ; (2) Colonies having representative institutions, but without responsible government, the Crown retaining control of the public offices and a veto upon legislation ; and (3) Colonies possessing representative institutions and responsible government, in which the Crown has only a veto on legislation and the control of the governor. Colonies of the latter class are Canada, Cape of Good Hope, Newfoundland, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, and New Zealand. The customs establishments in all the colonies are under the control and management of the several colonial governments, and the colonial legislatures are empowered to establish their own customs regulations and rates of duty. They may not discriminate in favor of any country, however ; but English goods have no advantage over the merchandise of any other country in any British dependency. Neither can the colonies make any commercial treaty, the populous and wealthy Dominion of Canada being in this respect the inferior of the insignificant kingdom of Hawaii, or the still more insignificant and barbarous Samoa and Tonga. This, however, is the business of Canada, which is doubtless well satisfied with its dependent position. The remarks following will only apply to Australasia and South Africa.

The Australian mainland contains an area equal to that of the United States exclusive of the territories. It is divided for purposes of government into the colonies of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia, the latter belonging to the second division of colonies. The northern territory may be regarded as a separate government, although the administration of its affairs is for the present under the control of the South Australian Executive. It will, however, be erected into perhaps two distinct colonies at no distant date. The chief cities and seats of government are Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Brisbane, and Perth. These cities are named in the order of their population and wealth. Melbourne, the capital of Victoria, is a very handsome city about the size of San Francisco, but containing more numerous and much finer public buildings. It recently held an international exhibition, at which the United States was represented, just as Sydney did the year previous. Sydney is an older and more conservative city than its rival. It is less populous, but contains great accumulated wealth, and owing to its free-trade policy is fast becoming the distributing point of the Australian trade. Melbourne is also the centre of a large trade, but its protective tariff has been injurious to its business, as attested

annually by the report of its Chamber of Commerce. It is a very progressive community, however, and in time will certainly realize the folly of its protective craze. Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, is the third city on the Australian continent, and is an elegant and opulent one.

The island colony of Tasmania, adjacent to Victoria, is usually included in the Australian group. It is about the size of Ireland, rich in minerals, and enjoys a very salubrious climate. Hobart-town, the capital, is an excellent seaport. The Australian colonies produce gold; and iron, copper, tin, and coal have been successfully worked in several of them, while diamonds have been found in New South Wales. But wool is their staple product, although Adelaide ships large quantities of wheat to England every season, and New South Wales sends coal to San Francisco in English ships chartered to take cargoes of California wheat on their return voyage. A regular line of mail steamers is established between San Francisco and Sydney, via Honolulu and Auckland in New Zealand. Of this service, however, more hereafter. Regular trading intercourse is likewise kept up between our Eastern ports and New Zealand and Australia by sailing vessels, and already the foundation of a large and profitable trade has been laid between this country and the British settlements at the Antipodes.

Western Australia is comparatively unexplored, but Sir F. A. Weld, when governor, made an excursion in the saddle over the greater portion of its interior a few years ago, and reported vast areas of fine open grass-land. Its forests contain valuable timber, and its proximity to Ceylon and India gives it especial value industrially in the near future. But as yet it is not of much account for trading purposes, and the convict element of the population is not agreeable. However, it is separated by a wide waste of country from the settled districts south and east.

American enterprise should be directed towards the older and more opulent settlements enumerated above. The Australian colonies make excellent wine; in Queensland and parts of New South Wales they grow cane and make sugar; cotton is grown to a limited extent also, but, owing to the scarcity of labor, not very profitably. Wheat and corn are everywhere grown, while the product of beef and mutton is far in excess of the local demand. In the earlier colonial days, when the sheep-runs got overstocked, the surplus was slaughtered and burned; latterly this huge waste has been avoided by erecting boiling-down works. The skins are saved, and with the carcasses, when reduced to tallow, exported to England to be manufactured there and returned to the colonies in another form and at a greatly enhanced value. Cattle are disposed of in a similar way; and by this

means the loss to the pastoral interest, from drought and over-stocking in Australia, has been reduced to a minimum. Moreover, it enables something like an average standard of value to be fixed for land and stock, because the grazing capacity of the land being known, if the price of beef and mutton becomes unremunerative in the colony, there is always a demand for pelts, horns, and tallow at an almost stationary value in England.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made to ship frozen meat to England from Australia, but a shipment of fresh meat and butter by the "Protus" arrived in good condition, and the mutton was retailed last January at seven pence per pound in London. This demonstrates that the thing may be done. Meanwhile it is only an experiment, although an English company has been formed, with ample capital, to prosecute the enterprise. The process adopted is that in operation between America and Europe; namely, the Bell-Coleman refrigerator. The company referred to has secured a monopoly of those machines for the Australian trade. This is likely to interfere somewhat with our meat-trade with England in course of time; but the point is, that Australia does not offer a market for our food-products, with the exception of canned fruit, salmon, and a little meat, while it does offer a very tempting market to our manufactures, as will be shown further on. Its population is about 2,500,000. It has about 2,800 miles of railroad, a perfect telegraph system, foundries, machine shops, manufactories of various kinds, graving docks, and all the appliances of an opulent and progressive country.

New Zealand is part of Australasia. It consists of three large and several small outlying islands, settlement being mainly confined to the two largest islands. It is south and west of Australia, distant 1,200 miles at the nearest point. New Zealand has few natural features in common with the Australian continent, and belongs to a different geologic age. It is evidently the backbone of a submerged continent. In the North island there is an active volcano, and numerous boiling, sulphur, and mud springs. The Middle island, divided by a narrow strait from the North island, bears evidence in many parts of glacial action; and indeed the glacial period is not yet at an end there. Few countries in the world are so interesting to a geologist as New Zealand. Its scenery is grand and picturesque; its climate is genial and healthy; and its resources give promise of a great industrial future. New Zealand contains 103,000 square miles, and extends north and south for one thousand miles. Its coast is a perfect net-work of harbors, bays, and rivers. Gold, silver, copper, iron, and coal are among its products; and, indeed, specimens of every metal used in the arts have been found in New Zealand. There are several large commercial towns in the colony, which contains a population of about

450,000. There are nearly 900 miles of railroad open, and its telegraph system is connected by cable to Australia with the Indo-European telegraph. Messages are frequently sent by wire from San Francisco to New Zealand, the circuit being complete. Owing to its moist climate, its agricultural products exceed those of Australia per acre; and the pastoral interests of New Zealand are likewise more valuable, in proportion to area, than are those on the adjacent continent.

New Zealand has long had trading relations with the United States, the Stars and Stripes being as frequently seen in its northern ports, before England acquired the sovereignty of the country, as the flag of any other nation, and it was then the rendezvous of all whalers in the South Seas. It cherishes the most friendly sentiments towards the United States, and gave a proof of its friendship a few years ago by repealing the English navigation law which was operative there, and permitting foreign vessels to engage in its coasting trade. The specific object of this measure was to enable American steamships carrying the mail to engage in the coast trade, free of all port and harbor dues, in opposition to local steamship lines; and while American steam vessels no longer run on the New Zealand coast, the privilege is still extended to foreign shipping,—although ship building is a leading industry of the country, and although New Zealand has far more tonnage on its register, in proportion to population, than England itself. Its chief exports are gold, wool, wheat, oats, and barley; but wool is its chief stand-by. The large pastoral runs are being cut up into farms of convenient size for settlement; but the extension of farm settlement only increases the wool product, because a greater number of sheep can be raised per acre on a tillage farm than upon open grass country.

To show the value of Australia and New Zealand as factors in the world's commerce, the following figures are taken from the admirable statistics of trade compiled by Mr. Nimmo, superintendent of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, for the fiscal year 1878-79:—

AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN TRADE.¹

Exported to Australia	\$7,042,875
Imported from Australia	782,350

Of the imports less than fifty per cent were free goods. An examination of the list of exports shows the value of the New Zealand and Australian markets in striking contrast to our trade with Mexico, China, and Japan. The following are suggestive items:—

¹ This includes New Zealand.

Iron and steel	\$1,417,000
Tobacco	914,258
Agricultural implements	664,796
Illuminating oil	495,218
Provisions	345,348
Breadstuffs	319,692
Carriages	279,977
Drugs and chemicals	225,731
Sewing machines	118,671
Manufactures of leather	112,088
Cotton goods	109,463
Musical instruments	163,362
Books, maps, etc.	100,766
Railroad cars	74,530
Clocks, etc.	74,085
Fruits	68,246

In the list of exports, silver-plated ware, seeds, brooms and brushes, paper and stationery, marble, paints, scales and balances, bone-dust fertiliser, lamps, glass and glass ware, hops, etc., figure for considerable amounts.

The foregoing enumeration was necessary to show the present value of the Australasian trade to the United States; and a comparison of this list with our Mexican and Chinese trade must satisfy any one that the Antipodes present many trading advantages which Asiatic and Spanish American countries do not offer. In the single item of cotton goods it falls below our sales to Mexico and China; but this is not because Australasia did not buy cotton goods, but because we did not sell these to it. England sold its Australasian colonies \$4,776,370 worth of cotton fabrics in 1879, which is \$100,000 short of the three-fold aggregate value of all the cotton cloths, etc., which the United States exported to Mexico, China, and Japan in the same year. From this fact it is to be inferred that there is a lively market for our cotton products, if we only push them, in the British dependencies in the South Sea.

But the fact remains that in the year 1878-79 the United States exported to Australia \$1,616,597 of domestic products in excess of the value of its combined exports to China and Japan during the same period. Our exports to Australia in the year under review exceeded our exports to Mexico by \$2,642,496, while they lacked only \$1,064,053 of our exports to Brazil, from which we imported \$39,375,441, of which \$37,038,691 represented free goods, — a very strong argument indeed in favor of a reciprocity treaty with the Brazilian empire. Australia bought \$4,402,119 more merchandise from us, and sold us \$16,878,325 less of its products, than the East Indies did. Moreover, our exports to Australia (always including New Zealand) in 1878-79 were only exceeded by exports to Cuba, Canada, Brazil, and the eight principal

countries of Europe. And it should be borne in mind that our exports to Australia mainly consisted of costly manufactures, whereas our exports to Europe chiefly consisted of agricultural products.

But striking as this exhibit is, it conveys only a very faint idea of the magnitude of the foreign trade of Australia and New Zealand. In 1875 their total imports were \$236,364,195, being at the rate of \$92.70 per head of the population ; total exports, \$222,485,005, or \$91.58 per capita. Last year, in round numbers, the foreign trade of Australasia aggregated \$400,000,000 (of which the United States got only \$7,825,225) ; and it is destined to increase with the growth of the country. England, of course, has the lion's share of the Australian trade, but Germany and Belgium are large exporters to all the Australian colonies. The raw products of the colonies are not subject to customs duty in England ; hence the colonial shippers send their goods to the English market and buy British manufactures in exchange. This is the secret of the preference for English goods ; and it furnishes the key to the whole commercial situation. If we sell our wares in the colonies, we must buy colonial products. Australians will not sell their commodities in England, and carry their money over in sacks to New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and buy our heavily protected goods. It would be an unwise business operation, and the colonists of the Southern dominion are not wanting in shrewdness. If we hope to compete successfully with England in the Australian market, we must make a tariff concession. Antwerp has been bidding for the wool trade of Australia and New Zealand for years past, and it offers wool-growers free warehousing if they consign their fleece to it for sale instead of to London. By reason of its push and liberality Antwerp controls the Argentine Republic's wool trade, and is gradually working into the Australian trade also.

The United States must adopt ordinary business methods, or it will drop out of the commercial race. The policy which has built up the great manufactories in England would do a similar service to the United States. Heretofore we have been building up our domestic trade ; but as we have become more than self-sustaining in a variety of ways, we should now look to building up our foreign trade. To extend it, we must conduct business upon a basis which will attract customers ; we must, in short, buy as well as sell.

The case of the Australian colonies is a very simple one. They export wool upon quite a large scale, and we are large buyers of wool on our side. During 1879 the value of the Australian wool export was \$35,555,990, of which New Zealand contributed \$15,631,195. At the Wool Convention recently held in Philadelphia, it was shown that the United States, in the fiscal year 1878-79, imported 39,000,000 pounds

of wool, worth \$5,034,090 ; in the fiscal year 1879-80, the wool imports were 128,131,000 pounds, valued at \$28,700,000. The "Shipping List," an excellent authority, states that the mill consumption of wool in this country in 1880 was 42,000,000 pounds in excess of the home supply. Taking these figures as the actual mill deficit, it follows that if Australian wool had been admitted duty free, we should have supplied our needs from that source, and paid for it in manufactured goods. There was no danger whatever of the home wool-grower being injured by Australian competition, because Australian wool commands as high a price in the London market as the clip of any other country, and therefore it would not be sacrificed at American sales while there was a demand for it elsewhere. The competition with the home producer would have been precisely what it was, and no more. The market would have been supplied with duty-free wool: it was supplied with wool which paid duty ; and we paid for this wool in coin and not with goods, because we did not import it direct from Australia, but bought it from London wool-brokers at second hand, with double freight and charges added, which need not have been the case under a liberal fiscal policy. Australian shippers sold their wool in London and purchased English goods ; if they had sold the United States forty-two million pounds of wool, they would have bought at least \$5,000,000 of American products, and our exports to Australia would have been increased by that amount. But this did not happen ; and while we lost an opportunity of extending our Australian trade to the detriment of British commerce, England profited by the American demand for wool, and reduced its coin payments to this country, by the sum stated, for its food supply. Surely the profit upon this transaction would far more than compensate for any loss of revenue.

There is a point in this connection which should not be lost sight of. Ten years ago New Zealand established an ocean mail-service between Australia and California, which it has maintained, aided latterly by New South Wales, which is a party to the existing contract with the Pacific Mail Company. This contract expires in November, 1883, and costs the two contracting colonies \$372,500 per annum for thirteen round trips. For the first three years of this Pacific mail contract, the yearly subsidy was \$449,750 ; but the service was modified and the payments reduced. It has cost these two colonies altogether \$3,000,000 to maintain direct mail communication with England, viâ San Francisco and New York, in opposition to the Peninsular and Oriental line, viâ the Red Sea and Point de Galle, to which the Imperial Government and the colonies of Victoria and South Australia paid subsidies. Let it be borne in mind that the Pacific mail-service is not by any means a postal necessity to the colonies.

They have now a weekly mail-service, by the competing Eastern routes, with England, and could do very well without the California service. This being so, what special advantages do we offer the colonies to continue it? None whatever. On the contrary, by our tariff we put an embargo upon the Australian trade, and make an excessive charge for conveying their enclosed mails across this continent.¹ If Australian wool had been exempt from duty, as it might have been with great advantage to our woollen manufacturers and operatives, freight would have been found for this steamship line; and by developing trade it would have encouraged the colonies to continue the service. It is not too late to remedy this glaring defect; but if no steps are taken by Congress in this direction, it is not at all likely that the colonies of New Zealand and New South Wales will continue to pay \$372,500 a year for the sake of sending their mails across America and diverting Australian travel this way. England wants to break down this mail-service so as to check our growing trade with Australia, and prevent Australians visiting this country *en route* to Europe. It is in our power to stimulate and increase that trade very materially by a tariff concession, the loss of which the revenue would never feel. It is not one interest in this country, but all interests, which would be benefited by the adoption of the policy suggested in regard to the wool products of Australia. The character of our own exports to Australia prove it beyond a doubt; but the following items from the long list of British exports to the Antipodes in 1879 will emphasize the statement, thus:—

Cotton goods	\$4,776,370
Earthenware	1,060,323
Dry-goods, millinery, etc	4,191,366
Hardware and cutlery	2,148,273
Bar iron, etc	895,625
Railroad iron	2,010,794
Hoops, plates, boiler sheets, etc	2,371,436
All other iron manufactures	3,601,706
Woollen goods	2,081,281
Worsted stuffs	2,284,186
Carpets and rugs	663,198

It would extend this article unduly to devote space to the discussion of South African trading advantages. Suffice it to say that the remarks already made relative to the Australian and New Zealand trade apply, in a general sense, to South Africa. An opening has been made from Boston, and the prices realized for "Yankee notions" in the Cape Colony was certainly encouraging. But its trade is almost entirely in the hands of English and other European mer-

¹ Congress last session appropriated \$40,000, being a rebate of a moiety of this charge for one year.

chants, although lying so convenient for American enterprise. Including Transvaal, which is virtually British territory, the South African dominion may be compared to Europe in extent. It is as yet sparsely settled; but the discovery of gold and diamonds will tend to its rapid development, as well as the necessity for constructing railroads in the interior for military purposes. The Cape of Good Hope exports wool, diamonds, gold, wine, ivory, ostrich feathers, etc., and buys European manufactures largely. The population is about one million; but the people are rich, and would buy American goods if they had the chance. It is a virgin field, and should be occupied. Moreover, the native tribes in the interior can be gradually brought within the circle of American commerce in this way. If expansion is to be the commercial policy of this country, South Africa should not be overlooked. It stands in the direct track of the world's trade, and must in the near future rise into great prominence. Enough, however, has been said to demonstrate the fact that American trade is to be extended, with more certainty of profit and direct results, in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, than in either Asia or Spanish America.

ROBERT J. CREIGHTON.

INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN INDUSTRIES ON THE UNITED STATES.

IT is not the purpose of this paper to criticise or eulogize statesmen on either side of the Atlantic for what has been done in the past or is being done at the present time in the spheres of responsibility in which they have been or are respectively placed. Nor is it the writer's intention to express opinions as to perplexing problems now pending for solution in the European world. His effort will be to state uncontroverted facts, and allow them to tell with the logic of mathematics to what extent the financial, the military, and material status of European countries is likely to affect the material development and the future growth of the population of the United States. It is a matter of history to what degree the religious, social, political, and material problems of the Old World have influenced the fate and power of the States of the New, whose prosperity and rapidly increasing numbers are assuming more and more importance in the affairs of nations. While none but the Divine Mind can measure the future with certainty, those who take the most optimistic and hopeful views as to the solution of grave European questions cannot doubt that the

United States will continue to draw labor and capital from Europe more largely than in the past, and thereby increase the population, productive power, and commercial importance of the great Republic. From the day of the declared separation of the Thirteen Colonies from Great Britain to 1820, the immigration from Europe to the United States was comparatively insignificant. Prior to the War of Independence there often had been strong influences in high official quarters favorable to colonial enterprises, which had carried with them more or less emigrants for the establishment of new settlements and communities; and there were operative no strong political prejudices or motives of interest to prevent people from seeking homes in the New World. But after the establishment of the United States as an independent nation, with its necessary national aims and interests, it could not expect to receive any European governmental sympathy or support which should operate to bring population and capital to its towns and territories. But the revolutions and wars which had taken place in Europe between 1789 and 1815, and the tremendous strain which had been put on its financial and food resources in that momentous period, had tended to prepare many of the European people for emigration. By 1820 the current had begun to set in with regular flow, and continued with varying volume until 1870, when it had reached the aggregate figure of more than 7,700,000; and since that date it has been increased by an addition of nearly 3,300,000, — making the total number for the sixty-one years ending at the close of 1880 not less than 11,000,000 persons. It will not be denied that information as to the resources and opportunities in the United States inviting immigration is far better than it was sixty or even twenty years since among the European population. While there is still a signal want of anything like thorough knowledge among even the educated and intelligent men of Europe as to the countries west of the Atlantic, of which the European press and publications are a striking illustration, there is sufficient information working its way among the European laboring men to make them desirous of trying their fortunes in the New World. The improved facilities of intercommunication, and the increasing number of those who have become prosperous citizens of the United States, and who write and send money to their relatives and friends in their fatherlands, are extending more and more correct information as to the inducements to seek homes in that country which is sending so much food, machinery, and manufactured goods to the European ports, and whose financial power, resting on its enormous volume of products from its fields, factories, and mines, with electric rapidity is sensibly felt in all the commercial centres of Europe. As to how far the increasing knowledge of America among the European population,

and the improved facilities of reaching the United States are likely to operate in keeping up, if not increasing, the volume of immigration, the data given in the following condensed review and tabular statement may be somewhat suggestive:—

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. — The political situation of the dual empire of Austria-Hungary is somewhat anomalous. Since the logic of events resulted in Austria's relinquishment of its hold on Italy, and the present arrangement with Hungary, the statesmen of these united countries have given decided proof of enlightenment and progress, and all well wishers of civilization must desire their continued success. Peopled by various races, who tend not altogether to harmonious relations, their rulers and teachers of national unity have not entirely an easy task. Placed between the Russian Empire on the one hand, and Prussianized Germany on the other, and by recent accessions of territory brought still nearer the complicated and perilous arena where Turkey's fate is at stake, the questions with which Austria-Hungary has to grapple require all the wisdom of its statesmen and all the patriotism of its citizens. The heavy and increasing national debt, and the large standing army tax severely the energies and financial income of the united countries. Austria-Hungary, with the annexed provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Novi-Bazar has an area of 265,190 English square miles, and a population of 38,500,000. Feudalism was abolished at a comparatively recent date. Yet the nobles were left in possession of immense landed properties. In Bohemia and Moravia nine hundred magnates hold more than 6,000,000 acres, one half of which is timber lands. In Galitza fifteen hundred nobles own 12,000,000 acres. In entire Austria-Hungary, leaving out the newly occupied provinces, 11,800 nobles own 62,000,000 acres, and 3,431,000 other persons own 72,000,000 acres,—an average of 21 acres each. More grain and maize are generally produced than are required for home consumption. The average crop per annum the last five years has been 90,000,000 bushels of wheat, 390,000,000 bushels of barley, rye, and maize, 3,000,000 tons of beet root, and 290,000,000 gallons of wine.

BELGIUM. — With an area of only 11,373 square miles, Belgium has a population of 5,336,000, or 469 persons to a square mile. The average annual agricultural product the past few years has been 15,000,000 bushels of wheat, 55,000,000 bushels of oats, rye, and barley, 30,000 tons of flax, 520,000 tons of beet, and 650,000 tons of hay. The average price of land is £63, and rent is £2 per acre. Belgium pays annually nearly £8,000,000 for imported grain and meat. The laborers are skilful and industrious, and their pay is small. That a continued increase of inhabitants on such limited area, increased de-

mands for food and for better compensation for labor, will compel an outlet west of the Atlantic it is not difficult to presume.

DENMARK. — This country has a population of 1,940,000, and an area of 9,200,000 acres, of which 2,700,000 are taken up in cities and waste. 550 estates have an average of 2,500 acres; 1,180 estates an average of 300 acres; 69,000 estates an average of 60 acres; and 137,000 estates an average of 4 acres. The average value of first-class land is £35 per acre; of the second class, £23 per acre; of rent of the first-class land 25 shillings per acre, and of the second class 18 shillings per acre. Average crop, 4,230,000 bushels of wheat, 66,670,000 of other grain, and 10,890,000 bushels of potatoes.

FRANCE. — With a population of 36,900,000, on an area about five-sevenths of the State of Texas, France possesses those characteristics of climate, soil, and production better calculated to retain her people at home and render them disinclined to emigration than any other European country. With the largest national debt of any nation in the world, with a large and expensive navy, and a standing-army of half a million of men, making a tremendous draft on the productive labor of the country, she still thrives by the skill, industry, and economy of her people, and the fatness of the land which Frenchmen love with such patriotic devotion. If she can keep out of foreign wars, and maintain the republic intact in the wise, pacific, and progressive course which it is now following, she will continue to retain her population despite the attractions of other lands. And what she loses by emigration will be likely to pass to Algeria, or her other colonies. If the costly wars of the last fifty years should be repeated, and the national debt duplicated, of which present continental relations and gigantic armaments seem a standing menace, who would attempt to estimate what would be the consequences to that productive and beautiful country? Wisely have her present statesmen chosen the policy of peace and the development of her home resources. May they persevere with persistent resolution in their present policy, as the best safeguard of the republic against enemies at home and abroad!

The landed estates of France are 154,000, of an average of 320 acres.

"	"	"	"	636,000	"	"	"	50	"
"	"	"	"	620,000	"	"	"	20	"
"	"	"	"	1,816,000	"	"	"	6	"

The medium price of tillage land, on purchase, is £ 88 per acre.

"	"	"	meadow	"	"	"	135	"	"
"	"	"	vineyard	"	"	"	106	"	"

Rent per annum for tillage land is 56 shillings per acre.

"	"	"	meadow	88	"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	vineyard	82	"	"	"	"	"

Nearly 6,000,000 acres are devoted to the cultivation of the vine, and the average annual product of wine is more than 1,200,000,000 gallons, worth £50,000,000; 100,000,000 gallons being annually exported. The annual product of beet-sugar averages 390,000 tons, which is one-third of the beet-sugar product of Europe. The average product of grain is not sufficient to feed the population, and France is likely to be an importer of grain and meat in future years. The last three years the value of her food imports has averaged £34,000,000 per annum.

GERMANY has —

54,000 owners of land who average 50 acres each.						
1,033,000	"	"	"	48	"	"
475,000	"	"	"	40	"	"
15,000	"	"	"	33	"	"
456,000	"	"	"	25	"	"
152,000	"	"	"	17	"	"
111,000	"	"	"	15	"	"
140,000	"	"	"	10	"	"

She produces 750,000,000 bushels of grain, which is not enough for the wants of her population. She imports an average of 60,000,000 bushels annually. Her annual product of wine is about 90,000,000 gallons, and of beet-sugar, 300,000 tons. She has nearly 33,000,000 acres in forest. In Saxony and Würtemberg the average value of the farming land is £17 per acre; in Bavaria, £9½; and in Prussia and the other German States, less.

THE NETHERLANDS. — They have 5,760,000 acres in tillage, pasture, and forest, and 2,380,000 in lakes and canals. The price of land averages £40, and the rent £2, per acre. The total grain crops average 40,000,000 bushels per annum, which is not sufficient for the wants of the population. Grain is imported annually to the value of nearly £2,820,000, while the amount of exports in cattle, butter, cheese, and flax exceeds, by £1,960,000, the value of the grain imported.

SWEDEN. — Sweden has 11,500,000 cultivated acres, and 83,500,000 uncultivated, of which 9,000,000 acres are State forests. The great bulk of these uncultivated lands are unfitted for agriculture. The entire forest lands amount to nearly 44,000,000 acres, the lumber product of which is very large, and constitutes the leading item of Swedish export. These lumber forests are well cared for by government regulation. Grain is raised sufficient for home consumption, and there is an annual exportation of oats and barley. About seventy per cent of the population is employed in agriculture.

NORWAY. — More than 90 per cent of the population of Norway is agricultural, yet less than one per cent of the soil is under tillage.

Dense forests cover most of the country. Norway exports annually more than 50,000 fat cattle; her agricultural income is nearly £10,000,000 annually, and the yearly value of her timber harvest £3,000,000. The best source of her prosperity and support is her marine interests, which are managed with great care and skill, her tonnage ranking second in Europe. Sweden and Norway are wisely and economically governed, and their people are among the most industrious and orderly in the world.

RUSSIA. — European Russia has 1,250,000,000 acres of land; of which 440,000,000 are waste, 500,000,000 in forest, 145,000,000 in pasture and meadow, and 165,000,000 acres are tillage land. By soil and climate Southern Russia is well adapted to agriculture. The cultivation is carried on in a manner which makes a great waste of labor. On an average of recent years this country produces 190,000,000 bushels of wheat and 1,300,000,000 bushels of oats, — of which she consumes at home 110,000,000 of the former, and 1,220,000,000 of the latter. There has been an annual export of 80,000,000 bushels of wheat and 80,000,000 of oats. The country is not half developed. The character of the government, the social and religious institutions of the country, as well as other potential causes, repel immigration from other European countries pressed by population. The emancipated serfs are loaded with an enormous debt, amounting to more than £80,000,000, incurred by their self-purchased emancipation. Burdened by the support of an immense army of more than 700,000 men, an expensive navy, a very large national debt, and costly foreign wars, the tax on the productive energies of the country is very heavy. The total number of her established clergy, of all ranks and orders, is stated to be more than 250,000. The mass of the population is yet without education. More than seven-eighths of the recruits to the army cannot read or write. Russia is the strongest competitor of the United States for wheat production and supply to the Atlantic States of Europe. Yet the clumsy and imperfectly organized transportation of the former as compared with the cheap railroad and ocean freights of the latter more than offset the lesser distance of Russia to the Western European markets. While Russia has material resources enough for her increasing native population for a long period to come, she is not likely to draw to herself much of that swarming population of the other European countries whose eyes are fixed on the world west of the Atlantic.

THE UNITED KINGDOM. — England, Wales, and the three islands of Man, Jersey, and Guernsey have an area of 37,545,567 acres; Scotland, 19,496,132; and Ireland, 20,322,641, — in all 77,364,340 acres. Of this total, more than 7,000,000 are taken up by lakes, rivers,

and towns. Scotland has more than 14,000,000 acres in mountains, morasses, and other waste lands; and there is a considerable area in other parts of the United Kingdom which is unfit for cultivation. The total amount of arable and pasture land is less than 50,000,000 acres. In England and Wales the soil is owned by 155,000 proprietors; in Ireland by 17,500; and in Scotland by 8,250. The amount of mortgage on landed property in Great Britain and Ireland is 58 per cent of its full value, the annual interest of which absorbs more than half of the land revenues of the United Kingdom. The annual rental of land in England and Wales is £3.2s. per acre; in Scotland 19 shillings and 9 pence; and in Ireland 13 shillings and 4 pence. The average purchase cost is in England and Wales £62 per acre; in Scotland £20; and in Ireland £18. On an average of ten years the United Kingdom produces annually 91,000,000 bushels of wheat, and 320,000,000 bushels of rye, barley, and oats. The annual consumption of wheat for nine years ending with 1879 was 202,000,000 bushels, — thus rendering necessary an annual importation of 111,000,000 bushels, besides an immense importation of live stock, beef, pork, butter, and cheese. The national debt is £777,000,000. To extend and foster her trade, and to aid and protect her manufactures, there is maintained an expensive foreign policy, requiring a powerful army and an immense navy; the former costing more than £16,000,000, and the latter £12,000,000 annually. The civil service of Great Britain is somewhat luxurious in its financial requirements. The royal family draw £931,000 per annum, and the additional civil service annually paid is £14,975,000, besides the £2,791,000 for cost of customs collections, — nearly twice the amount paid by the United States for the collection of its revenues. The established church requires annually many millions from the aggregate productive income of the country, and the salaries paid to its chief officials are on no stinted scale. With 32,000,000 of people, having less than 50,000,000 acres of land for tillage and pasture, with the high rental required to be paid by the cultivators, it is obvious that the United Kingdom will continue to send forth her hundreds of thousands to populate other lands. When some of her chief men, with the present Lord Derby at their head, openly advise Englishmen to emigrate, and Gladstone with his prophetic finger points the way, the material and moral pressure must be very strong.

ITALY. — The great work accomplished by Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, and the patriotic instincts of the people, in unifying Italy according to the geographical formation of the country and the race tendencies of the population, has not failed to bring many material improvements. But it is compelled to support a costly navy and a large standing army, which its statesmen deem necessary

to national prestige and safety. The national debt is very heavy, and its annual budget is enormously large considering the present productive income of the country. For many centuries this fair and beautiful land, so smiled on by Nature, has been depleted in many ways, and its productiveness lessened by political, clerical, and military misrule. Having an area about half that of the State of California, it has a little more than 27,000,000 acres devoted to tillage; of which 11,550,000 are given to wheat, 4,220,000 to Indian corn, 4,470,000 to barley, oats, rice, and beans, 170,000 to potatoes, 4,620,000 to vines, and 2,260,000 to olives. The remainder of the superficial area of the country is composed of 12,500,000 acres of forest, and 32,000,000 of mountain and pasture. The total grain crop averages more than 260,000,000 bushels, which is not sufficient for home consumption. There is an average importation to the amount of 120,000 tons annually. Italy, including Sicily, produces 650,000,000 gallons of wine and 33,000,000 gallons of oil, yearly. The exportation of wine and oil has increased more than 40 per cent in recent years, and the merchant marine and railroad transportation have much augmented since United Italy became an accomplished fact. Yet there is a heavy pressure of increasing taxation, and a great amount of ignorance, superstition, and grinding poverty to retard progress. Though capable by improved cultivation, enterprise, increased industry in manufactures, arts, and commerce to support a more numerous population, there is no doubt that emigration in the future will continue, — mostly perhaps to South America, especially to the valley of the Rio de La Plata, where there are now nearly 200,000 natives of Italy. There are causes likely to be operative in the future which may bring an increased number, especially producers of the grape, mechanics, and manufacturing artisans, to the United States.

SPAIN. — This country covers a territorial measurement about the same as that of the States of Kansas and Colorado, — nearly 120,000,000 acres; of which about one half is mountains and waste, 36,000,000 are given to cultivation, 15,000,000 to pasture, and 10,000,000 to forest. More than 55,000,000 acres are devoted to wine and olives, and 25,000,000 to the various kinds of grain. There is a grain product averaging 300,000,000 bushels annually, allowing an export of 5,000,000 in excess of imports. Of the wine product there is an annual export of 45,000,000 gallons, — about one sixth of the total amount made in the country, the remainder being consumed at home. The rental value of land varies greatly. In the rich and productive section of Valencia it is £5 or £6 per acre. In the northern provinces, and in the less cultivated portions of the country, it varies from 5 to 15 shillings per acre. Spain is weighed down by heavy government expenditure and a national debt greatly disproportioned

to her productive income. The national debt is 42 per cent on her entire property valuation, heavier than that of any other European country except Turkey; and a large number of the individual estates are heavily mortgaged. In the future, as in the past, the bulk of the Spanish emigration is likely to be to South America and to the Spanish colonial possessions.

PORTUGAL. — With a surface a trifle larger than half of New England, and a population of 4,000,000, Portugal's climate, soil, and sea-board location are favorable to agriculture and commerce. Her land is held by 105,000 cultivators, who have 5,500,000 acres; by 252,000 who own 5,400,000 acres; by 140,000 tenants who have 2,800,000 acres; and by 62,000 nobles who own 12,450,000 acres. Grain is produced on 2,600,000 acres, and more than 8,100,000 acres are devoted to vineyards, gardens, and olive groves. The grain product amounts on an average to 30,000,000 bushels annually, which is not equal to the home needs of the country by 5,000,000 bushels annually. The methods of cultivation are clumsy and antique, and the lack of energy and enterprise is apparent. About 475,000 acres are used in wine culture, which gives an annual yield to the value of £8,000,000. The export is chiefly to England, to which Portugal has been long commercially tributary, — the latter being one of the striking tests of that free-trade policy which enables the former to supply the manufactured goods to the country which returns in payment the fruits of the soil, and does not diversify her industry. Portugal is almost as deeply in debt as Spain, or to the extent of 36 per cent of her entire valuation, and her private estates are heavily mortgaged. Her emigration in the future, as in the past three centuries, will be chiefly to Brazil, or to her own colonies, though some of it will reach the United States.

SWITZERLAND. — With a territory almost identical in size with that of New Hampshire and Vermont united, — 19,990 square miles, — Switzerland has a population of 2,670,000. Its lands are well divided among the people, and are hampered by no feudal claims and assessments. Four fifths of the population have a property interest in the soil. One fifth is given to pasture, one fifth is meadow, seventeen acres of every hundred are tillage, one out of a hundred is devoted to grape culture, and three tenths of the whole are taken up by lakes, rivers, and mountains. Industrious and saving as are the Swiss, with every available acre of soil in cultivation, they are unable to produce grain enough for home consumption. They import on an average nine million bushels of wheat and three million bushels of other grains, and their exportation of cattle and butter is now hardly equal to their importation of like productions from other countries. Their extensive watch manufacturing has now a pressing competition

from foreign sources, but their silk and cotton manufactures are tolerably prosperous. The financial savings of the people are considerable, the national debt is small, and a standing army does not exhaust the earnings and resources of the population. The increasing number of wealthy foreign residents and tourists in summer brings considerable money into the country. It is fair however to conclude, on reviewing all the facts in the problem, that Switzerland in the future will increase in population but slowly, and that her emigration to America will continue and probably increase.

GREECE. — With an area equal to half that of the State of Ohio, Greece has a population of 1,680,000, a fine geographical position, a genial climate, and a good soil for agricultural production and pasturage. Blighted by centuries of misrule, since its liberation from Mussulman domination a half century since, its progress has not been rapid, yet considerable in the aggregate. Notwithstanding the richness of the land and its favorable climatic influence, the inhabitants do not produce grain enough each year for six months' consumption. There is a lamentable lack of intercommunication, freight transportation is enormously high, and the modern methods of agriculture are sadly wanting. Only one seventh of the country is under tillage; the cultivated lands are 1,920,000 acres, and there are 3,000,000 acres of rich lands uncultivated. The remainder of the territory is 4,820,000 acres mountains; and the balance, 1,410,000 acres, woods, lakes, and rivers. The cultivated lands are in the hands of 147,000 agricultural families, and the remainder belongs, 5,404,000 acres to the Crown, and 3,860,000 acres to 16,000 nobles. This large land-ownership by the Crown and the nobility tends to retard progress. With resources capable of sustaining a much larger population, loaded with debt and heavily taxed, the future advance of the country is not likely to be rapid. The recent considerable addition of territory and of nearly half a million of population by the decision of the European Powers renders the prospect of the Greek nationality more hopeful and its government more independent and effective. It is little to be doubted that the Greek race will continue to occupy substantially the same territory on which it has chiefly remained in past centuries.

ROUMANIA, SERVIA, BULGARIA, MONTENEGRO. — These, united, have a territory of 97,000 square miles, less than the State of Colorado, and a population of 9,177,000. For a long period afflicted by ignorance, misrule, and foreign domination, the great natural resources of these countries have been but partially developed. Recently freed from the grasp of the Turk, and coming more and more under the influence of Western Europe, their future progress would seem to be assured, though the mutual distrusts and conflicting interests of the Great Powers and the constantly menacing aspects of the Eastern Question

do not allow these countries all the repose they so much need. The lands are rich, and capable of producing food supplies much beyond the needs of their own people. After Russia, perhaps none of the European countries are capable of producing so much grain for exportation. They possess resources for a more numerous population than they have, and are not likely to furnish emigration to other lands.

TURKEY.—European Turkey, including Eastern Roumelia, has a territory of 75,500 square miles and a population exceeding 5,000,000; has a remarkably favorable location, a rich soil, and a splendid climate. It has great resources for the raising of fruits, grains, cattle, and sheep, and is capable of supporting not only a large population of its own, but of exporting great quantities of food to other countries. But so long as it remains under the paralyzing rule of the Ottoman, its agricultural capabilities will remain largely undeveloped. The country is weighed down with debts and bankruptcy, and the people are compelled to pay a large proportion of all they raise for land-rent and taxes. The cultivators of the soil are robbed without stint or mercy. Should the influence of the Great Powers put an end to the Mussulman rule, these Eastern countries of Europe would all be wanted by the races who now people them. They will never be likely to attract the British, the German, Scandinavian, and other nationalities of Western Europe, whose scores of millions in coming decades are sure to seek homes in North America, chiefly within the borders of the United States.

MATHEMATICAL MEASUREMENT OF EUROPE.

Population	311,853,000
English Square Miles	3,844,837
Total Revenue	\$2,935,000,000
Total Expenditures	\$2,950,000,000
Imports	\$5,702,000,000
Exports	\$4,166,000,000
Expenditures for Army and Navy	\$712,500,000 per annum.
Allowance to Royal Families and Reigning Prince	\$44,250,000 „ „
Salaries of the Presidents of France and Switzerland	\$177,000 „ „
Number of men in the Armies and Navies.	2,798,262
„ „ officers „ „	161,766
Merchant Marine	14,540,000 tons
Railroads	100,133 miles
Cost of the same	\$12,247,560,000
Railroads owned by Government.	21,837 miles
Cost of the same	\$2,186,000,000
Telegraph lines	236,039 miles.

In Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Turkey this last named property is entirely owned by the State; in Germany, the United Kingdom,

Sweden, and Norway it is nearly all owned by the State; in France and Italy two thirds belong to the State; in the Netherlands one half, and in Russia one third is State property.

Annual expense of Foreign Affairs Departments in Europe	\$16,465,000
" " " " in the United States	1,170,000

The amount paid for civil service in Europe averages much higher according to the population than it does on the American side of the Atlantic. The United Kingdom alone, with a population about two thirds of the United States, in addition to the \$4,424,660 allowed the royal family, pays annually for civil service \$73,181,000 against \$53,034,000 paid for civil service by the United States, — the latter paying less than half to each inhabitant the sum paid by the former.

The total sum of the annual expenditures in Europe for Public Education, including that paid for tuition, is not far from \$105,000,000; and for the same purpose there is annually expended in the United States, including sums paid for tuition, from \$96,000,000, to \$98,000,000.

Amount in the Savings Banks of Europe	\$1,705,000,000
" " " United States . .	\$1,925,000,000
National Debts of Europe	\$21,787,000,000
Quantity of land in "	2,155,944,000 acres
Number of owners of land in Europe	27,137,354
Amount of property in "	\$174,200,000,000
Amount of annual income "	25,475,000,000
Amount of property in the United States	38,000,000,000
Amount of annual income "	7,050,000,000

The total number of men in the Army and Navy of Europe is 2,984,228, leaving out the present increased war force of Greece; while the total in the Army and Navy of the United States is 34,847, or less than one eighty-fifth part that of Europe, which has more than twelve times as many soldiers as the United States in proportion to population. The annual cash expenditure for army and navy in Europe is \$692,543,900, and in the United States \$58,000,000, — or about one twelfth of the former. The loss of labor by men in the army and navy in Europe, reckoning the price only one half what it is in the United States, — that is, 70 cents for the private soldier and \$2.00 per day for an officer, — for three hundred days in the year would be \$689,903,220; and in the latter \$16,856,400, at \$1.40 per day for private soldier and \$4.00 per day for officer. That is, the loss of labor by army and navy in Europe is forty times as much as it is in the United States, and six times greater in proportion to population. The annual interest on national debts at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the loss of labor by the army and navy of Europe united, amount to \$1,642,904,284; and the annual interest at 5 per cent on National

and State debts in the United States, added to the sum lost to labor by the army and navy, amount to \$126,964,950; while the total income of labor and capital in the United States is nearly one third of the income of labor and capital in Europe. While Europe is carrying a national indebtedness of \$2,265,000,000, the United States are rapidly extinguishing a National and State indebtedness of \$2,265,000,000; and while the United States are expending annual labor in their army and navy to the amount of \$16,856,000, Europe is expending in the annual labor of her 2,983,631 men in army and navy to the value of \$690,000,000. The United States have an area of 2,263,040,000 acres; and Europe has 2,155,490 acres. The area unfit for cultivation and good pasture in the United States is less than in Europe. The amount of this waste land in Russia alone considerably more than equals the entire area of Alaska, though the southern part of the latter is quite equal in point of climate and resources of soil to much of the well populated countries of Europe. The annual average amount of the wheat production of Europe is 1,035,000,000 bushels; that of the United States, 435,000,000 bushels, while they have rich lands enough unoccupied and inviting the husbandman and the plough to supply all Europe with flour. They are now producing more than two thirds of all the cotton of the world, and have cotton lands enough remaining unplanted to yield double the present demands of civilized mankind. Considering this immense difference of financial burdens, the relative area, purchase cost, and rental of land on the two sides of the Atlantic, and the more than twofold average compensation to labor in the United States, none can wonder at the emigration from Europe in the past, or fail to perceive what must be its increasing volume in the future. How long will European statesmen keep 3,000,000 men in military service in years of peace, and how many decades can Europe go on increasing national indebtedness and national armaments? How long will these immense armed forces of the six Great Powers confront each other? Is the problem of disarmament so hard and insoluble that the trained and experienced statesmen dare not grapple with it? For the sake of civilization and the future welfare of mankind, may reason and Providence point them out the way!

"But there is your oppressive and paralyzing tariff policy," says the Cobden Club as the representative of the European manufacturers, wine-growers, producers of iron and steel, of cotton, woollen, and silk goods. "If you would be content to produce raw materials, and allow us to supply you with luxuries and manufactures, you would more surely prosper and show yourselves statesmen and intelligent pupils in political economy." Without designing to discuss at length the questions raised by the dulcet rhetoric of the Cobden Association,

a few essential facts relative to the revenue policy of European countries and the United States come directly within the scope and purpose of this paper. Manifestly European statesmen have no reasons founded in principle or fact to criticise severely the American statesmen for the tariff policy of the United States; nor can the statesmen or people of the latter well find fault with the tariff policies of Europe. Each nation by necessity turns on the axes of its own interests, at the same time regarding the claims of international welfare so far as is practicable. If free trade be an advantage to a nation, or family of nations, then the United States have quite as much freedom of trade as has Europe. If protection is an advantage to countries in their chief material interests and revenue requirements, then Europe, Great Britain not excepted, has quite as much of this as have the United States. It is true, free trade and protection are administered in different forms and with varying quantities on the two sides of the Atlantic; but in Europe and the United States the tariff policies and government aid to manufactures and commerce are made to conform to the special resources, products, and financial requirements of the respective countries. It may serve to make it more plain that the United States have quite as much free trade as Europe has, by considering the obvious fact that the former in this regard are situated very much as the latter would be if its score of nations were all united in a "Customs Union," with only one customs boundary, instead of twenty as now. The thirty-eight States and nine Territories of the American Union lying between the great oceans, with their many thousands of miles of sea coast, great numbers of harbors and navigable rivers, and their more than ninety thousand miles of railway, have but one customs boundary for foreigners to pass with their products and merchandise, and enjoy absolute free trade among themselves. Europe in such a Customs Union would no longer have those twenty frontiers with nearly as many languages, with the antagonism and friction of interest which they now have by necessity. As to the magnitude and value of this internal trade which the United States enjoy over their vast extent of territory and with their great variety of productions of the field, the mine, and the factory, it is well to remember that it amounts to more than \$18,000,000,000 per annum,—more than twelve times the aggregate of all the export and import trade of the country, and six times the sum total of the export and import trade of Great Britain. It is not well to forget that the trade necessary and valuable to a people is that which exchanges the products of different soils, climates, mines, and workshops; and that this may be quite as profitable within the limits of one extensive country as between several countries or nations whose combined area and variety of productions may not be any greater than those of the former. When the mer-

chants of New York and Boston send a thousand tons of the products of the Eastern States to San Francisco and receive in exchange the products of California, that is certainly trade quite as much as though they had sent the same thousand tons across the Atlantic an equal distance to Liverpool or Havre. It may be even much more important to American development and wealth. The money paid for the transportation and the profits on both ends of the commercial route go into the pockets of American producers and men of business, to increase the value of American soil and American transport agencies. Of this \$18,000,000,000 of internal trade, — all without passing a single Custom House barrier, — the entire profits go to enrich and develop the country. Whereas, one end of the profits of the \$1,500,000,000 of our foreign commerce is not received in the United States, and a good deal more than one half of the transportation payments go into foreign hands. It should not be forgotten that the trade between the east and the west of Europe, and between the countries of the Baltic and those on the Mediterranean, is no more commerce in terms of fact than that between the American States of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and between the Gulf of Mexico and the inland seas, — Huron, Ontario, Michigan, and Erie; and that the distance from San Francisco to New York is equal to that between London and Constantinople, between Marseilles and St. Petersburg. To him who attempts to argue abstractly against the American tariff policy, it may be said in truth that no controlling body of practical statesmen on either side of the Atlantic has ever attempted to adopt free trade as a scientific theory of governmental action. They have never regarded free trade as absolutely true, nor protection as absolutely true. The tariff policy which practical statesmen adopt is that which grows necessarily and logically out of the circumstances, condition, and resources of their country. It was thus that the far-seeing and ever-illustrious Alexander Hamilton reasoned when he organized that financial policy which received the approval of both schools of the American statesmen of the period, — of Washington and Jefferson. It was thus that Thiers and Bismarck reasoned as to the needs and circumstances of their respective countries, and it was thus that Cobden and Peel shaped the tariff policy of Great Britain to conform to the food-demands, to the manufacturing, commercial, and special home circumstances of England, whatever alluring theories or seductive rhetoric their pupils may throw around the precepts and acts of those distinguished men. It was the imperative need of the United States for revenue, and the requirements of our natural resources and of our internal trade, which caused our statesmen at a great national epoch to adopt our present tariff policy. Fortunate it was that our imperative revenue needs to sustain national existence and national faith

conformed so completely to the internal wants of the country's resources in respect of development. By it our national unity was maintained against Titanic assaults within and great perils abroad. By it our national honor has been kept untarnished and now shines with "purest ray serene" in the financial markets of the world. The solid facts — the ripe fruits from the vigorous tree of experience — give irresistible testimony in its favor. In less than twenty years the entire property of the country has increased from \$16,000,000,000 to nearly \$38,000,000,000, though in that time \$4,500,000,000 were lost to the country's wealth by the war. The manufacturing power and products of the country have nearly tripled, the United States at this time turning out cotton and woollen fabrics more than one fifth as much as entire Europe, while possessing less than one sixth as much population. Our entire manufactures of all kinds are equal to one fourth of the total produced by Europe. In the same period we have built more than sixty thousand miles of railroad, and since 1865 have paid off \$800,000,000 of national debt, and reduced our annual interest on the same to the extent of \$70,000,000. In the same time of less than nineteen years our home commerce has augmented three-fold, our foreign trade has largely increased, and our financial power and prestige in the commercial centres of the world stand far higher than they stood twenty years since.

Perhaps our statesmen have erred that they have not favored one form of protection which Great Britain has found so effective in fostering and giving "paternal care" to her manufactures and commerce. We have not taxed the tea and coffee, which enable the American masses to live well, in order to subsidize lines of steamers to different quarters of the globe to the extent of \$4,000,000 or \$5,000,000 annually, as Great Britain has been doing these many years. We should act wisely in following her example so far as to compensate American lines of steamers to foreign countries for carrying the mails, therein including parcels of products of the American mills, mines, and fields, taking good care to impose no tax on tea and coffee to accomplish the proposed result, which can better be achieved in a way more conformable to the safeguards of American labor and enterprise. We complain not that Great Britain follows without deviation a very expensive foreign policy, for the *protection* of her manufacturing and other home interests. To protect her industries, her invested capital, and insular position, she expends many millions annually of her taxes to keep an immense fleet and powerful army to maintain her foreign and colonial policy in Turkey, Egypt, India, Africa, the Australias, in the South Sea Islands, and even to exercise a little *paternal* pressure as a means of selling millions of pounds of opium to China. In these respects nations will continue to have their special aims, interests, and policies.

The members of the Cobden Club are intelligent and respectable gentlemen, and it is not at all surprising that they are particularly concerned for the enlightenment of the people of the United States. The real difference between them and the advocates of the American policy pertains to the solution of the question of transportation. Shall the mines and the untilled acres be carried to the laborers, or shall the mining operatives and the farm-hands be removed to where their labor will bring them more pay and more of the comforts of life? Shall the surplus labor and capital of Europe go to the immediate field of American resources, or shall the American raw products be carried and handled to increase the value of British iron, coal, and manufactures? It does not require elaborate ciphering to prove that it is much less expensive to transport the laborers and capital to the country which produces the staples of manufacture and cheap food-supplies than to transport the raw staples and the food three or four thousand miles across the ocean. It is not at all strange that the patriotic British citizen should argue in favor of bringing the prairies of the Mississippi and the West and the wool farms of California to help increase the dimensions of his little island, and to render more valuable its limited number of material resources. We cannot severely criticise this sturdy Saxon home-sense and pocket-nerve of the English citizen. But let him not seek to elevate his insular interest to the dignity of a scientific and universal principle. The American policy does not claim to be wanting in regard to American interests. The American policy operates to make the grain, pork, cotton, and corn-fields of the United States more valuable by drawing the surplus labor of Europe to their neighborhood, and to develop the coal and iron mines which in total amount are more than six times those possessed by Europe. The American laborers, whether of native or foreign birth, will be slow to complain that the revenue policy of their country is so adjusted as to give incidental protection to the products of their brains and sinews. While our revenue necessities are annually growing less, the ability of the country to pay is rapidly increasing. By the time our national debt shall have been extinguished, our manufacturing interests will have become impregnably intrenched against all external dangers; and by the immense general development of the resources of the country, whose products and wealth shall have their outflow across the oceans, the nations of the world will be benefited.

Considering the immense tide of population and labor which cannot fail in the future to cross the Atlantic to the land teeming with inexhaustible resources of soil and mine, American citizens and legislators cannot fail to see the immediate duties and great responsibilities which rest upon them. They must see to it that the evils which former generations brought upon the Old World are not inflicted on their

country. They need to adopt all proper and effective measures to prevent landed estates assuming large proportions and becoming the possession of the few. Do they not also need to favor broad and comprehensive measures against irresponsible corporations of every kind, especially those which may seek to control our inland transportation, whose agency in the country's future will be so tremendous? Since our railway transportation is to have such a vital, all-powerful influence over the growth of cities and states, over the lives, comfort, and wealth of the future millions of the Republic, should not the power of the people through their laws and rulers be uncompromisingly exercised over their hundreds of thousands of miles of national highway? If the laws and policy of the nation govern American ships and commerce on the seas, there are reasons even stronger for national control over the far more extensive commerce of the land. And sooner or later the telegraph — that indispensable agent of commerce, of popular intelligence and power — must pass from the hands of the few to the legal control of the many, and become the nation's servant as the post-office now is. Our vigilant guardianship of, and undeviating liberality to, our system of popular education must be continued with increased devotion. The interests of the public press must be fostered with the utmost fidelity, individuals wanting in moral integrity must be driven from its control by an elevated and patriotic public sentiment, and the wisest men and purest thinkers called to its editorship, which already has the service of the gifted and the worthy. It becomes us to put our house in order for the incoming tide of humanity which the European nations are to send to our shores. Public Education, the Press, the Railroads, and the Telegraph are gigantic forces which were unknown to former centuries and civilizations; and the future of this republic imperiously demands that they shall be directed by the best brains, and the rules of Everlasting Right.

J. L. STEVENS.

SUGAR CULTURE IN LOUISIANA.

THE time was when life in Louisiana was almost pure romance. Such a fashion of existence as prevailed among the canebrakes and sunny bottom-lands of the Pelican State for the greater part of a century might be witnessed nowhere else on this broad earth. This era was circumscribed by two wars, — the Revolution, shortly after which it had its beginning; and the Rebellion, about the time of which it was invaded and broken up by the sentiments of another and different order of civilization. When, about the middle of the last century,

it was discovered that in addition to the other great agricultural gifts of this favored French colony sugar could be profitably cultivated, and great fortunes made by the diversion of slave labor in this new direction, Louisiana was inhabited by a dominant class of exiles and adventurers, who, while amply representing the national temperament, — warm, generous, and reckless, — had, besides, their full share of the unsettling mental and political tendencies with which, in the kingdom of the French Bourbons, the age was ripe. Indeed, these unsettling tendencies were mainly responsible for the presence, in this semi-tropical wilderness, of those noble chevaliers who have given to the history of the Mississippi Valley, and undeservedly spread over the coast and interior Southern States, the reputation, which they have not yet outlived, of a broad and generous and high-bred hospitality, and a spirit of chivalrous honor found elsewhere only in the romance and poetry of Mediæval Europe. Among these early sugar-planters of Louisiana were men of the most advanced ideas and power of mind. Voltaire had his peers among them ; the most ardent republican of fifty years later would here have found congenial companionship ; and Richelieu would have seen himself matched in statecraft, and in the art of reading and the skill of managing men. The society they set up advanced at once to the highest development possible. They imported all the comforts and luxuries of their old mode of life, compatible with or capable of adaptation to this new one. Their social canons and unwritten laws took on a more extravagant character than at home, and everything in their mutual intercourse approached the extremity of refinement. Family feuds became highly fashionable, and duels were fought incessantly, and on the most trivial grounds. Every one was absurdly jealous of his family honor, and family pride came in as the governing feature of domestic life and of all social intercourse. It was a state of society which we of to-day cannot well comprehend, and was hardly modified in the Creole descendants of the first settlers, who became citizens of the United States when the transfer of Louisiana took place, in the early part of the present century. There were few families of famous ancestry at the beginning of this century that had not been mutilated by the rapier or the duelling-pistol ; and in many instances, in a single generation, the family name was extinguished, although many sons had been born to perpetuate it who had not died the victims of disease. In 1769 the colony was ceded by France to Spain, although it was inhabited almost wholly by native French. The real underlying motive of this cession was to preserve to the colonists the institution of slavery, which France had declared against, but which the colonists urged was absolutely necessary to the industrial life of the colony. As M. de Pantalba wrote : “ Louisiana cannot dispense with slavery nor the slave-trade. The

excessive heat prevailing during the five months in which the hardest works are to be executed on the plantations does not allow the use of free and white labor, and renders the blacks indispensable." To show how earnestly this idea prevailed, I supplement Pantalba's statement with the declaration of Gayarré, in his "History of Louisiana," that "the emancipation of the slaves held in the colony would destroy the fortune of all, annihilate all means of existence, and be the presage of the greatest misfortune." This evil was averted by the occupancy of the Spanish. The latter encouraged agriculture, and stimulated the productions of the colony to the utmost.

In 1751, along the banks of the Mississippi, near the present city of New Orleans, some Jesuits began experimenting with sugar-cane procured from San Domingo, where it had been cultivated for many years and was a source of material revenue. At this time the wealth and prosperity of the Louisiana planters were derived from the cultivation of indigo and tobacco, with rice and cotton in small quantities. Indigo was the great staple, and tobacco ranked next in importance. The priests attracted considerable attention to their efforts with the sugar-cane, and many planters attempted its culture ; but failure to achieve satisfactory results was general, and the growth of the cane was abandoned for the safer and surer field of tobacco, which, under the encouragement of the Spanish Government, was rapidly taking the lead among the products of the colony. Nevertheless, there were some who believed that sugar culture was possible in the climate of the colony, and who thought they beheld a brilliant future for their beautiful province. The idea was not utterly thrown over ; and in 1768 a sugar-mill was put up, and specimens of manufactured sugar were sent abroad. However, indigo and tobacco continued to be the staples of the colony until about the year 1790. Tobacco was now the leading export, — the Spanish Government alone purchasing two million pounds annually. Up to this time the planter's return on his investment was as high as twenty-five per cent, — a hard contrast with the condition of things to-day, when the planter must receive ten per cent on his investment alone, in order to pay all his expenses. About the year 1790 the indigo culture began to fail from the attack of insects, and while the danger of its collapse was imminent, a new peril was threatening the colony, which only great prosperity in its industrial character could avert. Louisiana was considered by the French and Spanish to be the key, industrially or commercially speaking, to the rest of the inhabited Southern and Western country. Evidently the people of these sections fully realized it. While they had free access on the Mississippi to the Gulf, it would not pay them to maintain ships of their own to carry the goods sent down the river to Northern ports ; and so they were compelled to sell them for what

they would bring at New Orleans. If the United States could only control New Orleans, a co-operative system would enable its citizens to send their own goods North, and retain the large profits that the French now realized on their necessities ; but this they could not hope for, until Louisiana should become a member of the sovereignty of States, which she was not at all anxious to do. She controlled the trade of the Gulf of Mexico, and guarded the Spanish possession of Mexico. Spain was weakening all this time, and France was gaining ground as a belligerent power. To shorten the description of the difficulty, the former feared that she might lose Mexico, and Louisiana too, if she longer attempted to hold them both herself ; and so, in order to secure Mexico beyond the possibility of its capture by the United States, the Spanish Government relinquished Louisiana to its former owners, the French, gaining thereby a powerful ally in the protection of Mexico. In order to strengthen the colony against invasion, immigration was earnestly encouraged ; and this is why the failure of the indigo culture came to produce such an effect as it did. Ordinarily, the planters might have puttered along with the crop for many years, and finally, perhaps, settled on cotton ; but in its haste to protect itself the colony devised many expedients of all kinds. In this direction, the subject of sugar — the culture of which had languished for many years — was quickly revived, and preparations made for its cultivation on a wholesale scale. It was soon discovered that the mild Louisiana winter was no obstacle to the cultivation of the cane, and that, although eighteen months were required in the West Indies to ripen the crop, this result could be attained in Louisiana in eight months, — the cane being planted in March, and cut in October and November.

To show how cumbersome the early methods of these planters were, it is only necessary to say that for every plantation employing fifty negroes in ploughing, planting, and weeding the canes, four mills and two hundred negroes were necessary to grind them before they could have time to ferment. Another discovery, which did away with part of this clumsy and costly work, was that the cut canes, which became sour at San Domingo in two days, continued sound in Louisiana, when covered with the stubble, until they could be manufactured with ease. To this small fact is due Louisiana's reputation for the culture and manufacture of sugar. Had those early canes soured, as in San Domingo, it is highly questionable if the industry would have been sufficiently profitable to maintain itself, and much of the wealth and cheerful prosperity that contributed so materially to inaugurate that broad system of living to which I have alluded would never have come to Louisiana.

In 1795, Jean Etienne Boré, with a gang of thirty negroes, raised

a crop of cane, and on its manufacture into brown sugar sold it to the Americans for twelve thousand dollars. This enterprise established the industry firmly in Louisiana. The rich planters at once embarked in it, while the small planters of cotton and tobacco prospered by this opportunity to cultivate with less competition. In five years from the time of its second introduction, five million pounds of sugar was the annual yield of the colony, which had now some fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants. The income from the culture of sugar was about twenty-five per cent. Pantalba reports of the province about this time that "the facility with which man can supply his wants is such that two hours of daily labor are sufficient to procure him all the means of existence." One may judge from this statement the value of the slave system to the planter of that day. The average Southern negro, in his present condition of citizenship and individual responsibility, is the laziest of mortals, and will work no longer than is necessary to assure to him the gratification of to-day's wants. How much this state of things would have been aggravated in early Louisiana we can form some estimate; but we cannot grasp the extent to which it would have interfered with the brilliant career of the colony. As it was, the prosperity of Louisiana was marvellous, despite the troubles existing between the colonists and the people of the United States, who looked upon the province with greedy eyes, and to whom the possession of it was only a matter of a few years at most. Life on the plantations trod in velvet-soled slippers, and the harshest winds were tempered with balmy warmth and the perennial fragrance of millions of wild flowers, over which they were compelled to pass. Domestic *ennui* and their own strange combinations of character fostered in the fair sex the softer elements of romance, which were instrumental in imparting the knightly tone to the society of the day. When the United States acquired possession of Louisiana, and for many years thereafter, New Orleans was the most luxurious city on the new continent. During the first half of this century a style of living was kept up in Louisiana which, in an attempt to picture it, becomes simply indescribable, and which if described would not be believed. The best wines of Europe flowed more freely than beer does to-day. The equipages were the finest the world could produce. The jewellers of New Orleans grew rich in a year on their commissions, while New York agents ransacked Europe for novelties in plate and artistic jewelry. The fine arts were largely patronized, although the effect of the atmosphere of slavery was to encourage tastes more sensual and coarse-grained than were consistent with a high degree of admiration for pure art. There is a massive service of gold in the safe of the St. Charles Hotel, at New Orleans, which recalls the splendor of *ante-bellum* Louisiana. Yet in all this luxurious display very little money

was handled. Immense bills were paid at a time; but the transactions which took place on credit were enormous, and went on for years in some cases, without involving the introduction of a dollar. Old business men of New Orleans have assured me of repeated instances of this, and of the utter carelessness of these wealthy patrons in ordering on credit. But when the accounts of the tradesman or merchant were finally presented, this carelessness was even exceeded by the indifference with which the creditor met the gigantic total, and paid his debt.

The earliest plantations were situated along the Mississippi, south of the city, and many of them bear the names they received from the original French and Spanish owners,—as “Conception,” “Magnolia,” “St. Andrew’s,” etc. In many cases the planters’ houses were massive structures, constructed on no particular architectural principle, with little attempt at finish or ornament, built of wood scarcely redeemed from its natural state of timber, but providing the amplest space for all household purposes. Few of them, indeed, there were which did not suggest the idea of space sufficient to meet all the requirements of the feudal baron, who sheltered under his castle-roof an army of knights and vassals. The old Southern planter’s notion of a comfortable home was a house with plenty of “elbow-room” in it. Other mansions were built of stone or brick, brought up or down the Mississippi, in a square, antique style of architecture, with great verandahs and massive Roman pillars,—the outside of the structure being stuccoed and more or less ornamented. Beautiful flower-gardens, in which were cultivated every variety of blooming plant obtainable, graced the front view of these great houses; and sometimes statuary might be seen tastefully scattered about, and visible through the glistening spray of perpetual fountains. This style and situation of the planter’s house has not changed much in a century; and the visitor to the sugar plantations in Louisiana to-day will see in this respect what he would have seen in the early part of the century. It is needless to say that he will find changes in the social atmosphere and methods of life of the two periods so contrasted. There is nothing left of the old days now, save in the memories of a few venerable lingerers on the scene.

Up to 1823 the cane was ground by cattle, a most laborious method. About this time steam was introduced, and the yield of sugar began to average nearly 30,000 hogsheads annually. The success in its cultivation was henceforth very marked. In 1833 the annual crop amounted to 75,000 hogsheads. In 1843 100,000 hogsheads of sugar were made. After this until the war the increase was much more considerable. In the decade from 1843 to 1853 the yield went up from 100,000 hogsheads to 449,324. In 1861, when war had broken

out, the amount of manufactured sugar was 459,410 hogsheads; it has never since run up beyond 200,000 hogsheads. During the war it was as low as 10,000 hogsheads, and did not reach 100,000 hogsheads again until 1870: it averages now about twice as much. Each decade is registering a material decline in the total yield of sugar proportionately to the amount of ground cultivated. It was natural to expect a decline in the yield with the fall of slavery, as the free negro, with his love of ease, never yet has performed the same amount of labor as he did in his character of an enforced bondsman. The war, too, broke up established industries and spread financial ruin everywhere. Before the war the planters of Louisiana called themselves the wealthiest men in the South. Fortunes of \$3,000,000 are reported to have been not infrequent, and a man was scarcely credited with the reputation of wealth unless he was known to possess a million. It is difficult, however, for Northern people to understand what was meant by wealth in the South. Cash had little to do with the transaction of business, and every dollar a planter earned and could spare was laid out in the purchase of more land and the improvement of his estates.

Whatever the cause, the yield of sugar per acre is diminishing in Louisiana. The quality of the product has never been equal to that raised in the English colonies, from which we import annually sugar to the value of \$100,000,000. The hope of the Louisiana planter to overcome the tendency of his crop to decline in results must lie in the cultivation of fresh land and the renewal of old by improved machinery, with which more juice may be extracted from the canes than is produced by the present imperfect method of manufacture. The present labor system prevailing on the plantations is as follows: The planter pays his permanent hands, numbering from twenty-five to one hundred according to the size of the crop, seventy-five cents a day. In addition, the negroes receive each a cabin and patch of land upon which they raise their corn and bacon, often employing gratuitously the plantation tools and cattle. A day's work is called a "piece." When a darkey finishes his "piece" or day's allotment, he can retire to his cabin. Some of them begin their work at four o'clock in the morning, and finishing their "piece" by two or three in the afternoon they put in the remainder of the day on their own patches or in doing extra work for the planter. Their lot is a very comfortable one, much more so than that of the field laborers of the North. A force of a dozen or twenty mules is always maintained, and at "seed time and harvest" from fifty to seventy mules are in requisition. There is no other period in the life of the Southern planter which witnesses the bustle and activity of the time occupied in making a sugar harvest. The Southern temperament has little leaning toward unseemly or unnecessary activity. In cotton growing there is nothing

to call for any unusual display of this quality from either black employé or white employer; but the success of the sugar crop depends largely, and sometimes absolutely, on the speed with which the canes can be transferred from the stalk to the boilers. Therefore October, or rather the parts of October and November during which this work is in progress, present on the sugar plantations scenes which never fail of enlivening and blood-quickenning effects. The cane now in general use in Louisiana is known as the Ribbon or Violet variety. The present scion was brought from Georgia about 1824 by a planter named Luison. At the time of its introduction the Creole or Bourbon and the Ataheite specimens had been used for many years, but it was soon discovered that the new variety was hardier and much better adapted to the climate of Louisiana; hence its universal adoption. Although experiments with other varieties have been frequent since then, they have never been successful enough to drive away the Ribbon. In the English colonies, where sugar is so successful as an agricultural venture, the climate will be found to be such that the plant has ample time to ripen after its own fashion and come to maturity when it chooses, which is often from sixteen to eighteen months after planting. In no country where sugar growing is attempted on a large scale are the obstacles as serious as those encountered by the Louisiana planter. On account of the uncertain length of the winter season his resources must be expended in inducing the cane to mature between the months of March and October. In order to accomplish this he must use the plant-cane instead of growing from the seed,—a method of starting the crop which requires a high fertility and thorough preparation of the soil. This means, among other things, drainage of the surface by percolation, a constant use of the spade, and frequent and skilful ploughing. It is almost essential to success that the land shall be rotated in its products and come fresh to the cultivation of the cane. The latter being a true grass, it is generally followed by maize or the Carolina pea, which latter is usually sown in the early summer among the cornstalks. These crops of corn and pea, or pea alone, being gathered, the fall ploughing to prepare the ground for plant-cane begins. This is done with a heavy share pulled by half-a-dozen mules, the ground being turned up to quite a depth. The exposure of the fresh surface to the air is considered of the greatest importance. The soil is thoroughly disintegrated by the action of the frost during the winter, and awaits now only the preliminaries of planting, although some growers attach so much importance to the preparation of the soil as to resort in the spring to another heavy ploughing and the use of the heavy harrow before “opening;” that is, running the smaller ploughs to make the trenches in which the stalks of plant-cane are placed.

It is the custom with some growers to plant in the fall. In this case the earth is drawn over the planted cane to the depth of six inches. In spring-planting two inches of earth are sufficient. No surer criterion of the skill of the planter need be required than the manner in which he plants his crop and endeavors to protect it from the injurious effect of too much water, which is his constant foe either in the shape of rain discharges or overflows. When the weather gives evidence that the period of severe frosts is over, the earth around the cane is removed, and the eyes begin to swell and shoot. The fifteenth of March generally shows a goodly number of delicate sprouts "working the rows." From now until the plant has developed sufficiently to produce shade enough to prevent the growth about it of weeds and grass, the cultivation of the cane resembles that of corn, only it is many fold more onerous. As the rows are generally six or seven inches apart, and the hills twelve to fifteen inches high, the labor is necessarily more continuous and distressing than in the parallel case of corn. The crop is "laid by" or left to itself about the tenth of July, and henceforth, until the harvest time, the cane has to minister to its own wants. It rarely reaches such a condition of maturity in Louisiana as to cause it to put forth its spike or flower. In countries where a year or more is allowed for its full development the cane may be seen growing in a succession of joints to the height of twenty feet, the stem varying from one to two inches in diameter. Long, slender leaves shoot forth from opposite sides of the joints as the cane grows, and fall off as it approaches maturity. When the cane is a year old or so a spike or "arrow," as it is called, grows from the top. In Louisiana, as I have mentioned, the harvest time begins about the middle of October, induced by apprehensions of colder weather and the near commencement of the rainy season. If the planter has not experienced too much rain in the early portion of the season, and has not suffered from undue drouth during August and September, he may now look for a fair crop and return upon his investment of time and labor. But few insects attack the cane, and the severe storms of the late autumnal equinoxes rarely catch the crop in a position to suffer great damage. A force of laborers twice and often three times as large as has hitherto been required is now put on the plantation. They are divided into day and night gangs, and are kept under constant supervision by the planter in person or by some of his white assistants, among whom are his sons, and often by young men from the neighborhood, of high caste but extravagant habits, who agree to abuse the planter's negroes at a high price during this his time of trial. From fifteen to eighteen tons of cane are a fair yield to the acre, although there are instances where thirty tons have been harvested. The grand object to be attained now is to get the crop off before a frost kills it.

There is considerable uncertainty about the climate of Louisiana. Occasionally in midwinter linen suits might be worn with much discomfort from heat and dust for days at a time, and frequently warm ulsters cannot keep out the cold of mid April. So, although frost is not due "according to the almanac" until the colder edge of November, ice has often been found on the ponds at the beginning of the month. The planter has, therefore, but a short margin of weather on which he can calculate for harvesting his crop. If the frost surprises him, the prudent grower "windrows his cane for the mill," or lays it in furrows between the hills or ridges, where it will remain, if the weather continues cool, for several weeks without rapid deterioration. The upper portion of the cane is watery and almost worthless from the slight quantity and poor quality of the juice it contains. This is cut off and thrown on the ground, being used to cover and protect the slip of seed-cane left in the ground for next year's crop. Two successive crops of sugar are all to which the land is equal. It should then be "renewed" with corn or peas, or both. Prior to the war it was customary to preserve the seed-cane in mats or mattresses, — portions of ground twenty-five or thirty feet broad by sixty or seventy feet long, levelled by the hoe. The canes were brought to the freshly exposed surface, and laid in such a manner that the tops or foliage of each succeeding cane covered its own stalk and a portion of the preceding one; the edges were then covered with protecting dirt, and ditches dug to carry off the rain-water. Nowadays the canes are "windrowed" instead, — rows of cane with the tops on are laid in furrows, and dirt enough ploughed over them to protect them from the air. The gathering of the cane is simple enough. The stalk is cut off close, and after being trimmed of its top is thrown into a wagon, which when loaded starts for the sugar house. A load of cane, such as is generally given to a four-mule team, weighs about 4,000 pounds.

The sugar house, to which the cut cane is immediately transported, is the most expensive part of the planter's outfit. The machinery is quite elaborate, and is fashioned chiefly of brass and steel. The cost of fitting it up is rarely less than \$75,000. There has been little material improvement in the processes of manufacture in Louisiana or elsewhere within the last century, and now, as in the beginning of the century, the juice of the cane is imperfectly extracted. Not to enter into any scientific considerations or analyses of the properties of this juice or its component parts, and the chemical interests which provide for their separation, I will proceed only with a narrative description of the work performed in the sugar house. The first process is the grinding of the cane. The crushing apparatus consists of three heavy rollers, representing each a pressure of from thirty to fifty tons. The cane passes between these rollers, beginning with the two

of the lightest pressure. The stalks are laid on a "feed-plate," sloping down to the upper rollers, which draw in and crush the tender fibre in a space of perhaps an eighth of an inch. The cane is then put between the heaviest rollers into a space much less. When discharged from this pressure the stalk has become as thin as paper and as dry as tinder; it is now called *bagasse*, and is used as fuel to sustain the fire for the boilers. The capacity of these machines is about 100 gallons to each single horse-power. The liquor, which has been caught in troughs, is next and without delay (for it is ripe for fermentation and other wrong twists) transferred to the boilers. In describing this process one simply details the system or method of manufacture prevalent in the oldest of the English sugar-raising colonies and included in histories of them written over one hundred years ago. There is the row of five to seven kettles. Under the smallest, or "battery," a fire is kindled, which passes under the others until it reaches the chimney at the end of the row. Each kettle grows larger as it recedes from the fire. The juice is run from the troughs into the first kettle or *grande*, where, the heat being moderate, the evaporation is trifling; and the operator is enabled to begin the work of clarification by the introduction of lime, once the only medium known for the purification of the product. As the liquid passes from kettle to kettle it becomes thicker and more of a syrup. From time to time the attendants at the different boilers bring forward specimens of the fluid to be tested by some employé with the requisite skill and judgment, who orders its removal in time to prevent burning and other mischance. The atmosphere of the sugar house while the juice is thus "cooking" is deemed to be of great efficacy in pulmonary complaints, and many strangers are often on hand to inhale the fumes. The remainder of the process of sugar-making is equally ancient and wanting in improvement. After passing out of the "battery" kettle the sugar is directed into vats and allowed to cool and granulate, the molasses being filtered from the sugar as the mass is placed in the hogsheads. The vacuum pan is the only material improvement in sugar-making that has been introduced of late years. This considerably abridges the time and simplifies and improves the method of granulation. It was slowly adopted in Louisiana; in 1870 there were only about fifty in use,—now there are about one hundred. The different processes may be briefly recapitulated as they are pursued by the most progressive planters to-day. The first necessity is to clarify the juice, which is of a grayish color and loaded with foreign matter which can be removed only by the medium of heat, together with the introduction of such ingredients as will cause certain of the impurities to solidify and sink. After clarification comes evaporation of the juice in the vats, now resembling white wine in color, into

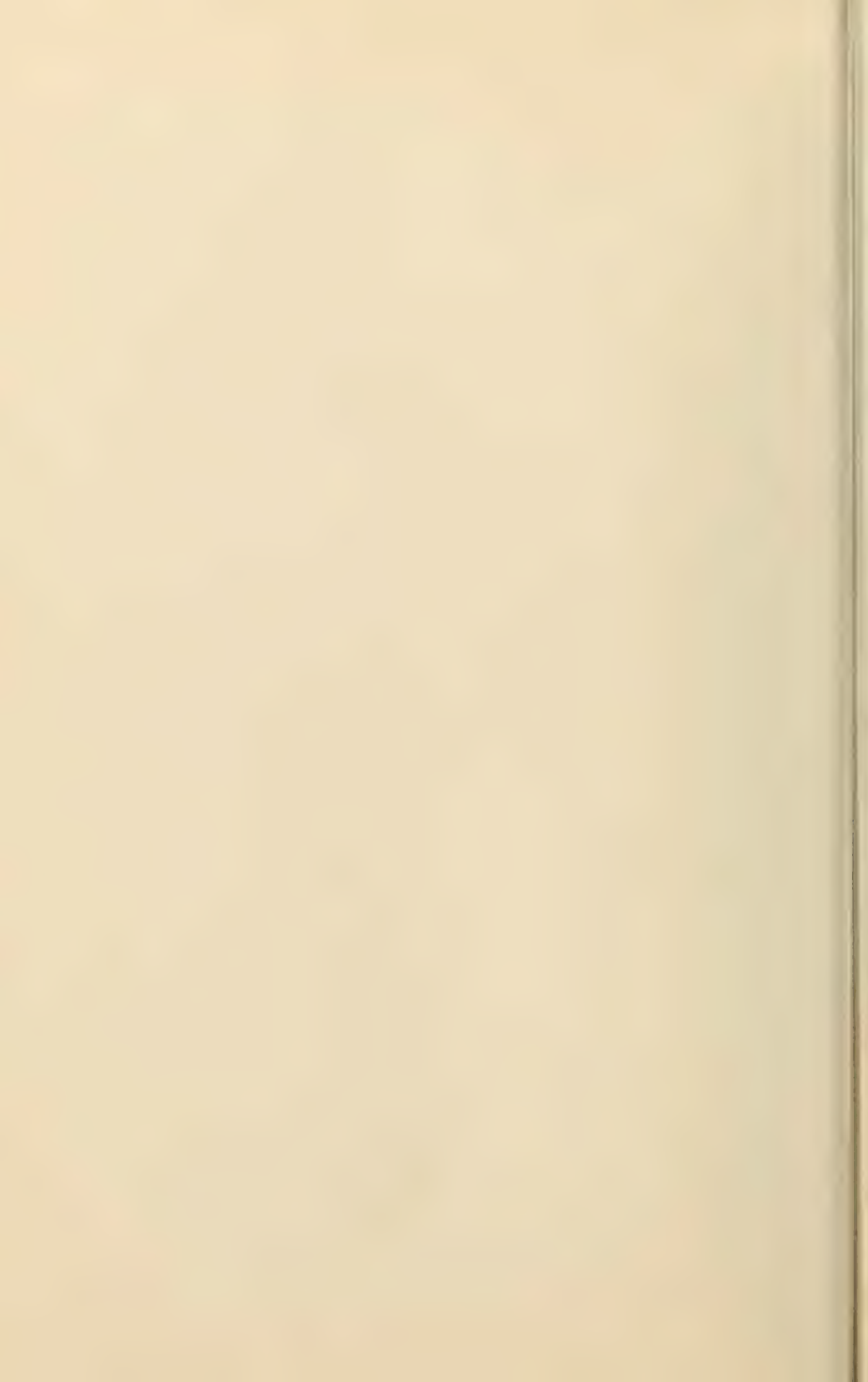
syrup of the required density, which experience has proved to be about 22 Baumé. During evaporation impurities previously soluble are made insoluble, and precipitate themselves in the settling tanks. When cold, the syrup is ready for the vacuum pan, where, by a skilful manipulation similar to what one sees going on at the sugar refineries, the liquid is gradually boiled into a mass consisting of sugar in bold, free grains, and the liquor of clarification, or, more properly, molasses. It will thus be seen that sugar-making on the plantations ranks almost as a trade in its requirements of skill and experience. The vacuum pan has enabled the planters to produce a better article of sugar than formerly. At the beginning of the war Louisiana supplied about half the sugar used in the United States, the product being distributed chiefly in the Southern and Western States. As the supply diminished, the Western section acquired a taste for the low grades of refined foreign goods. This taste has improved, and in so doing created a demand for clarified vacuum-pan sugars, which the planters are now endeavoring to meet.

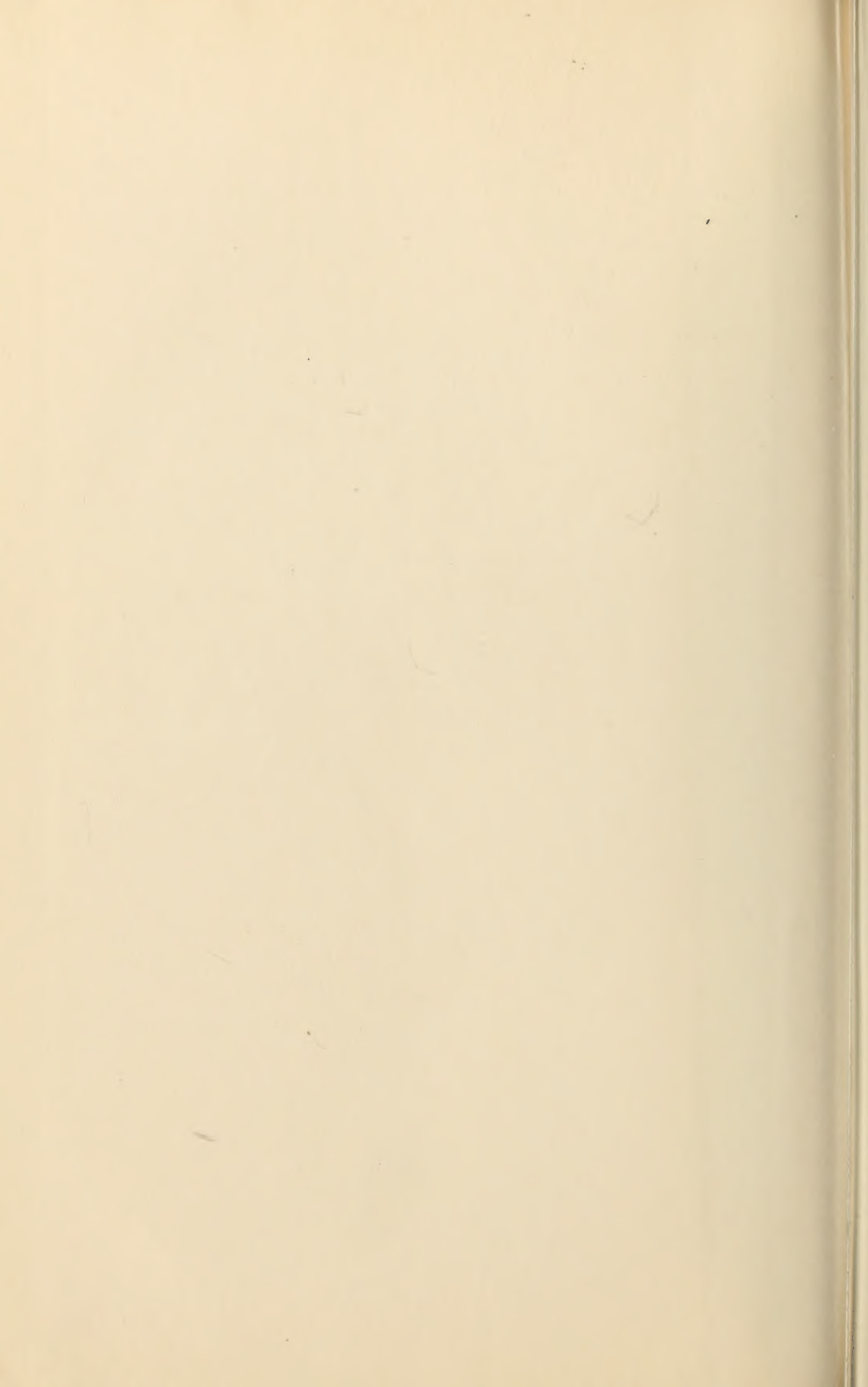
The labor question is beginning to be a serious one for the first time in these tropical wilds. There are nearly if not quite one thousand planters in Louisiana engaged in the culture of sugar. Each planter employs from twenty-five to one hundred negroes, paying them, as I have before stated, seventy-five cents per day each in cash. There are two seasons, as they may be called, when any trouble among his employés, resulting in a defection from the fields, oftentimes if only for a day or so, is likely to be fatal to the success of the crop; one is when the cane is being started in spring, and the other when it is being harvested in the fall. On these occasions the planter is in a measure at the mercy of his men. If a strike should take place then, the planter must accede to the demands made, or lose his crop. He cannot turn his force away to-night and fill his fields with a new one in the morning. Should such a disturbance occur at any other part of the sugar season, it might be met as was the initial movement of this kind last spring. Just before the planting had fairly begun, a few wandering negro agitators appeared on the plantations in St. John's parish, and, with the usual skill of the negro leader when he preaches better times, soon had assembled about them the field hands of several plantations, who, although living in perfect content, had struck work at the bidding of the agitators and followed them from estate to estate, using force as their ranks swelled, to compel willing workmen to become loud-mouthed recruits. In this manner, and almost before the planters were aware of the demonstration, some five hundred of these strikers were marching about, demanding a dollar a day, and threatening injury to the plantations if their requests were not complied with. They were only prevented from attempting this by the

timely arrival of troops from New Orleans and the arrest of the ring-leaders. This outbreak has served to arouse the planters to a sense of their peculiar position of dependence upon the negroes, and several expedients looking to the control of the difficulty have been suggested. One is to invite white labor from the North ; but the planters are not in favor of this plan, because of the popular belief, if indeed it has not the certainty of a rule, that the sugar bottoms are dangerous to the life of a white field-employé. Another suggestion is the employment of Chinese. This has been tried on the cotton plantations, but with unsatisfactory results. If the Celestials are hired on shares, they overwork the mules and insist on keeping to the field day and night. On day wages they are reported to be as indolent as the negro. The climate, however, agrees with them, and they make the best substitutes for the negro. Indeed, the probability is that if the current of Chinese immigration is allowed to swell it will before long be directed in a very material measure to this vast region, where, while ample employment awaits the Chinaman, he will not be practically invading the assumed rights of white labor.

EDWARD HOGAN.

Feb 1st 1898.





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